Influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and Spatial Concepts in the South African Context: A Case Study of the City of Johannesburg

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Declaration

I, _____, declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Masters of Science in Town and Regional Planning by Research in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University.

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_____ Day of _____ (year) _____

Abstract

Strategic Spatial Planning is an approach in planning which is not defined universally and encompasses a range of elements for consideration in its practice. This is what literature indicates but this research is aimed to identify the understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning (SSP) and its related concepts in the South African context. It also identifies the preferred spatial concepts being used by spatial planning practitioners in Strategic Spatial Planning, especially in the public sector. The concern with influencing factors is to clarify why certain spatial concepts are chosen. These influencing factors are probed through a qualitative case study of the City of Johannesburg in its immediate, broader and historical context.

The research uncovers the influences and understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning and its related concepts through investigating the processes by which decisions are made to use certain spatial planning concepts. Some of the aspects investigated in terms of Strategic Spatial Planning include governance and politics around decision-making processes, international Influences on Strategic Spatial Planning in the context of South Africa, Town Planning principles which influence decision making in terms of the concepts used in Strategic Spatial Planning, historical significance of the concepts used in South African Strategic Spatial Planning, original meaning/intention of concepts chosen to be used in South African Strategic Spatial Planning.

The lenses of New Institutionalism, Governance and Power in Planning have been used to analyse the research data and it has been found that Strategic Spatial Planning is political in nature as it takes direction from the government in power. However, planning practise differs between the various spheres of government due to limited direction or co-ordination between the spheres of government. The study further illustrates that power in planning is linked to the position one holds in an institution in terms of decision making power but also that power is linked to knowledge.

The research further uncovers how Strategic Spatial Planning possibly influences external forces and not only how external forces influence the practise and understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning.

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The Lord
Even though this was a difficult journey I know I was never alone. I was carried every step of the way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research investigates both the influences on and the understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning (SSP) and its related concepts in the South African context. It also identifies the preferred spatial concepts being used by spatial planning practitioners in Strategic Spatial Planning, especially in the public sector. The concern with influencing factors is to clarify why certain spatial concepts are chosen.

The research uncovers the influences and understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning and its related concepts through investigating the processes by which decisions are made to use certain spatial planning concepts. Some of the aspects investigated in terms of Strategic Spatial Planning are:

- Governance and politics around decision-making processes
- International Influences on Strategic Spatial Planning in the context of South Africa
- Town Planning principles which influence decision making in terms of the concepts used in Strategic Spatial Planning
- Historical significance of the concepts used in South African Strategic Spatial Planning
- Original Meaning/Intention of concepts chosen to be used in South African Strategic Spatial Planning

This research considers how Strategic Spatial Planning is understood and applied by various actors within the Strategic Spatial Planning environment, especially in the public sector. Therefore, it explores what Strategic Spatial Planning practitioners' understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning is. This research does not attempt to explore the way in which Strategic Spatial Planning functions but rather what influences and informs the understanding thereof. It identifies the spatial concepts used within Strategic Spatial Planning and further explores how these concepts are used in spatial policy, are understood by those formulating the policy and what the concepts mean within the current South African context. It also attempts to explore how they have emerged and been adopted. In addition, the research probes the original meanings and points of origin of the Strategic Spatial Planning concepts from the perspective of the public spatial planning practitioner in order to inform the way in which Strategic Spatial Planning is perceived and practised and under what influences this has occurred.

The research focuses on a case study in relation to broader South African planning practice, that of the City of Johannesburg. Reasons for the chosen case study are discussed in Chapter Two and pertain mainly to the availability and accessibility of information, as well as established relationships with City of Johannesburg officials.

This chapter sets out the background to the research and highlights the research issue. It further sets out the research contribution, chosen topic and the related research questions.

The chapter also briefly outlines the chosen conceptual framework elements, after which the chapter concludes with the methodology followed in the research exercise.

1.2 Background to Research

The research explores the underlying influences on and thinking in current spatial planning in South Africa, especially that of Strategic Spatial Planning. Traditional spatial planning was primarily focused on land use management, whereas Strategic Spatial Planning, at the early stages of the research in the author's understanding, is concerned with co-ordination of public and private investments, co-ordination of different government or organisational departments and their respective planning strategies. Strategic Spatial Planning is also concerned with elements such as territorial cohesion, integration and competitiveness. A primary example of Strategic Spatial Planning initiatives is the planning advocated and practiced within the European Union and its member states, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Current Strategic Spatial Planning documents in South Africa refer to the above mentioned elements and for this reason, it was deduced, at the initial phases of the research, that Strategic Spatial Planning in South Africa is strongly influenced by international practice. Various authors state this position (as mentioned in the next section) but this research will attempt to identify these influences more specifically.

1.2.1 The South African Context

Since 1994, post apartheid planning has attempted to 'correct' the urban form, which was produced by policies that advocated racial segregation. These policies, which some also label as planning tools of the Apartheid Regime, left the spatial form of South Africa deeply fragmented and socially inequitable. Most post apartheid planning policy has aimed at correcting issues related to this distorted urban morphology.

Changes within the urban form of South African cities over the last decade have been informed by notions and concepts that have to a large extent originated from outside the local context (Todes, 2006; Watson, 2002 & 2003). Changing economic conditions and shifts within policy positions and governance have also in recent times influenced the urban morphology of cities (Todes, 2006).

The spatial concepts which have emerged within the post apartheid-planning context have been incorporated into numerous 'planning tools' and planning documents. These documents range in scale from national to local level and, in some cases, even transnational scales. These spatial planning tools include the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP), the Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective and Spatial Development Frameworks at provincial, municipal and regional levels.

The early post apartheid planning frameworks adopted concepts such as nodes, corridors and urban edges (latest 'version' known as the Urban Development Boundary in the chosen case study). These were developed and advocated in the South African context by the University of Cape Town's (UCT) academics, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (Watson, 2002 & Dewar, undated). These concepts are still used as structuring elements within planning frameworks. Urban compaction is a movement in planning, promoted within spatial

frameworks such as the City of Joburg Spatial Development Framework. The notion of urban compaction is closely related and interlinked to the above-mentioned concepts (Todes, 2006; Harrison et al, 1996) and is defined and discussed in Chapter 4. How these concepts have come to be adopted and used is what is of interest in this research.

Some of the more recent concepts included in Strategic Spatial Planning, which have not yet been taken up at a local government level but have been explored at provincial government level in particular, include the notion of polycentricity. Polycentricity implies that a number of different places are connected to form a network, which would essentially operate as a new critical mass in terms of growth and development. This concept is used within documents produced by the South African Cities Network, government officials' speeches and provincial planning documents. Polycentricity is underpinned by concepts such as mobility, issues of equity, economic competitiveness, regional balance and territorial cohesion (Faludi, 2001; Hague and Kirk, 2003; Davoudi, 2002 & 2003; Meijers et al, 2005). Polycentricity can occur at various spatial scales ranging from a continent wide level to the local, more focused metropolitan areas. Within the South African context, polycentricity has strongly emerged at a provincial level, particularly in the Province of Gauteng. Global City Regions (also referred to as Mega City Regions in some parts of the world) are closely related to polycentric urban regions as both these concepts are based on 'network type relations'. Discussions have revealed that Global City Regions can be seen as a scale of polycentricity (ie. at regional level) and is perceived as a political decision in most cases. Polycentricity does not form part of the research exercise as it is a broad level strategic concept, which is poorly conceptualised at a local government level. The research is focused on the local government level where actual concepts are employed, but polycentricity is briefly mentioned here to make the reader aware of broader strategic spatial concepts, which are now emerging in South Africa.

The spatial concepts mentioned above have largely been adopted and used as tools to address certain spatial issues caused by the legacy of Apartheid Planning, such as social and physical fragmentation and inaccessibility to cities in general, by the majority of the population. Concepts such as nodes, corridors and urban edges are adopted as a reaction to urban sprawl. Some of these concepts are informed by planning approaches such as the Compact City, New Urbanism and Smart Growth. These approaches have been developed internationally and this already indicates the likelihood of some policy/concept transfer from international sources and studies (Reid, 1997; Gordon & Richardson, 1997).

Many factors have to be taken into account in terms of spatial planning. Not only is it important to understand what a concept is trying to 'correct' or 'better', or how it intends to do this, but also what it aims to achieve as a final end product in terms of spatial planning.

The following sections identify the research issues, which have led to some of the above interests, and describe how the research aims to explore the issues.

1.3 Research Issue

As a young professional in the consulting world of planning, recently graduated from a tertiary institution, I was faced with interpreting spatial planning documents in the preparation of land

use applications as well as policy and strategy formulation for municipalities in the Gauteng region. This posed some challenges in terms of the understanding of some spatial planning concepts in the working world of town planning. Spatial planning documents were referred to commonly in the process of preparing and submitting land use applications to local authorities as well as in the preparation of spatial planning policies, in particular Urban Development Frameworks, for local authorities in the Gauteng region.

The difficulty and, at times, the frustration with this, was that almost all of the concepts used within these spatial planning documents were difficult to grapple with and understand, especially with respect to land use applications and the application of these spatial concepts to specific land parcels. Also challenging was the application of the broad spatial concepts, which are applied at a citywide level in most instances, to smaller land areas.

This caused me to think about the meaning of the concepts I was working with and the appropriate application thereof. This was not an easy task. In attempting to uncover exactly what the local authorities meant by some of the concepts I had to grapple with in my daily work, it was sometimes more confusing than helpful to probe issues on a 'casual' level with City officials. This was partly because the authors of the spatial planning policies and documents were not the implementers of the documents – other planners within a different department within the City (in this case, predominantly Johannesburg) were applying these concepts at more localised levels. Confusion also arose because various officials in the same department did not engage or understand the concepts in a similar fashion, indicating that there was lack of a common understanding of the concepts.

This was how the research was conceptualised and the research issue was identified. Firstly, in trying to understand concepts used within official documentation, I could not find research material on which these documents were based. This made me question the usage, meaning and, of course, the appropriate application of the concepts.

Secondly, this suggested the possibility that the application of concepts could be inappropriate due to the misunderstanding or different interpretation of concepts, which led to the hypothesis that perhaps limited, or no research, is conducted prior to the introduction and usage of concepts in the South African context or even from one local context to another. This implies that the initial usage, intention and implications are not always understood before spatial concepts are used by spatial planning practitioners. My personal difficulty, described above, suggests that planners within the same institution need to gain a common understanding of the concepts they work with, in order to eliminate confusion and educate those working with these concepts outside of the public sector.

The hypothesis is based on the fact that documents recording research and testing spatial concepts in pilot projects prior to their usage are hard to find, which could indicate that they do not exist. But what further intrigued me is how, where, when and by whom these concepts are introduced and adopted, as this information was lacking. How was it that these concepts came to life in the South African strategic spatial policy documents? Were the influences historical in nature perhaps, or economic, social or political?

As an approach to planning practice, Strategic Spatial Planning is rather elusive and is understood and explained differently not only by various planning practitioners, but also by various authors within the academic world. This was shown through the research. The practice of Strategic Spatial Planning is not mentioned widely in written work in contrast to how it is written about theoretically. The relationship between practise and theory is therefore questioned by the writer, in light of my above mentioned experience.

In conclusion, my research issue can be summarised as having different components, namely:

- Examining whether strategic spatial concepts are commonly understood in the practice of strategic spatial planning.
- Understanding the original intentions of strategic spatial concepts.
- Investigating the influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and Strategic Spatial Planning concepts.
- Methods of introduction behind the usage of Strategic Spatial Planning concepts.
- Understanding how the concepts are used and applied on a daily basis.
- Finding a common definition or even just a common understanding of what Strategic Spatial Planning is, in order to assist in understanding the methods and tools used to practise this form of planning.

1.4 Research Contribution

The research contributes to developing a better understanding of the ideas underlying Strategic Spatial Planning. It further aims to give a critical perspective on the practice of spatial planning and the general understanding and definition of Strategic Spatial Planning at a practical level. This means that the practise of Strategic Spatial Planning and what it actually means is examined in order to uncover the issues identified in Section 1.3. A systematic examination of these issues can assist in clarifying the strengths and weaknesses of key content in Strategic Spatial Planning.

1.5. Research Topic

The research topic is described as

> Influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and Spatial Concepts in the South African Context: A Case Study of the City of Johannesburg

1.6 Key Structuring Questions

A two-fold question, with subsidiary questions, has been formulated to guide the research process. The key questions are:

> What are the influences on Strategic Spatial Planning in South Africa and the intentions, meanings and understanding of key spatial concepts used within the practice of Strategic Spatial Planning?

The secondary questions, which have been formulated in order to answer the key question, are listed below.

a) What is understood by Strategic Spatial Planning?
b) What is the role and purpose of Strategic Spatial Planning in South Africa?
c) What influences Strategic Spatial Planning in South Africa?
d) What is understood by the term strategic spatial concepts?
e) What are the key spatial concepts and how is each of these understood?
f) What are the origins of the key spatial structuring concepts and how have these migrated and been translated from various arenas?

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The literature chosen to guide the research of the topic is that of New Institutionalism, Governance, Power in planning and the growing literature on the transference of ideas/concepts in planning.

The literature on New Institutionalism points to the issue that institutions affect the decision making of actors within the institution as well as the understanding of ideas. Sociological institutionalism is the most informative in terms of the research, as its focus is primarily on factors influencing decision-making processes. However, elements of historical institutionalism also add to the conceptual framework. These forms of institutionalism assist in probing the understanding and usage of concepts within an institution and between various institutions

Within the framework of New Institutionalism, it is critical to look at how spatial ideas and practice are tied to governance contexts and governance practice. Governance is critical in understanding how decisions are made, as it probes the relationships between various stakeholders involved in decision making processes.

Power in planning is an important aspect in the decision making processes as relationships are of the core essence in these situations. Power relations are considered as part of the influencing factors on the choice of Strategic Spatial Planning concepts and the practise and understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning.

These framework elements are discussed in Chapter Two.

1.8 Methodology

The methodology used in the research is a desktop review of strategic spatial policy and contextual readings and also interviews with policy formulators and implementers. A body of literature has also been drawn on to assist in this research and to frame the interview questions.

The emerging literature on the transference of ideas and concepts, which comes largely from the fields of Sociology and Political Science, is drawn on in the methodology of the research. This body of literature informs the investigation of which concepts have been transferred, how they have been transferred, by who and by which means they have been transferred, as well as how meanings of these ideas and concepts have changed across space, time and contexts.

The methodology is elaborated in Chapter Two.

1.9 Structure and Content of the Research Report

The report gives the reader a broad overview of concepts and their history before introducing the case study, the interview material and the analysis of the findings.

Chapter Two develops the conceptual framework for this research. It gives a broad overview of relevant theory on New Institutionalism, Governance and Power in planning and links these to give an overall understanding of how the framework elements are intricately connected and supplementary to each other and the research.

Chapter Three provides the historical overview of spatial concepts used within the international and South African context. It outlines the issues which contributed to the choice of concepts and also reviews political policies and legislation. It further gives an overview of current ideas and themes in spatial planning documents and also sets the scene of the new dispensation after 1994.

Chapter Four outlines key spatial thinking post 2000, as well as the City of Johannesburg's strategic spatial concepts, as contained in strategic spatial policy developed since 2000. It outlines the progression and changes in the use of concepts, whether through the introduction of new concepts or the transformation or refinement of existing concepts.

Chapter Five provides an in depth look at the interview material and reveals some issues found within the City of Johannesburg, as well as the relationship with other institutions and actors. It considers how Strategic Spatial Planning and strategic spatial concepts are understood and defined within the planning profession.

Chapter Six synthesises the information contained in Chapters Three, Four and Five and contains the analysis of the content in relation to the conceptual framework.

Chapter Seven concludes the research with a summary of the findings and proposes some interventions and recommendations.

1.10 Chapter One – Conclusion

Chapter One provided a brief historical account and initial understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning and strategic spatial concepts. The main research issues are that the approach of Strategic Spatial Planning is elusive and ill defined. The practise of Strategic Spatial Planning is also not widely captured in writings on the South African context. The research issues have been unpacked into six components, which can also be defined as areas of interest in the research. Briefly these are (i) examining if strategic spatial concepts are commonly understood, (ii) understanding original intentions of concepts, (iii) investigating influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and its concepts, (iv) understanding the use of concepts, (v) exploring the introduction of concepts in Strategic Spatial Planning and (vi) finding a common definition/understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning.

Personal experience within planning practise has led to the questioning of aspects of Strategic Spatial Planning and the usage of associated Strategic Spatial Planning concepts. In particular, frustrations have been experienced in developing policies and applying policies to land use applications.

Research questions have been put forward to assist in answering the main research issues. Theories drawn on for the research consist of New Institutionalism, Power in Planning and Governance.

The methodology, which consists of desktop literature reviews and interviews and observations as described in Section 1.8 of this chapter, draws on literature on the transference of policy and concepts.

Before moving on to the next section I would like to leave the reader with a quote from Aspinwall & Schneider (2000, p2) which made me think this might be what spatial planning concepts and Strategic Spatial Planning could be compared with –

> "...Europeanists assume to sit in different restaurants and, more importantly, employ different utensils to attack what we consider to be the same menu."

Although this quote was stated in a paper where institutionalism was probed in the European Union context, I'd like to borrow it for this research and change it to read –

> ... 'This means that strategic spatial practitioners assume to sit in different restaurants [different, countries, spheres of government and sectors] and, more importantly, employ *the same* utensils [Strategic Spatial Planning concepts] to attack what we [the users of these concepts] consider the same menu *in very different ways.*'

At the end of the research, I will return to this quote to evaluate whether or not my initial assumptions were correct.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The South African planning context has changed dramatically over the past decade, as has the manner in which planning is currently practised. This means that traditional spatial planning focussed primarily on land use management. The focus of planning in South Africa has not only changed, but it has followed a trend which has been set internationally. A prime example of this change is the strategic planning focus of the European Union and the production of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). South Africa has followed suit with the production of the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) and this has, in recent years, filtered down to provincial level where documents such as the Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective (GSDP) have emerged.

Another example of the changing nature of planning thought is legislation and particularly recent provincial changes. The Gauteng Provincial Government has developed the Gauteng Planning and Development Act, no 3 of 2003. The aim is to bring land use planning and spatial planning closer together and find a better way to synthesise the regulatory aspects of planning with the spatial, forward planning aspects of town planning. It further aims to standardise certain aspects of land use planning through consolidated Town Planning Schemes for municipalities. This begins to point to changes in planning practise and the regulation thereof through legislative requirements, which will be placed on all municipalities within the jurisdictional area of the Gauteng Provincial Government.

The Gauteng Provincial Government is also establishing the Global City Region (GCR), a European concept related to governance, where more interaction occurs between cities within a geographically demarcated area to make the area more attractive to investors and also to begin the establishment of supporting functions between the cities. The establishment and formalisation of the GCR in the province aims at better more sustainable, integrated planning across municipal borders, so that the province is viewed as a single functioning entity. This entity will aim to enhance the global competitiveness of the region through appropriate governance structures and cultures (Mahlangu, 2007).

2.2 METHODOLOGY

The methodology chosen for the research exercise is twofold in nature and is qualitative in nature. It consists of both textual analysis (which is viewed as secondary sources) as well as interviews (viewed as primary sources).

2.2.1 Desktop Literature Review

The desktop review has two components, namely a literature review of the topic in general and interrogating a case study, the City of Johannesburg, to look at specific concepts and how these are being used. In Chapter Three is a review of literature on Strategic Spatial Planning and major concepts that have been used in the South African context in the past.

The literature review engages with the literature to determine the historical significance of concepts used and also how these were used. Most of these concepts were used pre-1994 in Apartheid South Africa. What made this pre-1994 period interesting was the fact that spatial planning was largely influenced by various pieces of legislation, which are briefly examined in the research. The purpose of uncovering the political layers of a past and present South African context, which includes legislation, political parties' manifestos and political role players' direction expressed in public announcements and documents, is to probe how political agendas influence the decisions making process in spatial planning formulation.

The desktop review further interrogates the City of Johannesburg's spatial documentation to understand the progression, change and also the usage of different spatial planning concepts across a fixed period of time. It looks in particular at spatial planning concepts after 2000. This focus was chosen because of the institutional shift caused by the amalgamation of various municipalities at this time, due to legislative requirements, and also because of the fact that the documents produced during the period of 2000 to 2008 are the most accessible. Attempts were made to trace earlier documents but this proved to be difficult and the focus of the study was narrowed to the new local governance system after 2000. The governance system prior to 2000 is referred to in the research to illustrate the difficulties experienced in balancing spatial development planning's focus and governance before the municipal amalgamations.

The original intention of the research was to focus on two prominent spatial planning concepts from the United States of America (New Urbanism) and from Europe (Global City Region). In the preliminary phases, it was noted that not a great deal of literature relating to these concepts existed and also that these concepts were not taken up strongly in South African spatial planning documents. Rather, they were explored at academic levels and conceptual levels within planning practice. It was therefore decided to look at the current spatial documents and to identify what were thought to be strategic spatial concepts. Spatial issues engaged with from this point of view did not include such broad planning ideas. The spatial concepts are investigated to understand the significance of their use, history in terms of how they have been transferred and how they have evolved over time. This is then compared with the interview material to assess whether Strategic Spatial Planning practitioners engaging these concepts on a daily basis understand these issues in a similar manner.

The research focuses on one city in terms of its spatial planning in relation to other spheres of government. The method looks at what is currently being used locally, relating this back to other spheres of government and their spatial policies.

The method of desktop research used in considering and analysing data is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 2.1.

DESKTOP RESEARCH

Review other authors' comments/works

Interrogate Key Spatial Planning Documents at a General Level

National Spatial Development Perspective

Gauteng Province – Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective

Spatial Policies of the City of Johannesburg
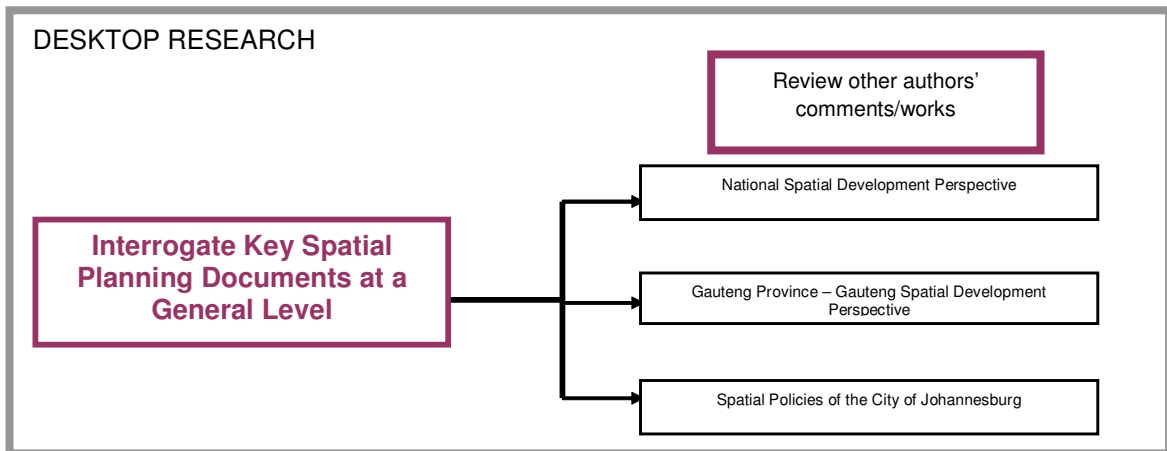
Figure 2.1: Desktop Research Outline

INTERVIEWS

Interview Officials about Spatial Planning Ideas and Concepts

Gauteng Provincial x 2

City of Joburg x 4 Personal Interviews

City of Joburg x 5 Informal Discussions

Consultants x 2 Informal Discussions Personal Interviews
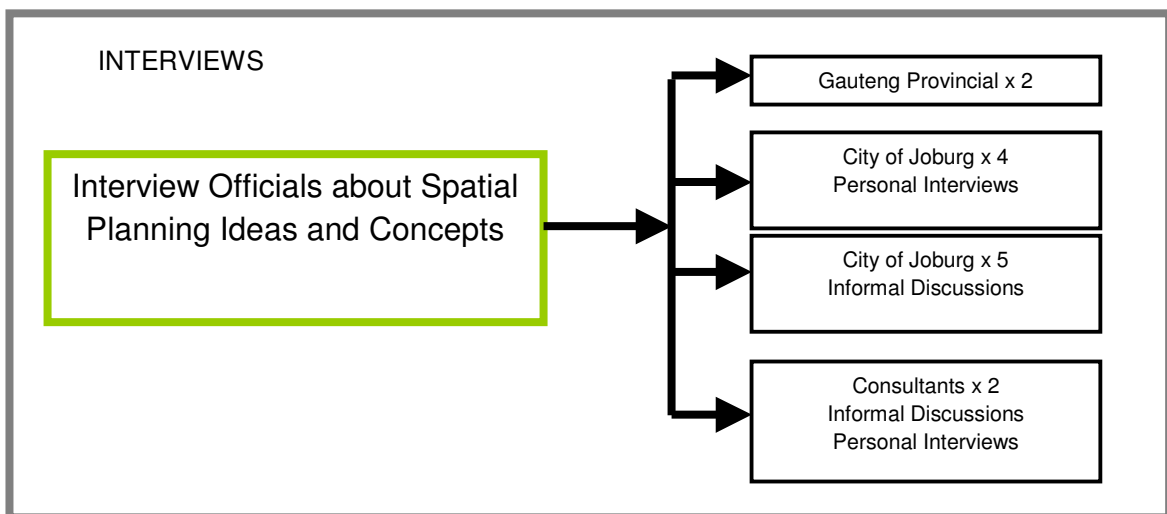
Figure 2.2: Interview Outline

NOTE: Informal discussions refer to discussions with City Officials on an unofficial basis during my time working with and for the city about this topic and issues pertaining or affecting it directly. The need for formal interviews was not seen as necessary in these cases as sufficient 'interview type material' was gathered through informal discussions. Colleagues were however informed if I was probing issues regarding the research and their permission was obtained to use the material of the discussion.

2.2.2 Interviews and Observations

The research methodology includes interviews and observations, which are reflected upon in Chapter Five of this report.

The choice of case study and the reasons behind it are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. In short, it is based on the following reasons:

- The author found the functioning of the City of Johannesburg to be both reasonably familiar and intriguing.
- The author has previously consulted for the CoJ, therefore information sharing and established relationships could be used to access information and to probe issues.
- The year 2000 forms a natural historical milestone in the institution's history, as this was the year of municipal amalgamations. The fragmentation of local government prior to 2000 caused a challenge in terms of finding records and any policies related

to the topic, therefore this historical date is seen as the most appropriate for research purposes.

The interviewees chosen for this research were the authors of the documents that I was using on a daily basis in the working environment. The authors' understanding of the concepts they were using and promoting in spatial policy documents is examined.

It was anticipated that authors of spatial planning documents would understand what they were using and working with on a daily basis and also the motivations and influences on these spatial strategies which they were developing annually. However, what must be remembered is that the department at the City of Johannesburg developing these strategies has a fairly dynamic staff turnover; therefore it was important to interview the authors of documents who have been within this department for longer periods of time and in doing so also probe whether knowledge sharing with newer staff occurred.

The knowledge of the newer staff members was probed through unstructured conversations and informal discussions, as described in Figure 2.2 above. These discussion types occurred mostly after I had joined the City of Johannesburg. At that time, four new staff members had joined the City/the Department of Development Planning and Facilitation and I wanted to understand how they understood the concepts they were working with and promoting in the City's spatial documentation. I will also reflect on my own experience of working for the City of Johannesburg as a consultant as well as working as an employee for this institution. In providing my personal experience, from which this research was partly conceived, I will add a personal perspective and assess whether other spatial planning practitioners share the same experience and if not, why this is the case. At all times will I make the reader aware whether I refer to my own experience or that of others and whether my experience is a personal comment or opinion about the research material. These personal comments/statements of opinion might not be substantiated in all instances by research data, but this research does have some introspective elements, both from the author and interviewees, which should be taken into consideration. This will be undertaken in Chapter Five.

The interview element of the research has, however, not only focused on the City of Johannesburg but has also looked at the Provincial Government of Gauteng, where officials in the Department of Economic Development where interviewed. These officials are responsible for interacting with municipalities in terms of spatial work being done in the province and are further responsible for developing policies and spatial strategies for the province. The aim of probing these officials was to uncover relationships influencing the decisions being made regarding local government Strategic Spatial Planning and the concepts associated therewith.

An alternative angle explored was that of outside influences on the public sector policy developments, namely consultants being employed by government institutions to develop spatial policies and strategies. Interviews were done with private practicing professionals, alternatively referred to as consultants, who had done recent work for the City of Johannesburg and issues of information sharing, decision making processes and introduction of new spatial concepts were probed.

A total of fourteen participants, including myself, were identified and engaged in this research process. The engagements were aimed at being qualitative in nature with interviews taking between one hour and one and a half hours per structured engagement. Interviews where informal discussion sessions and observations occurred around specific topics, varied in duration from ten minutes to three hours. Observations were primarily of the interaction between city employees at structured meetings and also between city employees and other parties, such as the public or town planning consultants.

At this point, it should be noted that the interviewees were requested to be as open and honest as possible. This could have meant that answers were very subjective and based on personal experience, but this is an essential part in understanding how the various actors within the spatial planning environment interact with material and understand processes leading to decisions being made surrounding spatial concepts used. A potential problem has however been identified with my own personal experience being reflected upon. It could be viewed as being unsubstantiated claims, but a conscious effort is made in the research to clarify whether or not statements are a personal perspective or opinion.

A body of theoretical literature was used to formulate the interview questions. Section 2.2.3 explores this body of literature.

2.2.3 The Transference and Translation of Ideas / Concepts / Policies

The literature to be reviewed in this section is an emerging body of literature within the policy field. It can be described as literature on the transfer of ideas and concepts. It has largely emerged within the fields of sociology and political science. This body of literature informs the research in terms of the transference of concepts and ideas to the local context. The research will in more specific terms probe which concepts are transferred, how this transference has occurred, who the agents are during this transference process and how meanings of transferred ideas and concepts have shifted over space, time and context.

Some prominent authors have emerged in this literature and research field.

Stone (2001) gives a very comprehensive overview of her understanding of policy transfer and lesson drawing. Policy transfer can occur at various levels, be it cross-national or sub-national. The elements which are listed below have been organised into two categories by Stone (2001, p3). Firstly, she speaks about "Policy Transfer, Lesson Drawing and Diffusion" and secondly she explores "Carriers, Exporters and Inducers of Policy Ideas".

Policy Transfer, Lesson Drawing and Diffusion

Policy transfer, lesson drawing and diffusion consider ways in which ideas, concepts and policies are perceived, studied and observed. Page (2000, p2) states that the literature on policy transfer "has tended to be on understanding the process by which policies and practices move from exporter to importer jurisdictions, above all agents of policy transfer or in the case of diffusion of innovation literature, the patterns by which practices spread". Page further states that the focus of analysis within understanding policy transfer is the decision making process.

Page states that policy transfer is all about the decision making process, whereas Stone (2001) clearly states that different processes can occur with policy transfer. She lists the "objects of transfer" (Stone, 2001, p9) which include:

- Policies
- Institution
- Ideologies or justification
- Attitudes and ideas
- Negative lessons

The transfer of the objects mentioned above can occur within or between countries and across variations of time. Policy transfer is not limited to geographic contexts, but can occur between disciplines and professions. Further to policy transfer between various policy contexts, transference can occur in various degrees. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) indicate that this variation can be from direct, exact transference to levels where only inspiration is used for policy formulation. Further to this, policy transfer can occur voluntary or can be imposed on organisations/countries, or a combination of the two extremes can occur which has consequences attached to them. This must be considered, monitored and reviewed to determine whether or not transference of objects has been successful.

Page (2000) outlines variables involved in policy transfer, the issues which need consideration and also some gaps in terms of the literature. Each one of these identified categories will be briefly outlined.

A. VARIABLES
This category asks basic questions of who is involved in policy transfer, what is involved, why policy transfer occurs, where it occurs and how it occurs.

i. WHO
In terms of who is involved in policy transfer, one would look at the "agent" who identifies an object of transfer and either imports or exports them from one context to another or one field of study to another. The "agent" could be an organisation or an individual. It could also be a combination of the two, where an individual (a salaried employee, contractor) is given an instruction by the organisation to find and make recommendations on objects of transfer.

The idea of "who" is closely related to Stone's writings (2001) in terms of her classification of "Carriers, exporters and inducers of policy ideas." Stone emphasises that "agents" in policy transfer are usually associated with governments and government agents. These include Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as well as Third Sector parties.

In terms of what Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) state regarding coercion and voluntary transfer, Stone (2001) indicates who might be involved in these types of transference. She gives the example of 'lesson drawing' in a transatlantic manner between governments and states which result in voluntary action and transfer. Coercion, as she states, occurs through an imposition of a policy on a country by bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The acceptance of the policy of such organisations is linked to the conditions of loans to those countries, usually countries in the Third World.

The category of 'who' is however not limited to government, but also includes individuals, networks and other organisations, which are not as well researched as the government/state bodies. Most research has been on the transference of policy between nation states.

What has not been researched in any great depth but has to be acknowledged, is that transfer can be made through 'individuals'. Stone (2001, p20) lists these as "transfer brokers or policy entrepreneurs", which include international organisations, think tanks, consultancies, law firms and even banks. She makes the distinction that previously, policy transfer was a horizontal activity between states, but that vertical transfer is now possible between states, organisations and even individuals.

This clearly gives us an idea of who is typically involved in policy transfer activities.

ii.   WHAT

The objects of transference include objects such as policies, as well as lessons learnt from policies. Not only does transference relate directly to these identified objects, but to how much of it might be identified and used for transfer. Page (2000) states this as: "Here what is being alluded to is a policy as a set of ideas, institutions and practises; the degree to which they are identical in the exporter and exporter jurisdictions shapes what particular label we give to the transfer in respect of what is transferred."

The difficulty arises in the assessment of what exactly is transferred in the variable of "what". "What" makes up one specific policy in one context can be a result of various ideas or concepts from various policies in very different contexts. This becomes difficult in monitoring the transference of what and that which becomes important is understanding the reasons for the adoption of ideas and concepts.

iii.   WHEN

Even though it seems that this variable might easily be measured, "the concept of policy transfer says little about the time period" (Page, 2000, p5). Policy transfer might take extended periods of time to occur or might even occur incrementally. This variable however is closely related to all others as the time is directly related to who is involved (and the longer the time, the more people get involved), where ideas might come from and involve and reasons for policy and idea adoption could increase or change.

iv.   WHY

This variable relates strongly to Dolowitz and Marsh's ideas of coercion or voluntary acceptance of policies and/or ideas. Four dimensions are listed in Page's work, as it relates to Dolowitz and Marsh.
  a) Coercion is the first reason given why certain policies and ideas are adopted by certain countries and institutions.
  b) A second dimension is that of the circumstances in which policies are borrowed from one context to another. This could include coercion methods (where financial assistance has attached conditions) or where circumstances from one geographic context to another might be similar and policy transfer becomes imminent.

c) "A third dimension of the 'why' questions relates to the type of objectives pursued by the transfer" (Page, 2000, p6). In essence, this means that ideas or concepts are purely adopted for the benefits they might add to already accepted policies or the weight they might add to developing policies.

d) The final dimension is related to the specific area/country from which to borrow objects. A diverse range of answers exist for this, as it might be linked to geographic proximity or it could happen that it becomes a random choice.

These four dimensions, which are merely guidelines, must be kept in mind when attempting to understand why certain choices are made in terms of policy transfer.

v. HOW

The final question in terms of variables is "How" policies and practises came to be in a specific context. Page clearly states that it is closely related to variable (iv), the "Why". It either occurred through coercion or in the event of voluntary, conscious decisions. Other issues should be kept in mind:

a) It could occur through an organised procedure.
b) A diffuse, incremental procedure could have been followed.
c) Spontaneous acceptance and redevelopment could also be the manner in which policy is transferred or rather accepted.

B. ISSUES

In the literature which has been reviewed by Page (2000), he goes on to identify issues which need to be addressed in future research and literature. These issues are briefly listed below:

i. "What characteristics make people disposed to learn from other?" (Page, 2000, p 8). In this question he searches for answers in terms of the "preconditions" importers and exporters have when searching for transfer or innovation.

ii. The literature tends to only take into account or focus on socio-economic issues (based extensively on US practices), the ideal of what is sought and also geographic issues. Other important, broader issues might be ignored or subdued, for example history, tradition and even uniqueness of situations or circumstances.

C. GAPS

Page (2000) attempts to identify "gaps" in the literature of policy transference. He clearly states, however, that this can be very subjective and he uses the method of rather canvassing existing studies and highlighting the gaps identified in these studies.

The first gap relates to the fact that much of the literature states that more transfer occurs in the contemporary world than ever before. The gap that Page identifies with this broad statement is the method or manner in which this is determined. No specific, clear methodology has been derived to determine or substantiate this statement.

The second gap he identifies is whether the 'who', 'what', 'why', 'when' and 'how' has any significance, and if it does, how much? The primary question raised out of this gap is the significance of 'whom' or 'what' in policy transfer. Page (2000) attempts to answer this question, but in doing so reveals further gaps in the literature. The first 'answer' he attempts is that one should maybe understand how policy making actually works in a specific country.

Once one understands the country's context and how policy making actually occurs in that country, one might be able to understand the characteristics and significance of policy making and methods employed. The gap in this is the availability of literature on these topics and how one could go about assessing these styles.

The second issue Page attempts to find an answer for "may be for how lessons should be drawn cross-nationally" (Page, 2000, p9). This indicates the gap which exists between the process and the ultimate outcome of the policy transfer. From this, further questions are raised, which will not be discussed in this research as it has no bearing on this research topic and Page's work can be rather broad.

The literature on Lesson Drawing and Diffusion is briefly outlined below highlighting only the main areas of importance.

Lesson Drawing

Page (2000) quotes Rose (1993) in saying that lesson drawing has four stages, namely searching, making a model, creating a lesson and prospective evaluation. Lesson Drawing and policy transfer are closely related but are not the same. Lesson Drawing is about clearly understanding the conditions and circumstances influencing or adding to the operation of policies and/or programmes in one context, especially the exporter jurisdiction. It further seeks to understand the impact of local, importer jurisdictions' conditions and circumstances on the policy and/or programme being imported and attempts to understand what needs to be adjusted of these imported policies and/or programmes to best suit the context and circumstances.

Literature on Lesson Drawing places emphasis on the issue of understanding "the conditions under which polices or practices operate in exporter jurisdictions and whether and how the conditions which might make them work in a similar way can be created in importer jurisdictions" (Stone, 2001, p8).

Page lists the variables, issues and gaps of Lesson Drawing.
A. VARIABLES
i.   Objectives
One of the first important variables in understanding lesson drawing is the understanding of why a policy or set of ideas was introduced into the exporter jurisdiction as this would shed some light on the conditions, circumstances and needs for that policy or ideas. This could then be compared to the current importer jurisdiction's circumstances to understand similarities or differences in context which would later aid in adapting or possible wholly adopting a set of ideas or policies (Page, 2000).

ii.   Programme or Policy Design Variables
Important issues of an exporter jurisdiction need to be understood which informs or clarifies uses of certain programmes or policies. These are:
- Institutional Structures of Authority
- Organisational Characteristics

- Resources
- Mix of Tools (i.e. laws, advise, money)

iii. Wider Societal Variables

Page (2000, p11) states this quite simply as, "a whole range of wider political, societal, economic and cultural conditions contribute to the operation of any policy, and their absence in another jurisdiction might mean that the functions these conditions fill have to be filled in a different way in the importer jurisdiction."

B. ISSUES

Page (2000, p11) once again uses work by Rose (1993) which sets out the issues relating to Lesson Drawing. These issues can be summarised as:
- Programmes, policies and ideas may be expected to travel across jurisdictions where less dependence is placed on contexts.
- Contexts where organisations in terms of service delivery are easily substitutable or easily changed might be more suitable to lesson drawing practices as this could be seen not to hamper lesson drawing but rather assist due to flexibility.
- Contexts possessing similar resources are more suitable.
- Values of policy makers should be relatively similar in nature.
- The scale of change a programme produces should ideally be small.
- A programme should cover areas of interdependence between the jurisdictions concerned.

C. GAPS

One major gap can be identified within the Lesson Drawing literature and that is that there is a lack of scientifically based literature available on this topic.

Table 2.1 summarises the various identified lenses of the literature review in this section and illustrates how this is used in the methodology of the research.

Table 2.1. Identification of Research Lens for Methodology

Literature Element	Variables	Issues	Gaps	METHOD LENS
Policy Transfer	**Who** Relates to the agent of transfer of a policy/concept (individual, institution or both) **What** What is being transferred relates to the objects being policy/concepts **When** Relates to the timing of transfer and also and at what point in time policy/concepts were transferred **Why** Relates to the reason of policy/concept transfer which may include reasons of coercion, borrowing from each other, benefit factors of transferring policy/concepts and geographic/proximity reasons **How** Relates to whether transfer has been organised in a procedural and thought out manner, incremental transfer or a spontaneous manner of transfer	The issues relate to shortcomings in the literature: • What preconditions do agents have when searching for policies/concepts to transfer and how is this determined? • In searching for new policy/concepts to transfer there seems to be a tendency to only look at socio-economic issues or geographical conditions. Issues such as culture, politics etc run the risk of being ignored or downplayed.	i. A clear method of transference of policies/concepts in the contemporary world has not been established. ii. Is the understanding of who transferred policy really useful in understanding policy/concept transference? Questions whether it isn't more important to rather understand deeper issues of how policy making actually occurs in country/place of policy origin and then after this understanding is gained understand the reasons behind the policy/concept used in the place of origin. iii. No method exists to illustrate/guide lesson drawing across geographical areas.	The methodology to probe the primary sources in this research is based on the elements identified by Page to probe policy transfer. The interview questions I use were derived around the variables listed in column two of this table. Who, what, when, why and how has been used in the research. Not only are these variables looked at in terms of the interviewees but they also inform the elements which should be looked for in the desktop policy review of the case study. Even though these elements might not be explicitly stated in the documents, clues might exist to point the research in a direction where this information could be gained.
Lesson Drawing	**Objectives** It must first be understood why a policy/concept was developed in the place of origin or understand the reasons why the place where policy/concept is being taken from employed that particular element. A comparison between the 'exporter' and 'importer' context and circumstances should be drawn to assess the compatibility of the two areas/institutions circumstances in order to get an answer on the viability of such transfer/lesson drawing. **Programme/Policy Design Variables** These are some of the issues which must be understood in order to make an assessment of the compatibility mentioned above: • Institutional Structures of Authority • Organisational Characteristics • Resources available • Mix of tools and level of sophistication **Wider Societal Variables** It must be questioned what other influences in the place of origin influenced and influences the use of a policy/concept (i.e. politics, economy etc.)	• Programmes, policies and ideas may be expected to travel across jurisdictions where less dependence is placed on contexts. • Contexts where organisations in terms of service delivery are easily substitutable might be more suitable. • Contexts possessing similar resources are more suitable. • Values of policy makers should be relatively similar in nature. • The scale of change a programme produces should ideally be small. • A programme should cover areas of interdependence between the jurisdictions concerned.	The literature is not based on scientific data and the effectiveness thereof could be questionable.	The literature on Lesson Drawing has produced no elements which could be used in the methodology of the research as opposed to the usefulness the policy transfer literature possesses. Even though this literature has good concepts it would be more suitably applied to a different angle of research e.g. assess the compatibility to the area of transfer of policies/concepts prior to them being transferred to that area.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Although this research looks at spatial thinking at a more localised level, namely Local Government, the examples of changing approaches to town planning and in particular Strategic Spatial Planning in South Africa begin to point to institutional changes and related governance issues. The examples further point to the transference of these changing ideas in terms of institutions and associated governance around them. Theories which relate to these topics are:

1) New Institutionalism
2) Governance
3) Power in Planning

The literature review outlines the broad theory behind New Institutionalism and the different approaches which have developed in this body of work. . These approaches include Rational Choice Institutionalism (RCI), Historical Institutionalism (HI) and Sociological Institutionalism (SI). Within this framework of New Institutionalism I explore how spatial ideas and concepts are tied to governance. These sets of literature will further be underpinned by elements of the Third Way Approach in planning which touches on elements of management and governance especially within the public sector. The public sector is the primary focus in the research and the Third Way Approach will assist in understanding management systems in the case study.

2.3.1 New Institutionalism

Institutionalism has become a familiar yet indefinable idea. The idea and study of institutionalism was 'revived' within the field of the social science discourse during the mid 1970s, early 1980s, when the focus turned to the analysis and study of institutions. However, the concept of institutionalism was not limited to the fields of sociology and economics but also moved into other fields of study, such as the science of politics and the study of international relations. The renewed interest in the topic of institutionalism saw a dramatic growth and output of literature on the topic during the 1980s. (Schmidt, 2006.)

However, prior to this resurgence, institutionalism, or rather old institutionalism, (up to and including the late 1960s), was known as other theories such as public administration theory within the United State of America and as administrative science in the European context (Thoenig, 2003). Selznick (1996) also refers to this focus in study as organisation studies and evaluates the 'so-called' differences between old and new institutionalism.

2.3.1.1　Old versus New Institutionalism

Many authors have asked the question of what is so new about New Institutionalism. Bell (undated) is one of the authors who ask this question together with authors such as Lowndes (1996) and Selznick (1996). Bell (undated) puts it quite simply. 'Old' Institutionalism was about describing formal institutions of government and the state and this was often done in terms of comparing institutions to one another. The practice of 'old' institutionalism had therefore lacked depth in explaining the various dimensions of institutions such as actors, their agency, norms, principles and the evolutions and changes within society and the administrative changes within the public administration domain (Thoenig, 2003).

'New' Institutionalism has come about and been developed on this weakness of 'old' institutionalism. But why then is there this renewed interest in institutionalism?

Bell (undated) has scrutinised various authors' work to find some answers to this question and has couched his findings in the discipline of political science. In short, these findings are summarised as follows:
   i.   The social science disciplines (political, social and economic) have become larger and more complex beings, therefore requiring a more in depth study of how they function within the contexts of institutions (March et al., 1984).
   ii.   Political analysis has taken a renewed interest in the state.
   iii.   Analysis of responses to economic challenges across the globe has revealed that institutional factors play a role in those responses.
   iv.   Public policy revisions worldwide have tended towards restructuring of institutions.

With the renewed interest in institutionalism, various forms of institutionalism have emerged from the various political science disciplines. These are known as rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism. New Institutionalism, in its three schools of thought, begins to show differences in terms of what is being studied and the analysis of institutions is based on different points of departure in terms of actors' roles within institutions.

In beginning to unpack the elements of new institutionalism and what their focal points are, one needs first to understand what is meant by the term "institution". According to Lowndes (1996, p182) and Bell (undated, 2) their dictionaries define institution as "established law, custom or practice". The Compact Oxford Dictionary defines an institution as "**1** an important organization or public body, such as a university, bank, hospital, or Church **2** an organization providing residential care for people with special needs **3** *an established law or custom* **4** informal a well-established and familiar person or thing **5** the action of instituting" (http://www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/institution?view=uk, cited 3 October 2009).

Some authors will further argue that there are fundamental differences between organisations and institutions, but as Bell (undated) expresses, analytically there are not such major differences between organisations and institutions. It is argued by some, as stated in Bell's writing, that organisations are 'products' of institutions as they are formal and influenced by wider orders or arrangements of institutions or interactions between institutions.

For the purposes of this research, the definition of institution will be accepted as 'established law, custom or practice' and no analytical distinction will be made between institutions and organisations.

Within institutions, one finds actors whose decisions are either shaped or influenced by the institutions in which they find themselves. Levi, quoted by Bell (undated, 2), states "that institutions both contain and create power". These authors are pointing to the influence institutions have on actors.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as described by Immergut (1998, p9), draws the following conclusions in his understanding of actors roles in institutions and institutions' influences on actors. Firstly "they constrain and corrupt human behaviour. Yet they provide the means of liberation from the

social bond." Secondly, as Immergut (1998, p9) states: "Just as men's preferences are products of particular social and institutional environments, so too do political decisions emerge from a particular set of institutional procedures that may shape or distort those decisions. Depending on how individual wills are polled for collective decisions, the final results may reflect the common good, or they may be distorted."

Rousseau's argument around aggregation is that individuals' wills are not enough to determine what is done in the public interest when all of these wills are to be put together. Other elements are also influential and he rather believes that procedures, especially within the political discourse and functions, lead to what is assumed to be the public interest. Immergut (1998) criticises this argument on the basis that his theory and 'formula' becomes undistinguished and indefinite. No clear method or procedure is described or developed in Rousseau's argument to get to the conclusion that political procedures determine the public interest. This, as Immergut (1998) mentions, points to the challenge of institutionalism in general, namely determining rules and procedures of institutions and also the individual's preferences.

This discussion establishes the basis of New Institutionalism, which is that the complexities surrounding and within institutions are now being studied and analysed. The various schools of thought each have a specific area of focus in terms of approaching an investigation, research and analysis of institutions. The three schools of thought, as Schmidt (2006, p1) states, have the commitment to put institutionalism back on the political agenda. Where the differences are that "they differ in their objects of explanation, whether the behaviour of rational actors for rational choice institutionalists, institutional structures and practices for historical institutionalist, or norms and culture for sociological institutionalists; and their logic of explanation, whether interest, path dependency, or appropriateness."

The next section will look at these the various schools of thought in New Institutionalism, namely Rational Choice, Historical and Sociological Institutionalism.

2.3.2.1 The Three Institutional Schools of Thought

Rational Choice Institutionalism

Rational Choice Institutionalism focuses on the analysis of institutions through a lens of interrogating rational actors' decisions and actions within an institution. Schmidt (1999, 2) describes Rational Choice Institutionalism's focus "on intentional, interest motivated action and seeks to make universal generalisations or predictions about what rational actors will do within a given set of institutions, seen as structures of incentives."

Schmidt (1999 & 2006), Bell (undated) and Awesti (2007) notes that Rational Choice Institutionalism is very deductive in nature, due to the methodology employed in its studies, and due to this characteristic, encapsulates a rather broad scope and range of reasons for actors'/subjects' actions within situations and institutions. Bell (undated, 5) explains this methodology as "explanations and working hypotheses (are) deduced from abstracted first principle assumptions about the motives and behaviour of actors".

It is therefore clear that this approach assumes that actors are rational and, in most instances, selfish within this analytical approach in order to maximise their self interest. Schmidt (1999 &

2006), Bell (undated) and Awesti (2007) explain that institutions are often created or formed by self interest motivated individuals and that institutions are more than likely to be reinvented or changed by these individuals over time to suit their changing self interest goals. This idea is well communicated by Checkel (cited in Awesti, 2007, 10) as follows: "...institutions are a structure actors run into [or create], go 'ouch' and then recalculate how, in the presence of the structure, to achieve their interests; they are an intervening variable".

Rational Choice Institutionalism has however not been spared of critique. Some of these critiques include the following: (Bell, undated)
- The methodology employed in this school of thought is problematic due to the deductive nature thereof and the fairly narrow investigation of actors, their motives and also the institutional context.
- The assumption by this school of thought that actors are purely self motivated and strive to realise their own interests is viewed as problematic and is viewed as a universal assumption.
- The method of investigation is not based on any empirical evidence, but merely on the above-mentioned universal assumption.

Hay and Wincott (1998, 952) are critical this school of thought as "despite its putative concern with individual choice, rational choice theory strips away all distinctive features of individuality, replacing political subjects with calculating automatons. Rather than accounting for the choices of a situated subject, it describes what any utility maximising chooser would do in a given situation. In this way, rational choice analysis moves from an apparently agent-centred individualism exhibited in choice, to a deep structuralism, simply [and too mechanically] deriving action from context."

This points to the fact that Rational Choice Institutionalism focuses too much on institutions and structures and focuses less on the actors, their motives and decisions, as this is assumed as being rational and predictable.

Historical Institutionalism

The particular focus of Historical Institutionalism is to trace the development of institutions/structures to their point of origin and also to assess the processes through which this development and change has occurred over time. The primary points of interest in the study of institutions in terms of Historical Institutionalism is the development sequence of the institution, the timing of developments and the identification of particular events which bring about change. Its focus is not only on the power forces which have structured the institutions, but the events which have shaped them over a period of time (Schmidt, 2006).

Bell (undated) states that the major departure point of analysis for historical institutionalism is that actors are subjects who are able to make decisions and are also interpretive. Actors would ideally ask the question of 'How should I respond to this situation (whatever it might be) given my assigned responsibilities and position within the institution?' This indicates awareness by actors to make choices but to make it in a 'constrained' environment in terms of what roles and responsibilities are assigned to actors.

Thoenig (2003) states that historical institutionalism tests a certain hypothesis, namely that policy choices of the past determine policy choices of the future and that current policy outcomes do not reflect the popular choices or interest of the strongest agents. Outcomes of policies are path dependant and minimally impacted upon by current situations and very much dependant on past trends. He further explains that politics and policies shape institutions.

Thoenig (2003) further emphasises that in terms of historical institutionalism, public institutions influence actors in two predominant ways. Firstly, predictability is offered for members and third parties in terms of decisions and outcomes of issues discussed. The second manner of influence is that they provide a set of protocol and set behaviours for members, which are ready for use in daily activity and decision-making processes.

The methodology employed in establishing what drives actors to make the decisions that they make, is based on empirical evidence. Therefore the methodology used is not deductive in nature, as it is with Rational Choice Institutionalism, but rather inductive, as it seeks deeper meanings and understandings of choices made by actors in constrained institutional environments.

Hall and Taylor (1996, p7) reviewed all the disciplines of institutionalism and concluded that Historical Institutionalism had four features, which made it distinctive from the other two approaches. These are:
- "The relationship between individuals/actors and institutions/structures are broadly conceptualised by historical institutionalists."
- "This approach to institutionalism focuses primarily on the asymmetries of power with the operation of institutions and also the development and changes which occurs."
- "This approach also focuses on path dependency and unintended consequences."
- "A major concern within this approach is to ensure integration of institutional analysis with contributing external factors such as political changes."

Awesti (2007) identifies three characteristics of Historical Institutionalism. Firstly he states that institutions shape actors' goals. Secondly, this school of thought believes that there is "thickening" or level of maturity that institutions reach over time. Lastly, Historical Institutionalism investigates power, in particular the role thereof, in both the institution's creation as well as the distribution thereof within the institution. The issue of power is discussed in a later section of this Chapter.

Aspinwall and Schneider (2000) and Bell (undated) however, show that there are actually a number of similarities between historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism. These two forms of institutionalism both identify institutions as being independent and that the actors functioning within these institutions are limited in their interaction by historical preferences and social settings. Therefore "actors are conditioned by the accumulation of procedures, rules and norms over time" (Aspinwall & Schneider, 2000, p6).

Historical Institutionalism is therefore concerned with issues of power, particularly how they shape institutions and also how power is distributed in institutions. This form of Institutionalism is interested in how institutions have come about and how they have changed throughout their lifespan. The methodology employed by this school of thought is based on empirical evidence, which attempts to eliminate assumptions leading to deductive conclusions but rather come up with

deductive answers to investigations. Actors are further seen as subjects who can decide for themselves which would be the best decisions within institutions and the constraints these pose.

Sociological Institutionalism

This approach to institutionalism stems largely from work done within the discipline of sociology. This approach has its roots in the late 1970s and early 1980s and was predominant in the political science arena as studied and advocated by March and Olsen (Schmidt, 1999 & 2006; Berglund, 2005). According to Thoenig (2003), the first recorded work similar to that of Sociological Institutionalism was done by Selznick in 1948/9 when he studied the Tennessee Valley Authority. The study's findings, at that stage, defined the public organisation as a community, which was not deliberately formed to achieve any specific outcomes or goals.

March and Olsen developed their work around the critique of "the lack of attention to institutions in contemporary political science, and the conception of politics as the sum of individual behaviour" (Berglund, 2005, no page numbers). They further argue that the majority of political actors base political science on the "logic of consequentialism". March and Olsen argue that the "logic of appropriateness" should be considered, as within this logic, actors behave and respond to situations according to their specific interpretation of that situation and also assess the role, which they would and should play. The actor therefore has to decide what the most appropriate action is to take, according to what is expected of him/her and has to place all personal feelings and preferences aside. Sociological Institutionalism therefore focuses on cognitive and culturally embedded features within case studies, (elements, which are usually present in a society, which inform acceptable behaviour and in turn decisions), therefore probing some of the issues raised above.

Institutions are seen as important independent variables within Sociological Institutionalism and, as Aspinwall and Schneider (2000, p9) show through the work of DiMaggio and Powell, "institutions actually establish the criteria by which people discover their preferences". What we see through this example, as given by them, is that agents are bound by their structure and we find that actors do not move between institutions, as they prefer to remain aligned to that which they are bound [the structure], namely the institution. What they derive from their findings is that within Sociological Institutionalism, the terms "culture" and "institution" can almost be used synonymously or interchangeably.

When comparing Sociological Institutionalism with Rational Choice Institutionalism, one sees that these two approaches are contradictory. A Rational Institutionalist has the view that actors/subjects are driven by self-interest and may possibly only be influenced by culture, norms, standards and identity to a limited degree. Sociological Institutionalists believe that these above-mentioned notions shape actors' decisions. Aspinwall & Schneider (2000) concur with this statement by explaining that actors' preferences are formed from within and these preferences are based strongly on path dependent factors. This is closely related to Historical Institutionalism where the past decisions predict the future decisions.

The Rational Choice approach is also very general in practise in comparison to Sociological Institutionalism's very specific area of focus. Sociological Institutionalism is also better equipped to shed light on events from which a Historical Institutional explanation can be formed, due to the

contextual understanding from the Sociological Institutionalist's work. (Schmidt, 1999 & 2006; Hay & Wincott, 1998; Aspinwall & Schneider, 2000).

Sociological Institutionalism is, however, not without any challenges. This approach is often marked as being too specific in its studies and can focus too much on one specific culture rather than various cultures. In most instances, a general understanding across cultures is not gained by this approach. What such an approach does add and, for this reason is shown to have a clear advantage, is that through the inductive processes, insight is clearly gained into the individual's realm, which gives reasons for choices made and actions executed. The context of the individual informs the decision and this aspect can be used by Historical Institutionalists to understand change and institutional construction over a period of time. Inefficiencies of institutions can also be highlighted through this approach, as the approach places emphasis on processes, the understanding thereof and how this shapes institutions. This is something Rational Choice Institutionalism fails to do. (Schmidt, 1999 & 2006; Hay & Wincott, 1998; Hall & Taylor, 1996).

The approach Sociological Institutionalism, as previously mentioned, is culturally deterministic in comparison to the other approaches. The culture and influences of actors are investigated to understand the actions and decisions of these actors and, as previously stated, culture can be interchanged with institution. Change over time is also not always taken into account in this approach; however, it may enlighten or point to changes over time. (Schmidt, 1999 & 2006; Awesti, 2007; Bell, undated.)

From this body of literature, known as New Institutionalism, it is noted that 'old' Institutionalism is not redundant, but has simply been built upon. The move from describing and comparing institutions to investigating the associated complexities within and around institutions has not been a simple one. Moving toward understanding the complexities within institutions, a number of different approaches have been developed within New Institutionalism.

Figure 2.3 below highlights the elements, which distinguish the three different approaches.
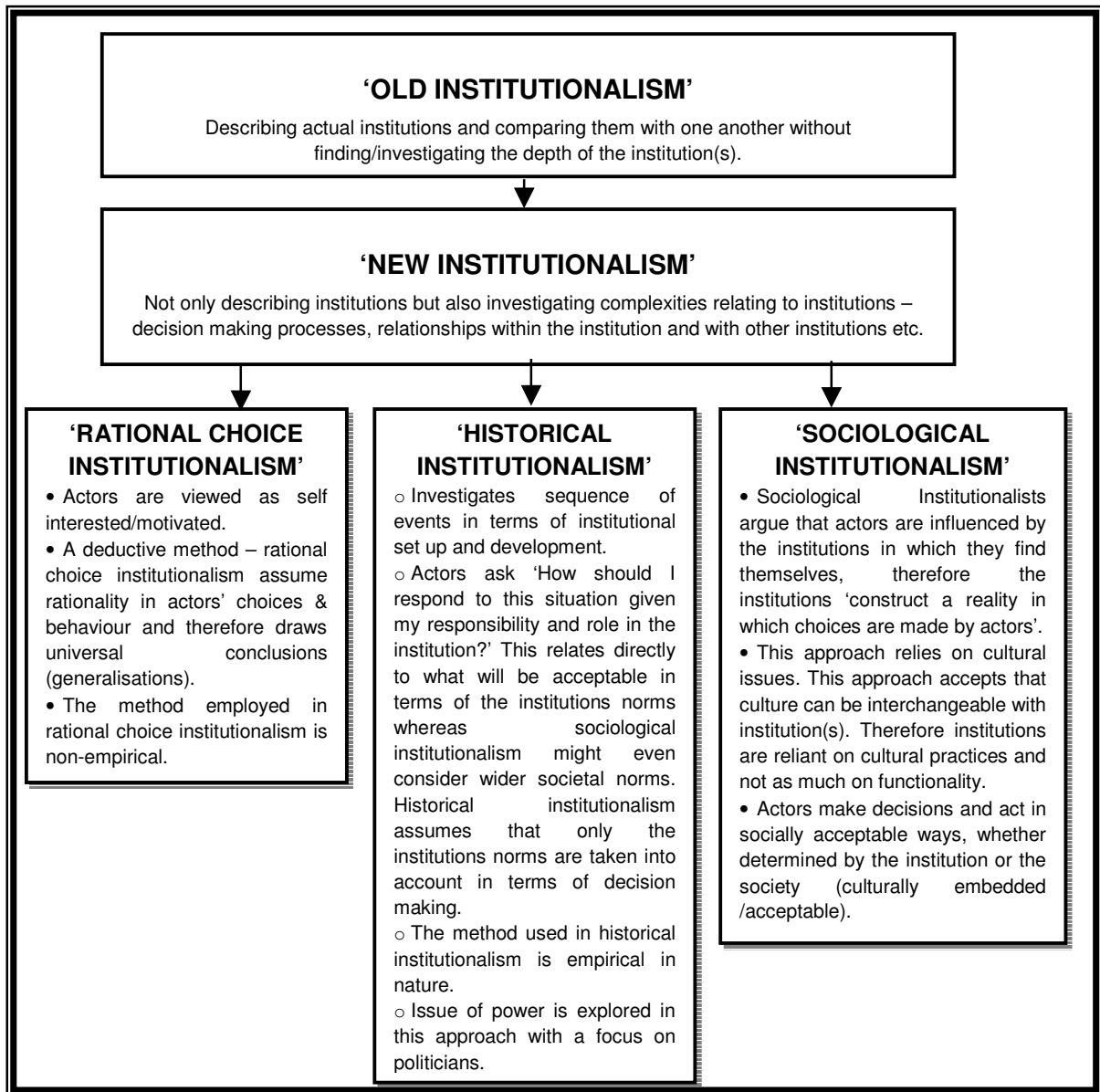
Figure 2.3. Elements of Institutionalism

The above Institutionalism lenses begin to indicate the possible conceptual framework elements, which could be used in this research. The preliminary list of Institutionalism elements and the particular focus areas are as follows:

- Describing institutions (Historical Institutionalism)
  - Describing the relationships between individuals in the case study institution and understanding the make-up of the institution. This will assist in understanding/unpacking some power dynamics in the institution.
  - Investigate the sequence of events leading to the formation and development of an institution (Historical Institutionalism).What events lead to the formation

of the case study institution? Trace the development and changes of the institution (chronologically), therefore looking at the history of the institution. This element is anticipated to assist in understanding wider influencing factors on institutional development, especially within the case study and how these institutional changes, and events leading to these, have impacted on Strategic Spatial Planning and the decision making processes thereof within the institution. This links to elements of sociological institutionalism as it widens the investigate lens in determining factors of influence within a wider context.

- o The sequence of events might further illustrate power relationships outside of the case study institution which impact on decisions within the case study institution (i.e. Provincial vs. Local Government). This relates to the next point.
- Investigate issues of power [power is discussed and defined in Section 2.3.4] (Historical Institutionalism).
  - o Investigate issues of power (who has power in which position) within the institution, relating back to the institutional make-up and how this relates to decision making processes within the institution. It is anticipated that power dynamics will influence decisions.
- Investigate actors' choices in decision making and the influencing factors on those choices (Sociological Institutionalism).
  - o Does the element of culture (whether societal or institutional) influence decisions made in the adoption or choice of Strategic Spatial Planning concepts. If so, how does this element of culture influence decisions?
  - o Are there norms and standards set in place to assist with decision making or are decisions made purely on the merit of a concept?
  - o Does the identity of an actor within an institution influence the decision that will be made? This will probe whether individuals have power in, or influence over, decision making processes.
  - o By using the lens of probing individuals and what influences their decisions, clues could be gained to what the culture of an institution is and also some historical background on why certain aspect in an individual's mind might influence the decisions made. This links back to the identification of historical events, as history predicts future action.
  - o Further, by focusing on the individual, one obtains a different perspective of processes and whether institutional inefficiencies are highlighted and if so, one can probe whether or not the individual has power to change or influence change within the institution.
- Investigate cultural practises (common practises in society/the institution) as part of influencing factors (Sociological Institutionalism).
  - o This relates to the point above and will be probed as an influencing factor.

2.3.2 Governance

As with Institutionalism, the concept of Governance is not new. It has merely regained momentum and has become an area of focus and importance, especially in the global north and particularly in Europe. The complexity of organisational forms has become a real issue in terms of the scale at

which these organisations operate, such as the European Union, where organisations begin to cross borders and areas of jurisdiction. The United States of America has also invested in the development and research of governance models. The idea of Governance within these contexts is related to networks of organisations, which extend past the state (Harrison et al., 2008).

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [UNESCAP] (www.unescap.org) state that Governance means "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)". UNESCAP further states that Governance focuses on both the formal and informal actors within the decision making process as well as the actors and structures in place for the implementation of the respective decisions. The actors within the decision making processes are more than often placed within two distinctive groups, one being the government or the state and the other being civil society (including Non Governmental Organisations, media, business, donors and corporations).

As with New Institutionalism, Governance is a concept which receives a great deal of attention, but does not lend itself to clean cut definitions and understandings. Kjaer (2004) shows this inconsistency in understanding by quoting some definitions. Jreisat (2002) concurs with this and lists that there are three issues that Governance usually concerns itself with, namely, (i) how and why governments are structured; (ii) what processes they employ in governing and (iii) what results they are able to achieve.

It is important to note that the concept of Governance is also used within a range of different sectors and contexts. Some of these include corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance.

The late 1990s saw an increasing interest in Governance in the global South and planning, as a practise, supported the ideas associated with governance. However, caution was given as good governance in the global South's organisational structures hinged too much on elements of new public management as most funding for organisations in the South were regulated by world organisations such as the World Bank. The conditions imposed on organisations are linked to performance-based outcomes and therefore Governance took on a slant of performance-based practice as discussed in the next section under the Third Way Approach (Harrison et al., 2008). These forms of Governance are discussed later in this section.

Kjaer (2004) provides a historical background to Governance and dates it back as far as mid-fourteenth century paintings by Lorenzetti, depicting good governance and bad governance. The paintings were known as the Allegory of Good Government, Bad Government and the Effects of Bad Government in the City, and Effects of Good Government in the City and in the Country.

Salet, Thornley and Kreukels. (2003, p9) quote from Gualini (2001) and defines Governance as "... – in general terms – a notion that deals with the reframing of both formal and working relationships between ideal types of social order in realising governing effects."

Governance has taken on a multitude of meanings and interpretations as is listed below: (Salet et al 2003, p9).
- "Governance as a concept for the analysis of state action (governance as a form of social self regulation instead of hierarchical government)."

- "Governance as a concept for the analysis of societal capacities 'beyond' government (no more dualism between state and market but direct interaction – bargaining, negotiation, enabling, facilitation, mediating, entrepreneurial policies)."
- "Governance as a concept for the analysis of the social order of economic systems (social and institutional embeddedness of economic systems)."

"At the most general level governance refers to the strategies, tactics, procedures and processes deployed in order to control, shape, regulate or exercise authority over others at a variety of scales ranging from the micro to the macro level" (University of Glasgow, 2009).

Kjaer (2004, p3) further explains that during the 1980s, the understanding shifted to include non-governmental actors, which included civil society. Definitions of Governance now point to a wider spectrum of actors who have an 'authoritative allocation of values'. She states this as the "... focus on the role of networks in the pursuit of common goals; these networks can be intergovernmental or inter-organisational (...); they could be transnational (...) or they could be networks of trust and reciprocity crossing the state society divide" (p3 – 4).

UNESCAP has aimed at finding characteristics, which inform governance in order to elevate governance to good governance. The characteristics of good governance are focused on positive actor participation and processes.
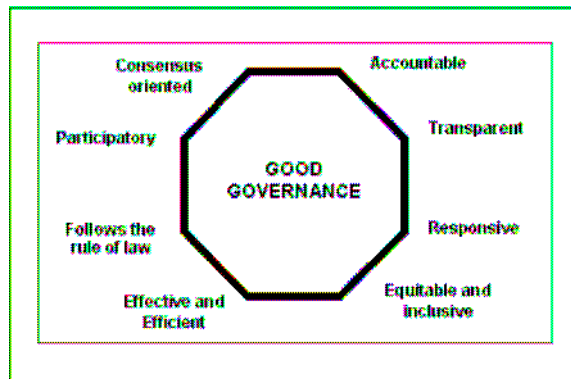
Figure 2.4. Characteristics of Good Governance (UNESCAP, www.unescap.org)

The above characteristics are the ideals Governance should strive for to make it as effective as possible. These characteristics are usually applied to a very broad governance spectrum and to the relationships between a range of stakeholders. The case study, however, only looks at a very small fraction of what Governance entails. Governance in the case study only looks at the relationships between government institutions and the various role players within those institutions. Therefore, it would be difficult to assess the full extent of the characteristics in Figure 2.4 in the case study. The characteristics will, however, not be ignored in their entirety, but will be limited in scope due to the limited relationships which are being investigated to determine some of the influences on Strategic Spatial Planning, the understanding and practising thereof. One of the principles the case study institution promotes is good governance, therefore governance cannot be dismissed as an element of analysis.

The good governance characteristics are therefore only to be applied in a limited manner to the relationships and decision making processes being investigated between the various spheres of government involved in this research. The chosen characteristics are therefore transparency, accountability and following the rule of law. Participation comes into this research as a form of dialogue between the institutions and is not considered for the purposes of this research as public participation between a wider variety of stakeholders.

The basis of governance and how it is understood in this research, is the relationships between various stakeholders and decision makers within an institution as well as between various institutions. Therefore, in terms of this research, elements of governance will inform decision making process, the actors within those decision making processes and also what form the decision making processes take. This will be looked at within and between the identified institutions. This means an assessment of how governance in the South African context, and in particular the case study, has influenced decision making processes (within and amongst institutions) in Strategic Spatial Planning and also of whether this might have an influence on what concepts are employed in the case study. Elements of governance to inform the research will include:

- What are the processes of decision making within an institution – the case study - and also the processes of how these decisions are implemented? Also who are the actors involved in this decision making, relating back to elements of new institutionalism?
- Relating to the actors in Governance (and New Institutionalism) – are these decision making or influencing actors within and/or outside of the institution in which decisions are made? An element of good governance is participation, defined in the research as dialogue between the institutions in the research, and this will assess whether decisions that are taken have been discussed and shared to determine whether a correlation can be drawn between understanding and practicing Strategic Spatial Planning.
- An element of Governance, which influences the institutional part of this study once again, is how and why governments are structured and this will relate to the case study. This in turn is related to understanding that the way institutions operate and the Strategic Spatial Planning concepts they employ, is influenced by their history.
- In terms of good governance, the elements shown in Figure 2.4 will be looked at in the research case study to determine whether or not good governance informs decision making processes relating to Strategic Spatial Planning. In analysing the influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and the adoption of concepts in the case study institution, good governance elements, such as participation (dialogue), the rule of law (processes) relating to transparent practice and the following of due process in decision making processes.

The next section looks at various forms of Governance extracted from European examples. These examples illustrate Governance at national levels. However, some of the concepts behind the types of Governance are of importance to this research. These types of Governance are discussed to extract these concepts to assist in understanding part of the case study's context, which includes and is influenced by governance. After the descriptions of the various types of Governance, the elements of Governance will be extracted, discussed and placed within the context of the research.

Four main forms of Governance have been identified, mainly within the European context. The modes of Governance include (1) Hierarchical Governance, (2) Governance by Negotiation, (3) Facilitated Unilateralism and (4) Multi Level Governance.

1) HIERARCHICAL GOVERNANCE

Bulmer and Padgett (2004) characterise this form of Governance by the high levels of institutionalisation[1]. Governance by hierarchy points to organisations' [government or institutions] highest levels (i.e. management) with a focus on policy, agendas, rules and regulation. A dense set of rules applies within this form of governance, which is applicable to all levels within the organisation.

Within this form of governance, policy transfer, in essence, occurs in a vertical manner by means of the application of rules or institutional arrangements from a higher authoritative body to lower levels of governance. This is commonly enforced or done in the EU through legislation by any one of the following ways:

- Coercion (or delegation of authority and/or power)
- Secondary legislation which is negotiated between EU member states and then adopted by EU member states
- Financial conditionality

Within this form of Governance and even the methods of policy transfer, a top-down approach is used.

2) GOVERNANCE BY NEGOTIATION

"Governance by negotiation is the process by which common rules and norms are agreed by the member states and adopted by the European Union. The requirement of common or majority consent means that the adoption of rules necessarily entails negotiation to accommodate diverse actor preferences. Under this form of governance, transfer takes the form of the 'uploading' to EU level of policy models or ideas drawn from one or more member state(s)" (Bulmer & Padgett, 2004, p109).

Within this form of governance, self interested parties will push their agendas to be adopted making adoption of polices easier in their own contexts. Further, two institutional variables are to be considered, namely decision rules as well as modes of negotiation. Decision rules are associated with qualified majority voting and modes of negotiation are mostly associated with bargaining and/or problem solving (Bulmer & Padgett, 2004).

3) FACILITATED UNILATERALISM

In terms of facilitated unilateralism, power and sovereignty is kept within national authorities. However, interaction occurs between national authorities which is mediated and facilitated by an 'external body'. An example of this may be the European Union facilitating such interaction between various member states of the EU. No policy enforcement measures are put on any participants. It is rather an exchange of experience and this form of governance "employs soft or

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[1] Three interrelated dimensions namely rules, the supranational institutions producing, executing and interpreting and transnational society (Bulmer & Padgett, 2004, p107)

flexible rules to persuade member states to reassess policy practices" (Bulmer & Padgett, 2004, p110). In Stone's (2001) terms a process of diffusion occurs.

Bulmer and Padgett (2004) tested their understandings of these three different forms of governance. Their first primary findings, relevant to this research, were that policy transfer was more likely to occur in more institutionalised circumstances. The two modes of governance, which yielded greater policy transfer successes, were those of Governance by Negotiation and Hierarchical Governance.

In terms of governance by negotiation and policy transfer, it was found that the method of negotiation used yielded various policy transfer results. The best outcomes of policy transfer were linked to problem solving methods. Strong coercion methods also yielded stronger policy transfer. It was further found that financial conditionality has great potential effects on the transference of policy, especially where procedures are used, although no substantive evidence was found for this type of transference. Facilitated unilateralism showed the weakest forms of policy transfer.

"Above all our analysis of EU policy transfer has shown how transfer processes and outcomes are institution-dependent, underlining the importance of attention to institutional context in policy transfer research. Particular attention needs to be paid to the institutions that define the relationship between policy 'lender' and 'borrower'" (Bulmer & Padgett, 2004, p125).

4) MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE

Multi-Level Governance has emerged as a response to the state-centric, intergovernmentalist theory of the European Union which existed in the 1960s. The major argument on which Multi-Level Governance is premised is that no one actor has all competencies to fulfil all required roles, especially in terms of decision making. The European example shows that not one single member state or level of European governance can fulfil its duties/decision making but that various levels of government needs to be involved in such processes (Awesti, 2007; Marks et al, 1996; Hooghe & Marks, 2003).

Multi-Level Governance requires the adequate participation of both government and non-government participants, therefore forming public-private partnerships. Awesti (2007) states that this does not necessarily indicate that the government sector does not have powers in terms of decision making but that it just does not 'monopolise' an area in terms of decision making processes.

Multi-Level Governance is also not viewed as being hierarchical in nature but rather focuses on levels of institutions being mutually dependant on each other and that compromised solutions which satisfy all participants in a decision making process is formulated. This approach further removes focus from understanding the historical aspects of decisions to a more complex level of understanding decision making at sub-systemic levels. This approach of studying and understanding these more complex aspects of decision making leads to findings that all actors will not be involved in all decision making processes as agendas shift across policy areas. The competencies of the actors therefore have an impact on the policy topic and the influence on policy.

The elements identified from these four Governance types are shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Governance Lenses – Stakeholder/Decision Making Relationship Clues

Governance Type	Elements	Research Lens
Hierarchical Governance	• Policy transfer occurs in vertical manner • Dense set of rules apply which is shifted onto other levels of government • Top down approach of decision making	This table provides the main elements identified in the different governance types. These elements will be used to assess the type of governance practices employed in the case study and also those practices within the context of the case study to understand how decisions are being made. All of the extracted elements might not be of use in this research but it will be considered against the case study findings to determine whether governance (a) has an effect on decision making in terms of spatial policy and spatial concepts and (b) on what type of governance practices the South African context employs in terms of spatial policy formulation.
Governance by Negotiation	• Negotiation between different institutions/government – taken from a EU perspective between member states • Self interested parties push own agendas • Majority voting can occur or bargaining/problem solving may be employed in this governance type	
Facilitated Unilateralism	• Sharing of information/experience occurs • Facilitator employed • No rules/policy enforcement exists between parties	
Multi Level Governance	• Various level of government are involved in decision making and also in fulfilling different mandates and roles • Mutually dependant model of governance • Decision making is not monopolised by one actor	

Governance in terms of the research therefore includes:
- The decision making process and the relationships that are found within those decision making processes. Therefore, an important element of governance to understand in the research is the relationship between decision makers and/or stakeholders.
- The form the decision making process takes, ie. are decisions negotiated and compromised; are they forced from higher levels of government (hierarchical); or are decisions taken by means of the mandates and roles the various role players fulfill. Table 2.2 will be referred to in order to understand what form Governance takes.
- The assessment of the decision making processes will be examined in terms of the chosen characteristics of good Governance and the particular characteristics of concerns to this research, which includes (i) following the rule of the law, (ii) transparency, (iii) participatory (dialogue) and (iv) accountability. These characteristics are understood as follows in terms of this research and will assist in assessing the decision making processes in spatial policy.
    - o (i)Following the rule of the law: A set procedure is to be followed in decision making processes.
    - o (ii)Transparency: The procedure mentioned in (i) above, should be open and transparent for stakeholders identified in the research to engage in, understand the decision making process and question decisions made, based on all available information.
    - o (iii)Participatory: The procedure in (i) above, should encourage identified stakeholders/decision makers to participate openly and freely in decision making processes.

- o (iv)Accountability: The procedure of decision making should hold decision makers responsible for their decisions and should provide opportunity for questioning/feedback where uncertainty is experienced.

2.3.2.1 Brief Overview of Governance Thoughts in South Africa

In this research, Governance in is based on a practical account of how Governance is practiced through decision making processes. Governance in South Africa is measured, in particular, through the assessment of municipalities' performance against a set of Governance indicators, as outlined by the SA Cities Network. This will be looked at later in this section.

First, mention needs to be made of the academic literature on Governance in South Africa. In Harrison et al (2003 & 2008) and Tomlinson et al (2003) the following issues and concepts were found. There are limited writings of how Governance is perceived or understood in general, as most of the examples of Governance in articles are used within case studies or examples of Governance in a particular context.

Heller (2003) makes mention of Governance in his account of understanding 'civics and politics in a post transition Johannesburg'. The account given by Heller describes events and points in history where civic movements were moving closer and becoming more involved in the governance of Johannesburg. It also describes the move towards deepening democracy in the South African state. As Heller describes, apartheid politics excluded civic organisations from decision making processes and therefore public institutions ran the day to day activities in the urban domain in isolation from residents. Democracy brought with it opportunities of influence on political decisions and daily activities from organisations outside of the formal government structures, which are based on elected politicians of political parties.

Heller (2003, p177) states the following after his account of the occurrences in post apartheid South Africa: "Governance, not democracy, is the challenge, and the role of civil society organisations is to provide support to the government's transformation project. Delivery, not deliberation, is the order of the day". This statement illustrates that there are relationships to be formed in the functioning of cities and the country and that support between organisations, movements or stakeholders is necessary for that functioning to occur.

Watson (2003) refers to the idea of Governance in describing and analysing her case study of Metropolitan Cape Town. "As 'governance' around the world has become increasingly complex, increasingly specialised, and increasingly open to conflicting demands, there has been a growing interest in the problem of achieving intersectoral integration, particularly within local administrations" (Watson, 2003, p149). Governance is looked at in this case study of Cape Town as part of integration, story lines (built on the ideas of Harre) and power. The premise of Harre's idea of story lines, as discussed by Watson (2003), is that different actors develop their own story line, which is based on discursive orders and in drawing on various discursive orders, meaning is given to specific phenomena. Hajer, in Watson (2003), builds on a Foucauldian idea of discourse where he describes that discourses are bodies of statements and practices, which are organised and governed by rules which make those particular statements and practices true or acceptable. Hajer then takes Harre's idea of story lines and incorporates this with his Foucauldian ideas and states that similar story lines (by various actors) bring together coalitions, which contribute to a

reality or a truth. Hajer further states that these various story lines are the vehicles for exercising power. (This will be explored later in this section.)

The story line idea relates back to the relationships between actors with similar or dissimilar story lines and how they come together to achieve successful integration.

Harrison et al (2008) loosely give an account of planning in South Africa in which they place local governance. The account points to relationships between spheres of government, intergovernmental planning systems, and also relationships which stretch between formal authorities (ie. government) and other forms of authorities, such as traditional leaders. Mention is also made of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) which brings sectoral plans under one umbrella for the management of a local authority as a whole. Integration is an important element in their account, as well as in other mentioned authors' accounts, of Governance.

The South African academic literature is limited in terms of expanding and providing definitions, but relates to relationships between role players and stakeholders. As mentioned in Section 2.3.2, for the purpose of this research, Governance is examined in terms of the relationships between various stakeholders and decision makers.

The practical side of Governance is also looked at in the South African context and this is done through the South African Cities Network (SACN).

The (SACN) monitors and assesses member cities of the network around the country in terms of five characteristics, namely (i) Productive City, (ii) Inclusive City, (iii) Sustainable City, (iv) Well-Governed City and (v) Urban Population.

With the publication of the 2004 SACN Report, the governance challenges of the cities in South Africa were highlighted. These challenges were that cities generally had a weak policy where conflicts between communities and local governments occur, poor public participation was experienced, civil unrest within and between communities was witnessed and increased levels of crime and violence occurred in communities. The weak institutions of government was also seen as a challenge, as will be explored in Chapters 3 and 4, where local authorities were "poorly structured, under-capacitated and inefficient" (SACN, 2004, p16).

The definition provided of what constitutes a well governed city is expressed as follows in this 2004 report: "The effectiveness and efficiency of local government, on its own account and in association with other powerful urban actors, is therefore becoming more and more important. A city where the political and institutional context is stable and dynamic enough to give everyone the security that varied interests can be formally expressed, accommodated and managed is a 'well-governed city'" (SACN, 2004, p16).

"To understand if cities are being governed well, it is important to have a picture of how the key sectors in cities – government, business and the community – relate to one another within the current legislative and policy framework. This helps to establish key indicators that can be used to measure effective governance. Unfortunately there is very little data to describe the well-governed city" (SACN, 2006, p3-52).

By 2006, the context had been clearly set and the SACN attempted to measure well governed cities, but, in their own words, this is a challenging task. The complexity of relationships between stakeholders had also started to emerge and the report captures this diagrammatically, as illustrated in Figure 2.5.
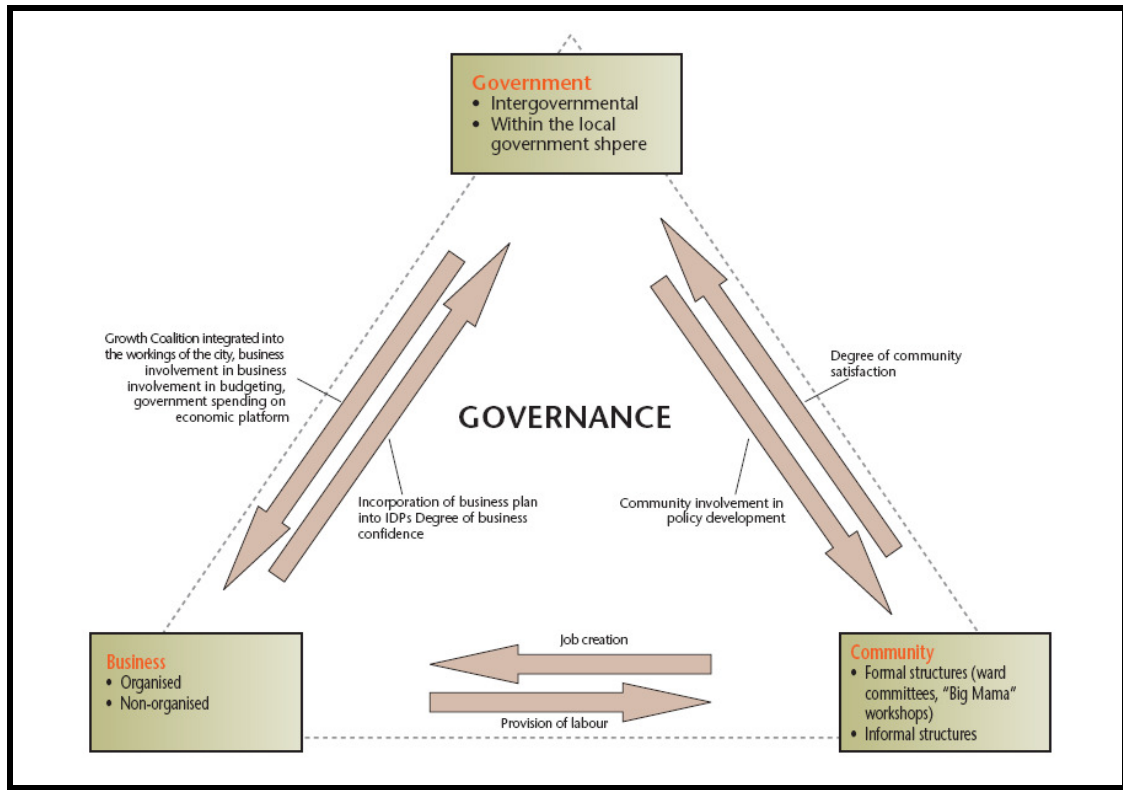
Figure 2.5. Governance (SACN, 2006, p3-52)

Figure 2.5 illustrates the complex nature of governance between government, business and the community and the various structures involved in each of these groups. It illustrates that all three of the groups are connected to each other and that a move away from that which was always known as state centred action is dissipated into these complex relationships. However, the research is not concerned with understanding this intricate relationship but rather focuses on the "Government" element of the diagram. Therefore, the understanding of Governance in this research is rather narrow, but Figure 2.5 merely places it in a context which would normally be considered as a full spectrum of how Governance is understood.

These relationships have implications for the role of local government. As stated in the report, "The shift to effective local governance 'involves a variety of local agents in the sharing of power, with municipal government having a co-ordinating rather than a monopolistic and controlling role'" (SACN, 2006, p3-52).

Governance is monitored and assessed, by the SACN, with non-quantitative indicators. These indicators include whether a City Manager has been dismissed or suspended, if Financial Audits show irregularities or are provided with disclaimers or are qualified audits, budget expenditure on basic infrastructure, revenue collection versus expenditure is used to look at governance and the

relationships are monitored and assessed between government, communities and business. As stated in the report, data on measuring Governance is limited, but there are some indicators of the levels of Governance in local government.

The research is not concerned with budgets, expenditure or revenue collection, but is more concerned with the relationship aspects of Governance in a limited manner, by understanding the dialogue and relationships between the case study institution and other identified role players.

2.3.3 Third Way Approach

The Third Way Approach of planning emerged during the 1990s as neo-liberals in the political arena were defeated during elections. Clinton (USA), Blair (UK) and Shroder (Germany) became the leaders of their respective countries and brought with them a new wave of leadership and approaches thereof. The Third Way is seen as a different approach to that of neo-liberalism, which was dominant during the 1980s. This approach attempts to integrate neo-liberal principles with that of social justice aims within a state. To better understand this approach, Harrison (2005) outlines some broad and common characteristics:

- Pragmatic Managerialism: Managerial concepts are introduced and used within the public sector as it is seen to be more efficient in terms of public sector management. Concepts linked to this are that of performance management as well as private sector ideologies in terms of management strategies.
- Decentralised centralism: This can be seen as a form of privatisation where some state functions are devolved to private agencies but the state keeps control of central finances and policy formulation in terms of a central function.
- Integrated/Joined-up Government: Government is in partnership with private agencies as well as focusing on internal government structures (SA's three spheres of government).

The Third Way approach and the characteristics referred to above [or referred by some as the New Public Management approach (Harrison et al., 2008)] relates to issues of Governance. Relationships between spheres of government and other stakeholders are important as this relates to bullet point three above. Further, bullet point one relates back to the elements of transparency and following the rule of the law in Governance. The institutional decentralisation relates to institutional forms, which are related to the case study and the South African context.

In broad terms, positive aspects can be identified from this type of approach to public sector governance and performance. This includes efficiency in service delivery that could be enhanced if privatisation occurs. However, this could also mean that jobs in the public sector might be lost. In terms of managerialism in the public sector, one could argue that public sector efficiency would be greater, especially in terms of performance management. This could drive development to greater heights, although this could also undermine important aspects of democracy in terms of communicative planning. As this public participation approach might be time consuming, planners and officials might ignore participation as it will hamper performance and could lead to dismissal on their part. However, this may be positive as it will force action to be taken and development to proceed. In terms of Integrated/Joined Up governments, issues could be a lack of co-ordination in terms of functions and multiplicity in terms of government functions, which could all lead to over expenditure in government, and time wasted due to duplicated functions. In this case, great measures have to be taken in terms of clear co-ordination and communication between departments and partnerships (Harrison, 2005).

Governance links to the Third Way Approach in that governments in the global South tend to employ elements of this approach, especially performance based outcomes and performance based practices. Within the case study, the City of Johannesburg, a performance based system is in place, which is based on a score card system. However, this is not investigated in this research. The element of Integrated/Joined Up government is probed to determine the influences of relationships of the understanding and practicing of Strategic Spatial Planning.

2.3.4 Exploring Issues of Power

In thinking about power and its relation to planning, one almost always thinks of Michael Foucault. Michael Foucault's work is complex at the very least and will not be drawn on directly in this section. However, reference will be made to some of his work through exploring the concept of power and how it has been applied to planning.

Habermas has attempted to encapsulate the understanding and role of power in Communicative Planning. Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002) state that the understanding Habermas promotes is unrealistic and not in touch with the real planning world but works positively in theory.

Habermas's approach is one where communication between parties is placed in an ideal world where consensus is always reached and the negative perceptions of power are always removed. Habermas promotes the following elements in terms of communicative planning in reaching rational outcomes (Flyvbjerg, 2001):

1. No individual or group affected should be excluded from the discussion;
2. All participants should have an equal opportunity to present and criticise claims;
3. Participants should be objective to others perspectives;
4. The manifestation of power difference must be neutralised to limit the negative effects on consensus-building initiatives; and
5. Transparency of intentions and outcomes to cease strategic action.

This Habermasian view and approach above is perceived as being unrealistic as power cannot be removed from planning processes in the real world. Power is almost always viewed as a negative element within planning and procedures within it. Habermas' understanding of power in planning is based on utopian ideals (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002).

Flyvbjerg & Richardson (2002, p6) state that a researcher should ask the following questions in terms of understanding power within planning:

1. "... how communication takes place, and how politics, planning and democracy operate?"
2. "Is communication characterised by consensus-seeking and absence of power?"
3. "Or is communication the exercise of power and rhetoric?"
4. "How do consensus-seeking and rhetoric, freedom from domination and exercise of power, eventually come together in individual acts of communication?"

The questions above were formulated to assess whether power could be distinguished from rationality within communicative practices, as Habermas clearly separate these two elements.

However, this research is not concerned with this particular body of theory but rather with that which has been developed in response to this stance.

Habermas' theory on communicative planning has been applied widely to work of other academics and authors. These include John Forester, Patsy Healey and Judith Innes (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Even though planning theory has embraced some of Foucault's work in contrast to that of Habermas' understanding of power, it has been limited and poorly developed. Theorists attempt to remove the negative aspects of power which undermines findings in research in the end.

Foucault's theories, according to Flyvbjerg (1998 & 2002), provide an alternative to understanding planning and power relations. They show that a power-sensitised method should be employed in understanding planning processes and in this, knowledge, rationality, spatiality and inclusivity in planning should be concentrated on. What needs to be remembered is that, according to Foucault's work, knowledge is produced by discourse[2] where power, knowledge and truth are all interrelated. Put in simple terms, Foucault argues that power is knowledge and knowledge is power (Maeder, undated; McHoul & Grace, 1993; Smart, 1985; Fillingham, 1993).

McHoul & Grace (1993) mention that Foucault was concerned with the "softer", more social side of how truth and knowledge was created rather than through conventional ways, namely scientific methods and studies. This makes studying and understanding 'truth, discourse and power' challenging as it is difficult to control and is subject to change without notice or warning.

Flyvbjerg has built and developed his understanding on elements of Foucault in response to Habermas and the extensive reliance on rationality in planning. Rationality in planning has, in many case studies, been linked to power in planning. This section attempts to analyse what power is and how it has been used and applied in planning. Flyvbjerg (2001), in Faludi and van der Valk (2001, p272) state that *"Rational decision making is the foundation on which Western Democracy rests".* Flyvbjerg further states that "*rationality derives from the Enlightenment idea that knowledge is power".* Flyvbjerg (2001) has further stated that rationality is relied on too much in planning and that planning places too much faith in rationality.

In this research, Rationality is understood, in simplistic terms, to be a method of gathering as much data as possible in a systematic manner over extensive periods of time. Based on the extensive data which has been gathered, a calculated and informed decision is made, based on the knowledge that the data provides. The decisions are made on which actions will maximise the expected and anticipated outcomes of the decision.

In Flyvbjerg's book, Rationality and Power, the ideas of rationality and power are explored in terms of a case study of transport planning in Aalborg. This case study showed some of the following findings:

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[2] "Among critical discourse theorists such as Foucault, the term 'discourse' refers not to language or social interaction but to relatively well-bounded areas of social knowledge" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p31)

1) The greater the concentration of power, the less inclined powerful interests is to engage in rational argument.
2) Stable power relations are more characteristic of politics and public administration than is open conflict.
3) Power relations are constantly being recreated and reaffirmed and the balance of power is not constant over long periods of time.
(Faludi and van der Valk, 2001, p274)

Flyvbjerg (2001) states that "rationality is the tool of last resort for those who lack power" (Peattie, 2001, p257). Flyvbjerg also stated in earlier work of his that power was directly linked to knowledge or knowing, moving towards Foucault's understanding of the subject. Flyvbjerg therefore dismissed that rationality on its own can satisfy decisions made in planning and reiterated that power and other influences will always have an impact on decisions (Faludi and van der Valk, 2001; Peattie, 2001; Forester, 2001).

Forester (2001) states that power has a context and occurs in context and is closely related to knowledge and the sharing of knowledge. He articulates it as follows: "In a political world, surely we should expect that planners will often withhold information or manage consent or be pressured to manipulate people, and we should assess in detail how they do so... but to say this, of course opens up the possibility that both planners and authors, both professionals and researchers, have choices to manipulate more or manipulate less, to bluff more or to bluff less, to withhold information that might weaken their case more or less..." (Forester, 2001, p266-267).

Forester, in the quote above and as a statement in his article (2001) further mentions that work in the fields of political science and planning has illuminated the fact that planners and public officials can by choice misrepresent facts, manipulate people and their trust and therefore influence and shape agendas.

Power, in this research, is explored in two ways and draws directly from the examples of how power has been researched by other academics. Firstly, power is understood to relate to politics and political role players. In the research, power is conceived as a decision making influence or agendas being promoted by role players enjoying senior or political positions in the planning process and the practice of Strategic Spatial Planning.

Secondly, power is viewed as knowledge in the process of practising and formulating Strategic Spatial Planning. Knowledge in the research is what will be probed to determine how concepts are understood and used and how this knowledge provides influence in decision making processes.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This research is based on a qualitative research method where secondary sources are analysed, which are mainly policy documents relating to Strategic Spatial Planning, as well as interviews undertaken with the authors and implementers of the relevant policy. The methodology of the research is built around a case study, the City of Johannesburg.

The interview component of the methodology is underpinned by literature relating to the transference and translation of concepts, policies and ideas and the main elements which have

been extracted from this body of literature are **who** transfers ideas/concepts/policies, **what** ideas/concepts/policies are transferred, **how** are these transferred, **when** are these transferred and from **where** are these ideas/concepts/policies transferred? These elements are used in Chapter 5 of the research.

This chapter has also looked at conceptual framework elements in terms of Institutionalism, Governance, the Third Way Approach and Issues of Power. The last column of Table 2.3 below summarises the relevance of these theories for this research.

Table 2.3 Conceptual Framework Lenses

BODY OF LITERATURE	ELEMENTS	(AIMED) RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE
INSTITUTIONALISM	**<u>DESCRIBING INSTITUTION</u>**	Layout case study institution to gain understanding of what constitutes the institution in terms of its structure (departments, functioning)
	Investigate sequence of events leading to formation and development of institution	Understand context in which institution was formed
	Issues of power	Investigate the actors' decision making roles and decision making processes
	Investigate actors' choice and the influencing factors on those choice	Understand institutional context, which will include describing relationships within and around the institution, the cultural aspects of the institution [norms, standards and expectations of actors] and external factors on choices made by actors which includes historical significance of events which might impact on choices, broader societal norms, standards and expectations and power dynamics between actors and institutions which might influence decisions.
	Investigating cultural practices as part of influencing factors	Context and social issues – as outlined above [norms, standards and expectations of actors]
GOVERNANCE	Good Governance principles • Participatory • Follows rule of law • Accountable • Transparent	The case study's institution will be assessed against these principles in terms of decision making processes and whether Strategic Spatial Planning is subject to good governance principles
	Exploring decision making processes (relationships between actors)	Understanding processes by which decisions are made and how these are made, through what means – compromised, negotiated or hierarchical in nature
	Determining actors in decision making processes	Role-players in decision making
THIRD WAY APPROACH	Pragmatic Managerialism • Performance management • Private sector management strategies	What management approach does the institution have and how does this influence decision making in the institution?
	Decentralised Centralism	Describe case study's institutional organogram - does the case study adhere to such a principle and what are the effects?
	Integrated/Joined Up government	Relates to governance model – what relationships exist in decision making
POWER IN PLANNING	Power is understood to relate to politics and political role players	Explore the decision making processes in terms of political processes to determine the full influence politics has on Strategic Spatial Planning
	Power is viewed as knowledge	Investigate the knowledge and understanding of strategic spatial concepts in the research to determine whether knowledge of concepts influence decision making.

CHAPTER 3

THE STORY OF STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING ABROAD AND LOCALLY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Strategic Spatial Planning is a complex approach in planning practice, which is understood, applied and interpreted in very different ways across different spatial areas and by different professionals and politicians.

This chapter looks at some of the history of Strategic Spatial Planning as understood by other authors interested in the topic. The chapter further explores the local planning environment in trying to establish the role of Strategic Spatial Planning within the South African context. This takes into account the political, physical and legislative environment as well as the practise of planning.

This chapter begins by exploring urban and spatial planning in international planning fields and then discusses the local contexts and local understandings. The international literature may point to clues about where South African spatial planning takes a lead from.

3.2 STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING IN CONTEXT

Strategic Spatial Planning not a new approach in the planning field, but has been revived and is now used differently. Previously, planning was used as a tool purely to manage land prior to the 1980s, but due to changing environments, political systems and economics, planning has adapted to become more strategic and to take into account more elements than just land use. This chapter outlines relevant definitions of Strategic Spatial Planning to assist in subsequent chapters during the analysis of the research.

3.2.1 International Context

Spatial Planning is viewed by many researchers as a European approach to planning and was 'reborn' through the idea of the European Spatial Development Perspective in the late 1990s. It does however date back to the early 1980s, but it was not as prominent or 'popular' then as it is now. Healey et al (1999) contribute this to Spatial Planning losing its focus on integrated planning and focusing rather on the regulation and implementation of separate development projects.

Albrechts (2004) quotes from Kaufman and Jacobs (1987) that Strategic Spatial Planning originated in the 1950s in the private sector where it was developed as a response to a need for rapidly changing environments and growing corporations, which had to find effective planning mechanisms to plan for a future which was uncertain. The government of the United States of America adopted this approach in the 1970s as a response to increasingly changing environments and economic conditions and identified the need for a more strategic approach to their overall planning in government.

However, Mastop (1998) in Albrechts (2004) traces Strategic Spatial Planning back to north-western European roots in the 1920s and 1930s. Mastop links Strategic Spatial Planning to the modern nation state where activities of other authorities/sectors/actors are directed.

Faludi (2002) reiterates that this is not a British or American approach to planning and further emphasises that the approach and understanding thereof is fluid as its meaning changes over time, space and with various practitioners. Albrechts (2004) agrees with this understanding and states that there exists no single universal definition for Strategic [Spatial] Planning. This is discussed further, later in this section.

Faludi (2002) tracks the development of Spatial Planning from the 1980s, which is briefly outlined in this chapter.

Spatial Planning, or rather the early movements thereof, can be traced as far as back as the sixth century BC (Smith, 2007). In the attempts to understand such early settlement patterns, Smith states that it must be remembered that there are limitations to the approach he takes in tracing historical movements of planning. These settlements are studied without evidence of plans, policies, legislation or strategies as these are rarely available to provide some guidance in the original thinking around the establishment and layout of settlements. The approach to understanding such settlements is based on the interpretation of archaeologists in their archaeological studies.

Hirt (2007) does not go as far back in dating the history of urban planning. She begins the tracing of planning ideas in the 18th/19th century. The Industrial Revolution is viewed by town planning scholars as the establishment of formal town planning practice. Hirt makes the statement that movements of urban planning throughout its history, dating back to the Industrial Revolution, attempted to find harmony between nature and the built form of towns. The paradigms, as outlined by Hirt (2007) in Table 3.1, have been extensively written on within the work of town planning scholars. Some examples are Bruce Stephenson (2002), Mervyn Miller (1989), Dennis Hardy (1991), Stuart Meck (2002) and Rebecca Retzlaff (2008) to name but a few recent examples.

Hirt (2007) divides movements in town planning into four major time periods stretching from the 1860s to 2005. The four planning movements are the Monumental City, Garden City, City Efficient and City Sustainable. Table 3.1 illustrates Hirt's extraction of planning paradigms and highlights the concerns which led to these planning paradigms being developed in a chronological order from the 1860s.

The roots of these planning paradigms are 'reactions' to certain social or economic conditions within everyday life. Examples of this would be the Monumental Movement which was based on the idea of having dense urban areas penetrated by green spaces, more commonly known as 'urban lungs'. Planning paradigms then moved on to address other issues, including technological developments and advances. The modernist planning paradigm looked to place high rise buildings within park like settings. Le Corbusier was an advocate of this. It seems that an inversion of the Monumental Movement was occurring. The city was placed within a green space, whereas it was previously perceived as bringing the green space into the city.

During and after the First World War, the development of the Garden City movement occurred, prompted by and reactionary to social issues manifesting in societies. The original Garden City vision was the creation of Ebenezer Howard in 1902 (with the publishing of his book "The Garden Cities of Tomorrow"). The visionary ideas were to integrate town and country without segregating or separating the two. The vision was of "moderate sized towns in country surroundings where people could all have pleasant homes near work-places as well as modern services and facilities" (Howard featured in Wilson, 1994, p231). This movement looked at dispersing urban settlements to optimise the experience of country lifestyles and finding a balance between untouched nature and urban settlements (Hirt, 2007).

Greening the city was advocated in the early twentieth century and the idea was carried forward in such a manner that the sprawl and dispersal of settlements were becoming more evident as the towns were separated by greenbelts and the first ideas of polycentric development patterns were practised, even though it wasn't identified as such at this early stage.

The late twentieth century saw a shift toward a more sensitive approach to natural resources and the planning movement shifted from having large open and dispersed areas to more dense and compact urban forms to save non renewable natural resources. Social elements were also considered in this new movement, which included issues such as accessibility, equality and economic growth. These elements straddle over two paradigms, namely the City Efficient and the City Sustainable. These two paradigms have shifted toward more densely populated and developed areas (Hirt, 2007).

Table 3.1. Historical Outline of Main International Planning Movements (Hirt, 2007, p143 – 144)

Timeline	Dominant and affiliated international paradigms	Chief concerns	Influential planners/ theorists	Influential city plans/theories	Concern over city-nature integration	Method of city-nature integration	Urban form	Density
1860-1940	Monumental City ○ Beaux Arts ○ City Beautiful ○ Stadebau ○ Socialist "realism"	Aesthetical/ some social	Haussmann Olmstead Burnham Todd Bennett Griffin Lutyens Forestier Rotival Brunner Mordvinov Speer	Paris 1860s Washington 1902 Cleveland 1903 Ottawa 1903 Chicago 1909 Canberra 1912 Delhi 1913 Havana 1926 Caracas 1930s Santiago 1933 Moscow 1937 Berlin 1937	YES	Penetration of the dense urban fabric with vast public parks (urban lungs)	Relatively compact	Moderate
1900-1960	Garden Cities ○ De-urbanism ○ "Disappearing" city ○ Metropolitanism ○ Regionalism ○ New towns	Social/some functional and economic	Howard Unwin Stein Mumford Milyutin FL Wright Semionov Abercrombie	Letchworth 1904 Hampstead 1905 Radburn 1926 New York 1929 Stalingrad 1931 Broad Acre 1932 Moscow 1935 London 1944	YES	Dispersing urban populations across the countryside/ constructing new towns separated by greenbelts; mix of public and private green spaces	Moderately to extremely dispersed	Low to moderate

1920-1980	City Efficient ○ Futurist city ○ Functional city ○ Modernist city ○ Urban renewal	Functional/ technical/ some social and economic	Garnier Corbusier Moses Niemeyer Costa Doxiadis Tange Khan	Industrial city 1917 Radiant city 1935 New York 1930s-1950s UN complex 1947 Brasilia 1957 Islamabad 1960 Tokyo 1960 Dhaka 1961	YES	Concentrating urban populations in tall towers/ transforming the city into a park, massive public green spaces	Relatively compact	High to very high
1970-2005	City Sustainable ○ Smart growth ○ New urbanism ○ New regionalism ○ Neo-traditionalism ○ European Union spatial plans	Ecological; some social/ aesthetic and economic	Jacobs McHarg Gehl Duany Zyberk Krier Calthorpe	Livable city 1961 Design with nature 1969 Pedestrian city 1971 Seaside 1978 Kentlands 1988 Poundbury 1988 Portland 1997	YES	Preserving green spaces outside the urban borders; providing human-scale green spaces in the existing city	Relatively compact	Moderate

As Table 3.1 illustrates, European Union Spatial Plans, as we understand them in our current context, were developed after 1970. Hirt (2007) places these under the paradigm of the City Sustainable.

Spatial Planning as a movement was developed and introduced in the 1960s and 1970s as an approach to comprehensive planning at various administrative levels in governments. Albrechts (2004, p743) states that the 1980s saw the retreat from this approach due to the "neoconservative disdain for planning, but also by postmodern scepticism" which both had a view that progress cannot be planned for. Healey et al (1999) also made a similar statement. But Faludi (2002) states, in contrast to Albrecht's statement, that the early 1980s saw the introduction of Strategic Spatial Planning in the European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter prepared for the Council of Europe. Terminology of this movement was difficult and translation from other languages was more challenging than expected. The above-mentioned document was titled 'Europäische Raumordnungscharta', which literally means 'spatial ordering' in German. The Dutch counterpart also literally meant spatial order. A synonymous term used by some authors, such as Williams, 1996 (in Faludi, 2002, p4), is spatial policy, which is described as "any policy which is spatially specific or is in effect spatial in practice, whether or not it is deliberately designed to be, and any policy which is designed to influence land use decisions, to be integrated with local strategies or to be implemented by local or regional authorities as part of their spatial planning responsibilities."

What preceded Strategic [Spatial] Planning though, needs to be explored to understand what makes Strategic [Spatial] Planning strategic. Albrechts (2004) provides the following diagram (Figure 3.1), which summarises the differences.
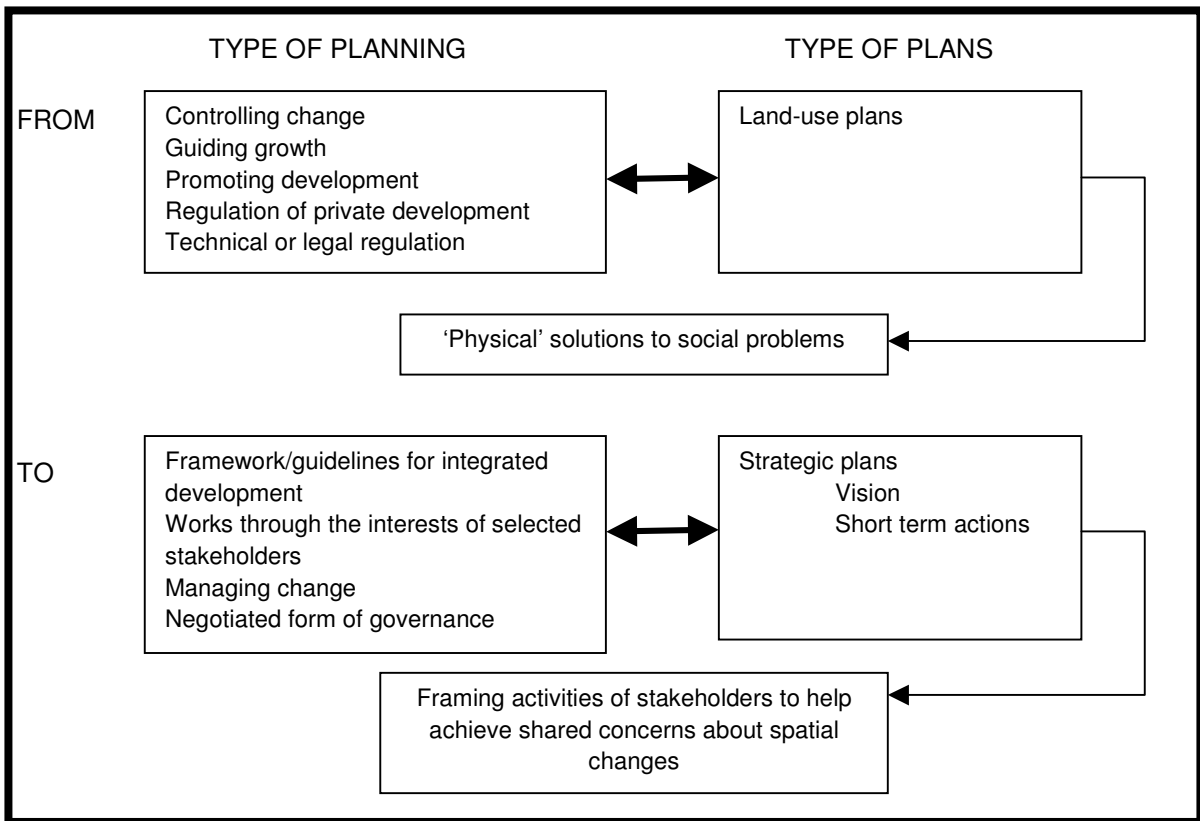
Figure 3.1. From traditional land-use planning to strategic planning (Albrechts, 2004, p748)

Figure 3.1 illustrates that land-use planning is concerned with controlling land-use proposals in terms of location, form of development, how much of the development, the intensity of development and matching up different land-uses with others which are deemed more appropriate next to each other (Albrechts, 2004).

Land-use planning is criticised for keeping unwanted developments out of areas demarcated for specific uses but not addressing how to encourage wanted or desirable uses in a specific area. Land-use planning is also seen fairly one dimensional, as interaction and participation do not occur between role players in physical space. Land-use planning is based on a physical approach to finding solutions and is not seen as holistic in nature.

Albrechts (2004, p747) very simply states that "strategic plans are defined frameworks for action." There is no singular definition for strategic planning but Albrechts (2004) sets out to find elements other authors have stated which makes up Strategic [Spatial] Planning. He lists an extensive number of characteristics which include that "strategic spatial planning is a public-sector-led (Kunzmann, 2000) sociospatial (see Healey, 1997a for the emphasis on the social) process through which a vision, actions, and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and may become. A combination of characteristics related to the 'how' of strategic planning gives a specific colouring to the concept. A first characteristic is that strategic

planning has to focus on a limited number of strategic key issue areas (Bryson and Roering, 1988; Poister and Streib,1999; Quinn, 1980); it has to take a critical view of the environment in terms of determining strengths and weaknesses in the context of opportunities and threats (Kaufman and Jacobs, 1987); it studies the external trends, forces (Poister and Streib, 1999) and resources available (Quinn, 1980); it identifies and gathers major stakeholders (public and private) (Bryson and Roering, 1988; Granados Cabezas, 1995); it allows for a broad (multilevel governance) and diverse (public, economic, civil society) involvement during the planning process; it develops a (realistic) long-term vision or perspective and strategies (Healey, 1997a; 1997b; Kunzmann, 2000; see also Mintzberg, 1994) at different levels (Albrechts et al, 2003; Quinn, 1980), taking into account the power structures (Albrechts, 2003a; Poister and Streib, 1999; Sager, 1994), uncertainties (Friend and Hickling, 1987; Quinn, 1980) and competing values; it designs plan-making structures and develops content (Mintzberg et al, 1998) images, and decision frameworks (Faludi and Van der Valk, 1994) for influencing and managing spatial change (Healey, 1997b); it is about building new ideas (Mintzberg et al, 1998) and processes that can carry them forward (Mintzberg, 2002), thus generating ways of understanding, ways of building agreements, and ways of organizing and mobilizing for the purpose of exerting influence in different arenas (Healey, 1997a); and finally (both in the short and the long term) it is focused on decisions (Bryson, 1995), actions (Faludi and Korthals Altes, 1994; Mintzberg, 1994), results (Poister and Streib, 1999), and implementation (Bryson, 1995; Bryson and Roering, 1988), and incorporates monitoring, feedback, and revision."

Another less extensive definition and understanding of Strategic Spatial Planning is provided by Needham (1998) (as discussed by Faludi, 2002) where he describes spatial planning and policy as an act of deliberateness but suggests that spatial planning should meet three criteria as listed below:
- A spatial policy must be defined to a geographically demarcated area.
- Policies applicable to a geographic area must be viewed and treated in a holistic manner.
- A geographic area cannot be approached in isolation but must be viewed as part of a greater whole. Therefore, broader geographic consideration is needed in spatial policy formulation.

Needham concludes that spatial planning is the preparation of spatial policy in a deliberate, systematic manner.

Healey et al (1999) contribute the renewed interest in Strategic Spatial Planning in the 1990s to regional economic analysts, who were interested in the topic of achieving economic competitiveness and environmental sustainability through the region and city. An understanding of this approach given by Healey et al (1999) is that strategic spatial policy is the "pursuit of policy for a region in such a way that the components of that policy reinforce each other, also that they take account of the characteristics of the region". Healey et al (1999) further state that Strategic Spatial Planning should be encouraged as it emphasises the qualities and relationships between places in space.

Strategic Spatial Planning is about setting frameworks which indicate the desired location of development and infrastructure investment (Healey et al, 1999). The plans should ideally consist of desired governance practises which guide the implementation of strategies, plans, policies and projects through the regulation of ideal locations, timing of projects and the forms development takes. However, all of these elements, which add to the understanding of the ideal of Strategic

Spatial Planning, according to Healey et al (1999), are dependent on certain forces such as economic and social change. They further state that not only do these forces impact and shape Strategic Spatial Planning but that Strategic Spatial Planning should be viewed as a force itself, through the impact it has on the urban form and governance practises. The forces Healey et al (1999) refer to are explained as follows:

a) Economic forces. Market related forces and greater economic impacts must be taken into account to understand economic relations locally and globally. Strategic Spatial Planning must respond to these needs.

b) Region political communities must be taken into account as they have different needs in terms of lifestyles, which should be accommodated by the strategic spatial plans.

c) Environmental issues must be addressed as this impact on socio-cultural issues where a balance has to be sought between urban and environmental environments.

d) Financial conditions are of great importance in the formulation of plans as policy proposals should seek ways and means to maximise opportunities in all financial conditions.

Within the European context, spatial planning was initially perceived to be a manner in which to regulate development through a family of plans. The European context of spatial planning 'requires' local plans to fit in with broader spatial plans. This ensures that some level of influence and control is exercised at higher government levels within countries and even between countries in organisations such as the European Union.

The spatial plan within the European context, fulfils the role of horizontally co-ordinating these policies and aligning spatial needs of various departments and therefore ensuring integrated, holistic, sustainable development (Faludi, 2002).

Just as spatial plans have a vertical function, usually within hierarchical forms of government, plans can further have a horizontal function when applied across various geographic scales. This is evident in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) which is a European wide spatial plan (Faludi, 2002, Dabinett & Richardson, 1999). The ESDP was approved in May 1999 by the Ministers of the Member States responsible for spatial planning sitting on the European Union (EU). The ESDP was derived and developed by the Member States of the EU in conjunction with the European Commission. This forum is known as the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD). The effort of this forum, closely working with planning professionals in Europe, has seen the prominent rise of spatial planning onto the EU agenda.

Soon after its adoption and inception, Faludi (2000) praised this achievement as being no mean feat but listed some of the issues he has observed in reviewing the ESDP. These are as follows:

• The conceptualization and visualization of the spatial policies contained in the ESDP are insubstantial. An issue related to this is that there is such a strong divergence between the various European planning traditions, which makes consensus reaching and common planning practice across Europe challenging.

• Further to this, players' attitudes towards European planning cannot be separated from those towards European integration. The multi level governance models in the European system place some strain on consensus and implementation of plans even though higher level politics might agree on ways and means forward.

Within this period of change (1980 – present) and looking at spatial planning from various levels, whether geographic or political, a new term emerged namely 'Regional Planning'. It was made clear at the time that spatial planning was not the same as regional planning, but that regional planning was seen as a tool by national governments to shape its territory. This phenomenon began in France – *Amènagement du Terrotoire*. It was a tool to promote development in less prominent and attractive areas and to reach a balance in its territory (Faludi, 2002). The term 'regional planning' has also been taken up across Europe, especially within the EU and projects such as INTERREG – a community initiative in Europe which aims to promote interregional coordination and cooperation in the European Union .

The term Spatial Planning is now seen as an overarching, all encompassing term in spatial planning practise. Williams (1996), as quoted by Faludi (2002, p6) defines spatial planning as:

> *"a ...*relatively neutral and inclusive term of all the various styles and concepts of planning found in the EU, and to encompass all spatial scales from the local to the whole of Europe". The EU Compendium provides a more elaborate definition, namely "methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. It is undertaken with the aims of creating a more rational territorial organisation of land uses and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives. Spatial planning embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of other sector policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions, than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses."

Two planning approaches have also been identified with these two 'spatial' terms (spatial planning and regional planning), namely a comprehensive integrated approach which is related to spatial planning and a regional economic approach related to regional planning. The comprehensive integrated approach is usually applied in very politically stable and mature systems where public investments aid in the realisation of a spatial framework through a hierarchy of plans. The regional economic approach takes into account the differences and needs of the various areas within a region from social and economic points of view and attempts to plan for these disparities to equal development opportunity (Faludi, 2002).

An attempt has been made to marry the concepts of regional planning and spatial planning, but the term spatial planning has not been met favourably across Europe due to the perception of its restrictiveness. For this reason, the term Spatial Development emerged, as it takes on the positive aspects of the above mentioned two approaches. Spatial development policy is seen to be an approach where different needs and development principles are met through a proactive manner. This concept is the basis for the European Spatial Development Perspective (Faludi, 2002).

By looking at this very condensed version of the concept of spatial planning, one can already see that some transformation has occurred in this planning paradigm. The original intent behind spatial planning was the 'spatial ordering' of urban elements in the early 1980s. The term Spatial Planning is now perceived in a negative, unfavourable light, according to Faludi and Williams, due to the perception of its restrictiveness in considering only urban elements.

The term Regional Planning is perceived as a function of planning undertaken by a higher order or higher level of government as it is about strategically developing less economically enhanced areas where limited opportunity exists for these areas to be self-sustaining in the long term.

It is also evident that, due to the lack of popularity, for lack of a better word, for the term Spatial Planning, a 'revised' more acceptable term is now being used, namely Spatial Development or Spatial Development Policy. It attempts to encompass both spatial planning elements as well as regional planning elements and where planning in its broad terms becomes a proactive activity. This transformation of terminology and understanding, if that is what it can be called, illustrates already how the intent of terms is reshaped by perceptions and anticipated outcomes versus actual results.

3.2.2 Local Spatial Planning Context

Local planning in South Africa has been shaped in many ways by international influences, as this chapter will illustrate. The approach to planning was not only always of a regulatory nature, even though that is what it might have seemed pre -1994, but past planning practice has certainly contributed to the manner in which Strategic Spatial Planning has been perceived and used in recent times.

Also, the legacy of that very regulatory planning practice has led to the introduction of more strategic planning ideas, which will be outlined in this section. The section will look at a brief historical account of planning trends, which have, in some way or another, contributed to spatial planning thought and how that has changed over time.

3.2.2.1 Planning in South Africa – the Historic Account Pre-1994

Urban planning practice in the 20th century in South Africa has ensured a distorted form with limited opportunities for providing quality lives for all citizens. The analysis of planning history and the tracing of urban planning movements have illustrated that urban planning was viewed and considered as a tool for reconstruction of society. Mabin & Smit (1997, 193) state that "during each period of extreme stress and turmoil in South Africa's past century the idea of reconstruction has loomed large". It is further stated by these authors that urban planning in South Africa, during the Apartheid regime and even earlier was primarily a conscious attempt to use state power to influence and control urban development. Turok (1994) echoes this sentiment.

Mabin, Smit and Parnell give a comprehensive overview of the history of urban planning.

The late 1800s and the early 1900s saw the beginning of transformation in government and institutional structures, by the then British government. Planning practises were introduced, which included township establishments and land subdivisions, with the purpose of controlling and regularising land development. However, this move towards regularised town planning practice did not maintain momentum, with the government change in 1906. Planning practise was neglected due to the institutional changes during this early period and through these changes, the function of town planning shifted. The function shifted between townships boards and government departments, whilst previously it was placed at a municipal level, and ended up as a provincial function after the completion of the new government formation (Mabin & Smit, 1997). Mabin and Smit illustrate with their explanation that institutional changes have an effect on planning practise

and this example gives an indication of how early in the planning history of South Africa this occurred.

The Garden City movement was introduced in South Africa as a result of pressures emanating from World War 1(1914 – 1918) and social improvements were being placed on the agenda of the government after some pressure from professionals in the built environment, especially land surveyors. The movement was strongly evident in Cape Town on the farm Uitvlug. It took over a period of ten years to manifest itself as Stuttaford, the developer of Uitvlug, was introduced to the concept in 1907 but only developed Uitvlug in 1919. Stuttaford chose to develop a Garden City in response to poor living conditions and housing shortage after the war (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

What Mabin & Smit (1997) and Mabin & Parnell (1995) communicate, is that early urban planning in South Africa was strongly influenced by the British as they were governing South Africa and imported knowledge from Britain, not only through professionals but also through British settlers (such as Stuttaford) who were concerned with social issues. The influence was not only on one Garden City settlement but influenced suburban layouts as illustrated with the time line below. These cases will however not be discussed in detail but have been provided to give an indication of the extent of the influence the movement of Garden Cities had on urban planning, as Mabin and Smit (1997) state.

The following dates are highlighted to illustrate the Garden City time line and path to South Africa:
- 1903: Garden City Association in Britain is established.
- 1903: Letchworth is planned and developed by Parker and Unwin (Stuttaford was inspired by this development, resulting in the development of Uitvlug) .
- 1919: The Garden City Company is established in South Africa. Garden City developments included the preparation of the master plan for Pinelands (by Thompson, Hennell and James)
- 1926: Pinelands. 150 houses were complete. Project completion was only after great depression and the Second World War.
- Other Garden City Projects in South Africa (mostly located in Cape Town) include:
  - Meadowridge (1969)
  - Elfindale (never successfully completed due to interference from the Cape Town City Council)
  - Square Hill (never successfully completed due to interference from the Cape Town City Council)
  - Edgemead (1994 had 2500 completed homes).
  - Northpine (2200 houses).
  - Dennemere (400 houses)
  - Stellenbosch and Mfuleni: designs based on the Garden City principles (Wilson, 1994; Muller, 1999).

Another major influence on the development of urban planning in South Africa was health issues, which were issues the world's cities had to contend with after the First World War and the rise of Industrialization. In South Africa, planning was influenced by and fell under health legislation, such as the Public Health Act (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

Probably the most prominent influence on urban planning in South Africa was the practise of race segregation, which was promoted through the power of government. Towns within the country were considered white areas and other ethnic groups were placed in peripheral areas of the cities. The year 1923 saw legislation approved in the form of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, where ethnic groups were planned for differently, from a town planning point of view. Land allocation had to be done for different race groups and land uses had to be separated to ensure that racial mixing was, as far as possible, divided. Once again, planning was uncomfortably situated within the government system from an institutional point of view and it was debated whether it should be a national or provincial function. In the end, provincial governments received the planning power over urban areas and developed planning legislation, in particular Ordinances, to control planning activities. The Transvaal Ordinance of 1931 was the first to come into being and was derived from the British legislative system of 1919 (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin & Parnell, 1995). This is the second example, which illustrates that institutional changes have an effect on the practice of planning.

With the introduction of these legislative frameworks into planning, there was a renewed sense of urban planning direction in the country. Town Planning Committees were established and the idea was to employ full time staff. Full time staff mainly included 'imported' British professionals, such as Charles Reade. However, Reade died days after arriving in Johannesburg and this prompted the committees to employ consultants to do the planning work. The practicing of planning in an ad hoc institutional form and with legislative mandates, such as racial segregation, pushed planning practice in a direction of regulating rather than addressing real urban issues (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin & Parnell, 1995).

The 1930s saw the depression and in response, and during this same time, the rise of modernism. It was a period of industrialisation, increased numbers of vehicles in urban areas and an influx of people into urban areas in search of economic relief. The rapid urbanisation therefore required professional town planners. With the limited number of experienced or qualified town planners in the country, the knowledge and practice of town planning was imported through planning material and planners from outside the borders. Modernist ideas accompanied the foreign planners and, as a result, to address and relieve overcrowding in cities, especially after World War 2, ideas of new towns emerged, but with the racially segregated flavour (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin & Parnell, 1995; Brockett, 1994).

Some of the principles of the modernist movement included:
   a) An anti-urban culture which promoted free-standing dwellings on large plots which encourage the ultimate suburban lifestyle.
   b) Explicit land use separation
   c) A prescribed notion which took little consideration of the local issues where it was being applied. It was very mechanical and calculated.
   d) The concept of the neighbourhood unit, which was inevitably promoted and enhanced through the process of land use separation and providing for the rich.
   e) Technological advancements were perceived to be more important than the social and environmental aspects of communities and society at large.
(Dewar, 2000, p210)

This illustrates how planning movements and ideas travel across space through actors or agents, such as the imported knowledge that Mabin and Smit, (1997) and Mabin and Parnell (1995) refer to, which has specific motives and agendas, but is adapted to suit the specific political context through legislative interventions.

In the 1940s, the theme of reconstruction came to the fore, making the urban areas more functional places in which to live, work and play and placing industrial and commercial activities in close proximity to each other. A government shift occurred once again in 1948. The Herenigde Nationale Party came to power and made their objectives clear, which was that urban segregation [based along racial lines] would prevail and would be compulsory. The Group Areas Act (1950) was introduced and was used as an enforcing tool of this objective. The purpose of this Act was to enshrine the separation of races in the urban form of cities. The term 'race planning' emerged in 1952. This meant that urban planning would be unsuccessful if one did not take into account the race for which one was planning. The New Town Movement provided urban planners with principles, which could be used to justify such planning further as new towns were being 'developed', in a very rudimentary fashion, for non-Europeans on the outskirts of cities (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin & Parnell, 1995).

The impacts of the planning approaches of Modernist and New Town movements is still experienced today, even though many believe the spatial form of the current South African cities is only as a direct result of Apartheid (political) planning (Dewar, 2000).

The scars within the urban form, after this early planning practise of racial segregation, can be summarised as follows:
   i.   Urban sprawl, monotonous designs and monotonous zoning regulations
   ii. Racial segregation which led to the deepening of the urban sprawl manifestation

These 'urban symptoms' are not only present today, but current spatial planning is trying to address some of these issues. Further ill 'urban symptoms' are discussed below.

Turok (1994, p 243) states the following about the effects of Apartheid planning and reflects on Apartheid planning in the last decade prior to the first democratic elections:
"There can be little dispute about the damaging legacy of urban planning under Apartheid in South Africa. Planning was an instrument of crude social engineering causing great hardship and imposing an unnecessary burden on the economy. The imposition of racial segregation dislocated communities and entrenched inequality in the built environment, marginalising much of the population. The state's hostility to black urbanisation deprived the townships of essential services, housing and economic opportunities, and the fragmented, racially-based local government system proved flawed and unable to cope with the wide ranging crisis that has developed in the last decade."

The Apartheid urban form (Figure 3.2) was created through various political and even economic policies of the time. These were:
   • Racial Zoning and Urban Townships
   Apartheid planning was largely based on policies and laws which were strictly adhered to and practised extensively. Turok (1994) notes that the technique of planning and enforcement was

largely based on practise within the engineering arena, as it usually consisted of predetermined solutions and outcomes with a very top-down, non-participatory approach.

- Legislation which enforced this notion of the separateness of races included:
- The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, No. 43 of 1945 (strongly influenced by British planning ideas such as the New Town Movement)
- The Land Acts of 1913 and 1937
- The Group Areas Act of 1950

(Dewar, 2000; Mabin & Smit, 1997, Mabin & Parnell, 1995)
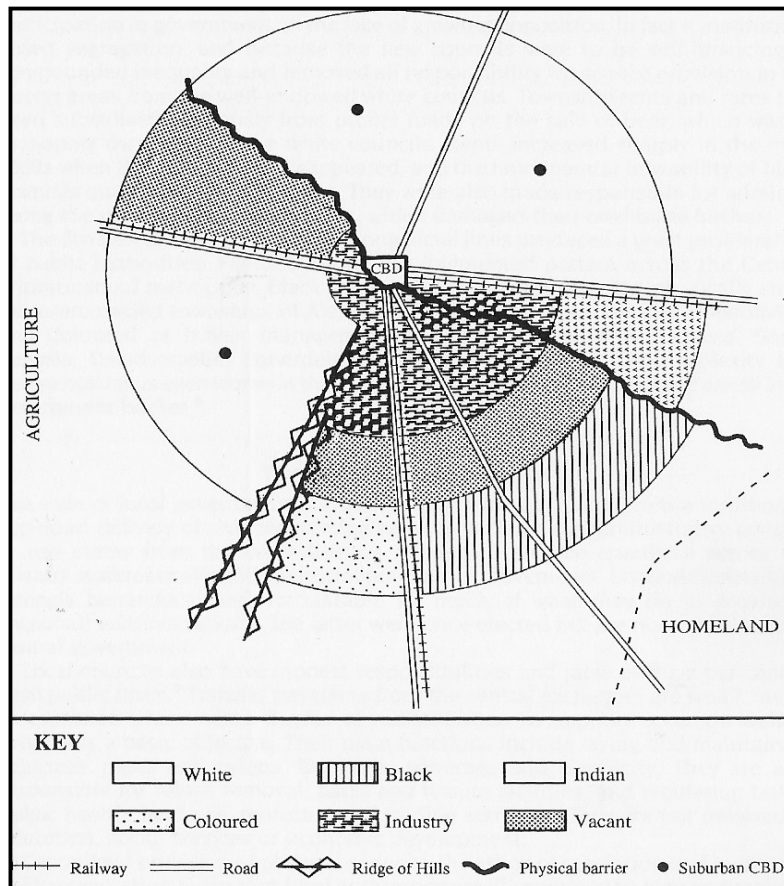
Figure 3.2: The Crude Apartheid Zoning (after Turok, 1994, p245)

Later events, which began to influence the thinking around planning and how the city was structured, include the June 16th 1976 uprising. Even though the uprising was born from issues with the education system of the time, the government noticed that it was linked to issues of social structures within the South African society. The government attempted social reform but within the boundaries of Apartheid thinking. The attempt at reform was to change focus on the types of issues planners should address, change locations in which these issues should be addressed and also entice private sector involvement in the reform process (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

One such a focus shift would be towards Regional Industrial Decentralisation. Industrial decentralisation within the international arena had two main objectives. The first was to tackle and contain the size and rate of urban growth within the larger more established cities within countries and the second was to stimulate development in peripheral areas where little to no development was occurring.

Even though these were the objectives of international countries' policies, South Africa used industrial decentralisation for other political reasons too. Industrial decentralisation was also seen as a mechanism to keep Africans out of cities by locating industrial centres closer to the apartheid homelands on the borders between these two distinct areas. Incentives, such as tax holidays, were given to business owners to encourage relocation to these areas.

Although decentralisation policies came nowhere near meeting their own objectives, decentralisation concepts did result in the creation of new nodes, which contributed to polycentric patterns. At a national scale, this included the development of major ports, such as Richards Bay and Saldanha Bay, fairly significant industrial centres, such as Ladysmith and Newcastle, as well as industrial centres on the edge of major urban conglomerations such as Rosslyn (Pretoria), Hammarsdale (Durban) and Atlantis (Cape Town). Decentralisation clearly added to the sprawling urban form of current times, as developments were scattered across the country.

The period stretching between 1978 and 1983, saw changes in the power distribution in government, as all power was centralised and a tricameral parliament was formed. The period after 1983 saw civil unrest and increased tension in the country. Policy directions within government began to shift, with the White Paper on Urbanisation, which placed the idea of urbanisation in a positive light for the first time in decades. This was the beginning of the Reformist Period, which led to the first democratic elections almost a decade later.

3.2.2.2 Planning in South Africa: the Historic Account Post1994
The Evolution of Spatial Planning Ideas and Principles in South Africa Post1994
The post 1994 dispensation has seen many planning approaches from abroad used to redress the past urban practice and current urban forms. Some of these ideas include urban compaction and notions of integration within the planning and especially social realms. Post 1994 urban restructuring became a very real issue and was put high on political agendas. Many role players contributed to this period of 'spatial restructuring' (Harrison & Todes, 1996).

Many spatial ideas of other contexts influenced planning thought post 1994, especially in the spatial planning realm. These ideas included:
- Market Led Decentralisation,
- Spatial Development Initiatives,
- The University of Cape Town Academics' Model of Nodes and Corridors,
- Urban compaction.

Notions of Decentralisation
     a)   Market Led Decentralisation
Market led decentralisation, even though developed and initiated prior to 1994, accelerated after 1994, when confidence was lost within inner cities, especially in the case of the City of Johannesburg and alternative nodes were established. This was not only a South African

phenomenon, but a worldwide trend. Other factors, which also informed the inner city flight phenomenon in the case of Johannesburg, included lower taxes within suburban areas, better lifestyle options as distances between work and home meant less travel time and also the option of property investment by individuals.

Further to this was the extension of American influence to other countries through retail development clusters in the form of malls. These are seen in urban areas and Durban's Gateway Shopping Centre close to Umhlanga and Cape Town's Century City are examples. The impact of these decentralised developments is seen in the shape of the city with development seeking economies of scale and people settling closer to convenience related facilities and amenities, such as retail activities, as well as employment opportunities, commuter patterns and retail patterns within cities (Bennett, undated; Williams, 2005). The impacts of these developments were clearly seen in the inner city decay of the major cities of the country.

This decentralisation model and the impacts thereof were not fully understood by all actors in this particular market at the time of its occurrence, but have led to this being a major restructuring element of South African cities. It is only now, post 2000s, that a sense of urgency has been felt to regenerate inner city areas and control such decentralised points in a more strategic fashion, as is demonstrated by the City of Johannesburg case. This notion of decentralisation is merely an example of how concepts, which are transferred or taken up by countries or its citizens and business in this case, can shape urban forms in a manner which is not desirable or sustainable in the long term.

Post-Apartheid Restructuring Thought

Urban spatial policy was set high on the agenda post 1994, with concepts such as compaction, nodes and corridors coming to the forefront, as advocated by the University of Cape Town (UCT)/Uytenbogaardt model. Even though it was only strongly advocated after the 1994 democratic elections, work had commenced on these ideas and concepts from the late 1970s/1980s. The concepts and notions of these ideas were strongly taken up and advocated in policy documents such as the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme policy, the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and later also the Urban Development Framework of 1997 (all of which are discussed in the following section). The main argument around these concepts was that planning had manifested itself in a very controlling manner within the cities and the political system and that planning should have more of a strategic, interventionist role within the market and within the new dispensation

Ideas of intervention included providing public sector investment by promoting high-density residential developments along identified corridors/activity spines or development routes. These corridors could then connect and aid in the development of strategically located nodes as the corridors would ensure movement of goods and people between these points of origin and destination. These ideas were initially introduced to the South African 'spatial planning' paradigm (not as we know and understand it today) in 1975, with the formulation of the National Physical Development Plan. It aimed, in this earlier time period, to become a comprehensive spatial plan, which made use of existing development nodes to strengthen and encourage further development (Harrison & Todes, 1996). These ideas were aimed at restructuring and reintegrating the city at a macro level. These macro level ideas were also accompanied by other sectoral plans to ensure that integration of different urban elements was achieved to maximize function. An example raised

by Harrison & Todes (1996) is economic strategies along these urban structuring elements. An example of a project, which attempted to make use of this notion, is that of the Witbank-Maputo Corridor after 1994.

Urban compaction also formed part of the UCT/Uytenbogaardt model. Urban compaction was debated, formulated and advocated in the developed world as far as 150 years ago, but truly took on status in the 1990s. Its meaning and intention were focused around issues such as efficient land consumption and service provision. Urban compaction, in the South African context, considers social issues a top priority due to the previous policy and the previous political regime, which so crudely differentiated between races and used planning as the tools for separation and practice of racial segregation (Todes et al, 2003; Dewar, 2000).

The notions and ideals advocated by UCT/Uytenbogaardt formed a large premise within the university's planning programme but were also strongly adopted in post apartheid spatial policy and planning jargon. Todes et al. (2003) however, strongly criticised this as this University's approach had limited to no social elements connected to the spatial ideas, even though urban compaction in South Africa was supposedly premised on the social issues.

Many critiques of this model have been voiced by academics such as Todes. Some of the issues raised by her include the following:

- Compaction and integration are not always a suitable practise for all citizens of an area, city or country. The need for space differs from the poor, residing in peripheral areas, to those residing closer to or within cities. Survival strategies change with circumstances and with this, citizens rely on rural[3], not only urban incomes, to survive. Living within these remote locations also ensures lower living costs and service fees in terms of the income being generated.
- Todes, Pillay & Krone (2003) quote research conducted by Schoonraad in 2000, which revealed that peripheral locations offered larger stand sizes which could ultimately cater for life cycle changes. Not only that, but various forms of income sourcing could be undertaken through agricultural practices, sub-letting of land or dwellings.

The concepts explored in this section only illustrate some of the elements that influenced spatial planning thought and ideas, which have been taken up extensively in spatial planning policies and documents. The next section will explore the spatial planning practice in South Africa from 1994, as there was resurgence, a decline and, once again, a resurgence in spatial planning.

3.2.2.3 Spatial Planning Practice in South Africa Post 1994

Spatial planning post 1994 saw a peak in interest during the mid 1990s, which dissipated by the late 1990s. This dissipation of interest called for a revision of spatial planning and the practise thereof, leading to resurgence in interest after 2000. This section will briefly outline the spatial planning initiatives, legislation and the context in which it occurred after 1994 and will highlight the issues faced during the inception and development of a young democracy.

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[3] Natural resources form part of their livelihoods

The Context of Spatial Planning
The period immediately after the 1994 elections saw energy geared toward change. New legislation was introduced, such as the Urban Development Strategy of 1995, the Constitution and the Development Facilitation Act of 1995. These pieces of policy work and legislation introduced ideas and principles related to planning approaches not well known and also provided spheres of government with certain decision-making powers and law making powers.

The first recognised national statement of spatial policy direction came through the Urban Development Strategy (UDS), which promoted the idea of urban integration. This was however, not developed to a sophisticated standard, as it failed to address issues of inequality associated with land. It did give some recognition to the compact city approach/model but did not give any great detail of this approach in this strategy. Spatial ideas promoted by this policy included compact cities, an American idea introduced first in Kentucky as early as 1958, adequate public transport, densification and integration. This period, as Todes (2006) describes, was influenced by many international visits and also international ideas. Some of these reinforced the ideas of the UCT planning thought and also ideas of re-urbanising areas and cities, as was promoted in Toronto. These ideas all led to the reconfirmation of compact cities and limiting urban sprawl. The RDP programme further led to the establishment of a dedicated office to drive the initiative inspired by Malaysian planning. Harrison (2001), as mentioned in Todes (2006), placed planning in a fairly central position to drive the spatial reconstruction initiatives as set out in policy of the time.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme office prepared the UDS, but after this office was closed down, the UDS was handed over to the Department of Housing (DoH). The DoH replaced this strategy with the Urban Development Framework (UDF) in 1997, but the implementation of strategies formulated in the original UDS was not carried out or referred to in the UDF (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008).

As Harrison et al. (2008) outline the rest of this era, post 1994, it is noticed that national level legislation began to talk to spatial planning once again in 1995 through the DFA. The spatial principles in this piece of legislation were promoted through Green and White Papers (1999 and 2001 respectively), which included planning approaches, such as urban compaction.

The absence of national policy and legislation to provide clear direction in this field had resulted in provincial governments developing their own legislation to curb their frustration. Most spatial planning practitioners were also looking for a more guided approach to the practising and implementation of spatial planning. None of this was forthcoming (Harrison et al. 2008).

The immediate context after 1994 to the late 1990s saw a spate of different policy initiatives compiled and driven by different government departments. Planning was not located in one specific department yet there was a flood of spatial policy documents emerging but not speaking or referring to one another for a consistent strategic approach. Some of these policies included:
- The White Paper on Local Government
- The Medium Term Expenditure Framework
- The Urban and Rural Development Frameworks

- Spatial Development Initiatives
- Sectoral and Departmental Plans across various government departments

Adding to this lack of consistent planning policy direction, the concept of spheres of government was introduced, which required some realignment in terms of power sharing, organisational structures and especially mind-shifts for public servants. Some of the constitutional requirements and new principles, which needed to be applied, included co-operative governance, procedural and participatory rights, promotion of social and economic rights and the protection of the environment. These ideas clearly impacted on the thinking in planning in terms of understanding relationships and especially understanding concepts, which were researched and introduced prior to and during the early 1990s.

As stated by Todes (2006), spatial policy was strongly motivated and represented in the mid 1990s, but failed to find a footing to actually take off and make an urban impact. Spatial policy was formulated at the beginning of democracy with great intention, enthusiasm and innovative ideas. However, the teething problems of democracy were unforeseen.

Challenges of an Infant Democracy and its relation to Spatial Planning Initiatives
The legacy of Apartheid weighed heavily on the newly established democracy and there was pressure for transformation and delivery of services to those previously disadvantaged. Many political structural changes had to be effected and administrative functions had to be established. A sense of stability had to be created within this new political regime, not only for the country's citizens but also for international investors and spectators. A focus on institutional restructuring became dominant during the early years of democracy even though many spatial oriented plans and documents were produced as previously listed.

Todes (2006) outlines some of the influences and issues surrounding spatial policy during this period. A specific policy, researched by Pieterse, namely the UDS (Urban Development Strategy) of 1995, is referred to hereunder.

In brief, the issues raised by Pieterse's research, as cited in Todes (2006) can be summarised as follows: The underpinning 'theoretical model' of urban compaction and integration in the UDS was widely promoted. An international idea, polycentricity, promoted by a consultant who had studied abroad, was introduced. The identity of this consultant and the exact time of the introduction are not known. The idea of the polycentric city was introduced, undermining the core essence of the policy's target. Further external factors influenced the undermining of the compact city notion. These include, but are not limited to, international reports promoting development around marginalized areas, financial and development institutions influencing administrative structures and then also normal market forces, especially in the property sector.

Dewar (1992) comments on some of the issues of urban form to which the above mentioned movement of urban compaction relates. He comments that low density sprawl is one of three common spatial patterns in cities found across the world. Relating to some of the external factors listed above, Dewar analyses how these factors influence or add to urban sprawl. The first issue is that wealthy, higher income individuals practice sprawl through speculation, by purchasing and developing land on urban peripheries in the hope of privatising amenities and market

developments with the 'country' element. Secondly, the public sector searches for available land, which more than often is situated on peripheral areas away from employment opportunities, which is affordable and can house single dwelling units on single erven. Lastly, he mentions informal settlements, where people settle in areas close to employment opportunities but removed from areas where they might have the risk of harassment.

Further to these above-mentioned issues, as outlined by Dewar, spatial planning thought and implementation receded in the mid to late 1990s, due to a focus on administrative and governance issues, especially in light of the new government structures and power sharing functions. The late 1990s shifted focus towards integrated planning, which Todes (2006) notes, attempted unsuccessfully to embrace spatial planning, as the focus once again fell on governance and also trying to establish and stabilise local government. The economic and management focus of these promoted plans did not assist in driving or promoting spatial planning (Todes, 2006).

In 1999, the National Development and Planning Commission and the Department of Land Affairs published the Green Paper on Development and Planning. The paper reviewed planning practice in democratic South Africa spanning from 1994 to 1999. It attempted to look at all spheres of government and analyse their respective planning practices. The report further synthesised issues, which were common or interrelated between spheres of government. Five major issues are discussed in the paper, which is mentioned and briefly discussed hereafter. Emphasis is placed on this particular document as it provides a review of the state of spatial planning at the end of the first term of government in a new democracy. It provides a benchmark against which progress can be measured at later stages, especially after 2000. Some of these issues have informed the questions which have been asked to interviewees, to provide an indication if anything has improved in terms of the practice and understanding of spatial planning.

The first issue is that planning and the practice thereof had '*a lack of a shared vision*' between the spheres of government and the various departments. The identified problem, which led to this conclusion, was that various departments were producing various planning documents, which were not premised on basic shared principles or visions. Some documents, such as the Urban Development Framework and Rural Development Framework, advocated useful principles but lacked implementation strategies. At National level, the only direction truly given to other spheres of government was contained in the Development Facilitation Act of 1995, with particular reference to the Chapter 1 Principles. These principles referred to are:
Chapter 1, Section 3, (c) Policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficient and integrated land development in that they-
> (i) Promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development;
> (ii) Promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other;
> (iii) Promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other;
> (iv) Optimise the use of existing resources including such resources relating to agriculture, land, minerals, bulk infrastructure, roads, transportation and social facilities;
> (v) Promote a diverse combination of land uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivisions of land;

(vi) Discourage the phenomenon of "urban sprawl" in urban areas and contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities;

(vii) Contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic and to the optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs; and

(viii) Encourage environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes.

These principles should have been taken up in the Land Development Objectives[4], however, this proved disappointing by those attempting such planning practice and some areas saw no take-up of such ideas and practices. The report further found that many local authorities continued previous planning practices and investigation into this showed that the following reasons were stated for this behaviour:

- Many smaller, less developed municipalities did not have a clear understanding of the promoted principles and also did not understand what these principles' advantage to their areas would be.
- Interpreting the principles and applying these in a holistic manner was not occurring, leading to principles being understood and applied in isolation to each other and not in an integrated manner as required.
- Due to a resistance to change from many officials, the DFA principles were merely ignored, based either on the fact that officials rejected the direction of change or alternatively rejected the fact that planning was being regularised through such legislated processes.

The above-mentioned issues clearly illustrate the resistance to change and also the impact a poorly defined vision can have on a profession and crucial government function.

The second noted point in the report is related to earlier points raised about new spheres of government and the functions thereof. Planning's emphasis began to look at a more proactive function and developmental role and attempted breaking the habit of control-oriented planning, as practiced in the Apartheid regime. The issue, which was realised with a new government dispensation and the new structure of government, was the **lack of inter-governmental co-ordination.**

Roles within the planning paradigm of government became rather murky and relationships between spheres became difficult to comprehend and to make it function. One of the first issues is that of decision making powers of the various spheres, which was unclear in terms of planning. Planning, as a function of government, had no clear origin or 'home' where decisions were made and championed, relating back to the first issue raised in the report. Relationships between government spheres were unclear and became strained as the boundaries of legislative requirements and decision-making powers were unclear. Planning from a national level was also unco-ordinated and unclear, which placed strain on the other spheres of government in terms of

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[4] "These are intended to determine the nature, scale and financing of development of the local authority. This allows local authorities to plan for development that is sustainable within the constraints of their budgets; and ensures that they are not forced to finance infrastructure for or to allocate resources to developments that are not a priority." (van Rensburg et al, 1998)

understanding what principles should be advocated and which documents should be championed and reflected at lower levels.

Limited co-operation was seen and issues of power struggles between spheres of government hindered successful co-operative governance in this new democracy, as per the report.

The third issue raised by the report was the problem with ***intra-governmental relations***. Policy documents and spatial planning issues have occurred largely in isolation to each other, between spheres of government and between departments. The documents and policies were not integrated or aligned to each other and the reflection of some of the higher order (national and provincial) policies are not reflected in local policies, or if they are, they are barely implementable or understandable. An issue related to this was that sectoral plans were not aligned and issues of transportation, environment, infrastructure and the like were viewed and formulated in isolation to each other.

Further to these incoherent plan formulation and adoption processes, was the fact that decision-making required additional processes of approvals to be followed, which was increasingly frustrating for private sector individuals and developers. Delays were further coupled with the ***lack of capacity*** (an identified fourth issue) in the public sector. Furthermore, different messages were given to individuals seeking approval or advice, as each department and sphere of government had different agendas to push and government 'unity', in the sense of developmental goals, was not the same all over. An issue further hampering development is that of bureaucratic processes within and between government departments.

The final issue described in the report is that of the ***complexity of legal and procedural requirements***. The new democratic dispensation brought with it a new constitution and new legal frameworks. The divide of previous 'white' and black' governing laws (ie. Town planning Schemes and Self Governing Territories) still proliferated for some time. Another issue was the fact that new areas were formed but different legislation was applied to different areas within these new areas, which became problematic. Different legislation would, in some instances, also apply to the same area, making procedural matters complex. The complexity of these different procedures and also legislative requirements, all added to the above-mentioned issues and compounded the problem of an efficient planning system.

These were some of the major contextual issues in the years immediately after 1994.

Chapter 4 will focus on the years from 2000 in terms of the case study focus, Johannesburg. The next chapter also focuses more on the specific concepts born from the approaches discussed in this chapter.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the literature on spatial planning movements in the field of planning. This chapter has outlined the planning movements from the 1860s through to what is understood as strategic spatial planning.

Spatial planning, in its early history, was developed in response to certain issues, such as social issues, in the time of the Industrial Revolution. The aims of some of these movements were to address a limited number of these issues at a specific point in time. Spatial planning later on took the form of regulating land uses, as Albrechts (2004) shows.

It has been established that spatial planning has become more strategic over time, as both Albrechts (2004) and Healey et al (1999) have showed, as have authors such as Faludi (2002), to a lesser degree. Spatial planning was initially understood as the regulation of land use but that strategic spatial planning was more action oriented through the understanding of a wider set of issues which includes socio-cultural issues, economic issues, governance and environmental issues.

This chapter has further shown that an international influence can be seen in South African planning history. Movements such as the Garden City and New Town Movements were introduced to the country through actors from other countries' planning practice, especially Britain. The early history of these British settlers shows that they used planning movements in Britain to establish settlements such as Pinelands.

The review of literature on South African planning practice has also shown some influences, some translated from international practice, such as legislative requirements, which had to be implemented through planning. An example of this was the Native Urban Areas Act in 1923 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. Town planning regulations, Ordinances, were introduced to put into practice these laws which were built on the British legislative system of 1919. The separation of race groups, however, was met vehemently with political uprising from the mid 1970s and by the late 1980s, negotiations were entered into between parties to change government, which, in effect, had an impact on planning thought and subsequent planning practice.

Post 1994 planning thought, which was initiated in the 1980s, was based on restructuring the city and integrating various elements, such as land uses, but more importantly, race groups. Legislation, policies and plans were developed, but failed to achieve the initial objectives as government restructuring was placed high on the new dispensation's agenda. Institutional restructuring is therefore identified as an influence on strategic spatial planning in South Africa. Post 1994 efforts aimed at the new strategic direction in planning through the introduction of concepts such as nodes and corridors, but the depth of understanding shown by international authors, such as Albrechts (2004), is not reflected in the local literature of the period pre-2000. Internationally, similar institutional formation and restructuring has also been identified as an influence on the practice of strategic spatial planning, due to the complex governance models promoted in the EU. South Africa is seen to have undergone similar issues and these are further elaborated in Chapter Four.

Legislation, international thought and institutional restructuring have all been identified as influences on planning practice and strategic spatial planning for that matter. The next chapter will further elaborate on issues identified in this chapter but also continue the literature review of strategic spatial planning in South Africa post 2000, the period in which the case study is set.

CHAPTER 4

THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG: SETTING THE SCENE & ESTABLISHING POLICY DIRECTIVES

4.1 Introduction

The case study considers institutional arrangements within the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), in order to understand the processes of adopting and even changing spatial concepts and policy, the processes of decision-making and the key role players in these processes. The case study focuses on strategic spatial planning initiatives and on progress in this field from 2000 when the new City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality was formed. This will be looked at in light of the spatial stance and policy of other spheres of government, especially Gauteng Provincial Government and also legislation after 2000.

The research considers one particular department within the CoJ, the Department of Development Planning and Facilitation, which previously formed part of the Department of Planning, Transportation and Environment and is now known as the Department of Planning and Urban Management. This department formulates strategic spatial policies for the CoJ. The roles and responsibilities of this Department will be outlined later in this chapter. The chapter describes the institutional arrangements as presented in City of Johannesburg policy documentation. This will assist in gaining an understanding of contextual and institutional issues, which are probed in the interviews to explore possible institutional influences on strategic spatial planning and the associated concepts.

This chapter reviews the spatial planning documentation of the City of Johannesburg and is structured around the concepts of nodes, corridors, density and the urban development boundary The City's spatial documentation contains other concepts, which are mentioned in this chapter. However, the selected concepts are the most prominent concepts used in the documentation and are also seen as being the most developed and used.

In addition to the spatial planning policies of the City of Johannesburg, there is a brief review of the National Spatial Development Perspective as well as the Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective and Gauteng Spatial Development Framework. These two documents are viewed as the most up to date documents in terms of current spatial thinking and application thereof. This chapter will also briefly refer to the City of Cape Town's Metropolitan Framework of 1996 and the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework of 2001 to draw on understandings of concepts and to determine if concepts are understood and relayed in the same manner in two different South African cities. Most concepts, as promoted by the UCT academics, were taken up early on in metropolitan scale planning in Cape Town. Other writings on the Cape Town example are also referred to.

4.2 Strategic Spatial Planning Issues Post 2000

Harrison et al. (2008) refer to the period after 2000 as that of the second generation spatial plans after the formation of the unicities (the formation of JHB is discussed below in Section 4.5). These

plans referred to the continuance of apartheid city form in South African cities. Concepts such as nodes, corridors and urban development boundaries remained in use during this period in both policy documents and practice. Harrison et al. (2008, 125) make the comment that these concepts are used in "unthinking and often [in] inappropriate ways and often in the almost complete absence of socio-economic and spatial trends on the ground".

Metropolitan spatial frameworks were developed in line with legislative requirements and some metros, more than others, embraced the development of plans at the local level. An example of this is the City of Johannesburg, where plans were developed from metropolitan to suburban scales with the application of these above mentioned concepts on specific local areas through spatial planning policy.

Harrison et al. (2008) comment that the institutional changes and lack of national government direction led to the weakening of spatial planning post 1994 continuing into the mid 2000s despite the efforts mentioned in Chapter Three through legislation and strategies. The lack of capacity of metros resulted in limited human resources being allocated for planning duties. Lack of experience and pressure placed on planners to apply spatial concepts resulted in inappropriate application of concepts to circumstances. The authors further state that spatial concepts are dropped on current urban realities, which are forever evolving and changing, which adds to the inappropriate application of concepts. These fluid social conditions are not engaged with in these instances.

4.3 Review of National, Provincial and Other Local Spatial Documents

This section provides a brief review of the National Spatial Development Perspective (2006), The Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective (2007) and the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework – Technical Report April 1996. This provides some perspective of other policies which the City of Johannesburg directly refers to, especially in terms of National and Provincial policies. The Cape Town documents are reflected upon to illustrate the 'original' intent and understanding behind some of the concepts used by the CoJ in their current documents. As Cape Town was the first metropolitan area to adopt the work done by the UCT academics (Watson 2002), it is a good benchmark to compare the interview material and policy review against.

4.3.1 National Policy – the NSDP of 2006

The NSDP was prepared by the Presidency of the Republic of South Africa and, as stated in the document, it was prepared for the following reasons (NSDP, 2006, pii):
"The ultimate purpose of the NSDP in the South African setting is to fundamentally reconfigure apartheid spatial relations and to implement spatial priorities that meet the constitutional imperative of providing basic services to all and alleviating poverty and inequality. To this end, the document examines the spatial dimensions of social exclusion and inequality, recognising the burden that unequal and inefficient spatial arrangements place on communities. For example, the poor have to incur huge transaction costs by commuting large distances to and from work."

This document is about channelling development and investment into strategic locations, which are built on economic grounds. These strategic locations are referred to as major growth nodes in South Africa and the Southern African Development Countries (SADC). The NSDP aims to guide the prioritisation of government expenditure and therefore align public sector entities and departments in their forward planning and capital spending.

The NSDP mentions spatial planning concepts such as nodes and corridors but does not give any spatial planning details in the document. The document is an analysis of the current space economy and socio-economic conditions across the country. This is targeted at pushing the prioritisation envelope at the planning stages within various government departments when forward planning is developed. Figure 4.1 illustrates how the NSDP principles should guide positive public investment.
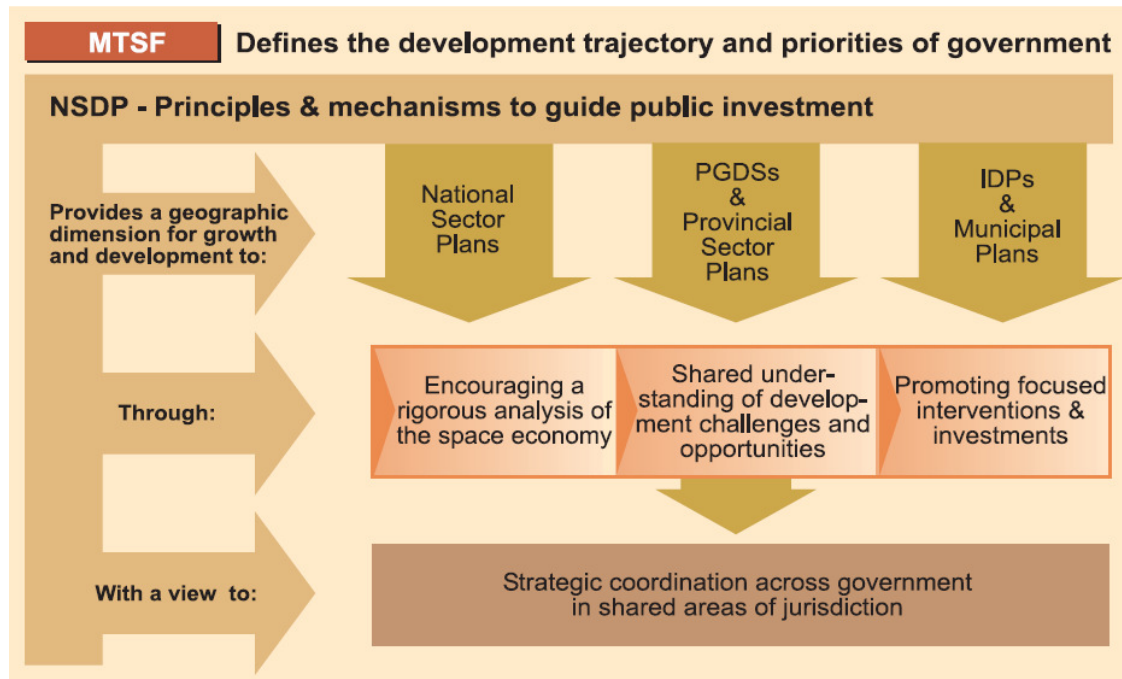
Figure 4.1.The NSDP Principles and Perspectives informing the basis for robust analysis for the three spheres of government (NSDP, 2006, p12)

The figure above illustrates how the space economy, as depicted in the NSDP, should be translated from this high-level study to the focused interventions and investments at a local level. It illustrates that the space economy should be analysed rigorously in order to determine localities where increased growth and development is required to ensure that the national objectives of economic growth, poverty eradication, enhanced social cohesion and buoyant and sustained job creation is reached (NSDP, 2006). These identified localities should be recognised at a municipal level and direct interventions and investments should be promoted at this level. The NSDP does, however, state that these direct interventions and investments are not only the responsibility of local municipalities but that they are to be a combined effort from the three spheres of government.

The NSDP further aims to answer three fundamental planning questions as stated in a presentation on the NSDP (www.thedplg.gov.za, cited October 2009). Firstly, it aims to answer "Where should government direct its investment and development initiatives to ensure sustainable and maximum impact?" Secondly, "What kinds of spatial forms and arrangements are more conducive to the achievement of our objectives of democratic nation building and social and economic inclusion?" Lastly, "How can government as a whole (i) Capitalize on complementarities

and facilitate consistent decision-making? and (ii) Move beyond mere focusing on integration and coordination procedures to establishing processes and mechanisms that would bring about strategic co-ordination, interaction and alignment?"

The NSDP is underpinned by six assumptions as highlighted in Figure 4.2 below and also in the NSDP (p iv). These assumptions are a point of origin from which the NSDP has been developed and a set of normative principles are presented to guide the application and also the understanding of the space economy in South Africa. These are listed below.
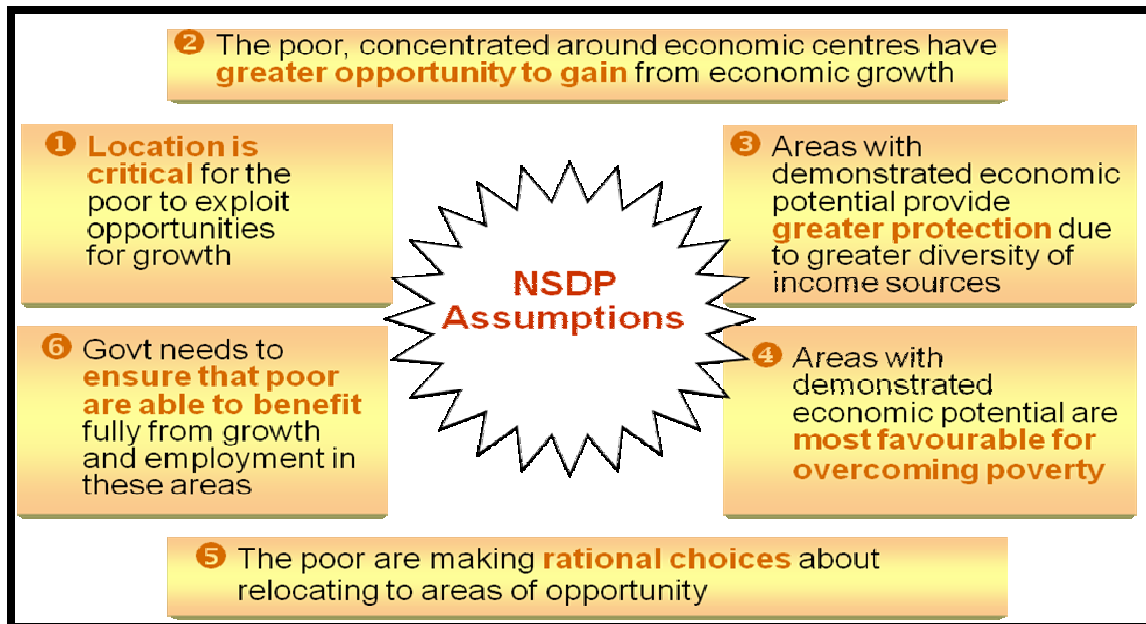
Figure 4.2. NSDP Assumptions (www.thedplg.gov.za, cited October 2009, p10)

The five normative NSPD principles are that:
  i.   Rapid economic growth is essential in order to achieve other policy targets set by government.
  ii. All citizens of the country are entitled to basic services, no matter where they are located.
  iii. Investment should be focused on areas of economic growth and/or economic potential in order to stimulate the private market.
  iv. Government should focus on people, not places.
  v.   Spatial distortions of the past should be overcome by channelling investment and promoting development into activity corridors and nodes adjacent to or linking to main growth centres.

The NSDP (2006) refers to spatial inequality by comparing it to other countries and states that spatial inequality is not a South African phenomenon but rather a common problem across the globe. All countries across the world have unevenly distributed patterns of economic growth and most countries show that a large percentage of the GDP of a country is produced in a small geographical percentage of a country. A stark example given is that of America, where half the amount of its GDP is produced in only 2% of the country, geographically. South Africa follows a similar pattern but what the NSDP also states is that previous political policies added to this

situation where other countries are assessed on historical growth patterns. This finding and other international research, as stated in the NSDP (2006), formed the basis of the NSDP's six assumptions which inevitably led to the five normative principles.

Based on Principle (v) of the NSDP, the only principle which makes direct reference to spatial planning content, the NSDP was read to determine how spatial strategy and spatial concepts translate from an economic premise to spatial planning at more localised levels. It is interesting to note that spatial concepts, as this author understands them, nodes, corridors and densification, are not elaborated or defined in the document, yet one of the principles refers to them.

The concepts are only mentioned in relation to reaching certain of the national objectives. The NSDP states that to overcome spatial inequality and distortions, focus should be placed on corridors, which should connect growth nodes, which should further be supported by densification along corridors and close to growth nodes. It is interesting to note that densification is the only concept which is slightly qualified in the NSDP. It is qualified to the point where it mentions medium density but does not state what medium density is, an example being 50 dwelling units per hectare.

The NSDP, rather than clearly stating how such spatial concepts should be used, categorised or implemented, encourages the analysis of the space economy and social trends at more localised levels (provincial or municipal), which must then be prioritised and aligned across the government spheres. No direct guidance is provided in this document for spatial application. The document rather focuses on capital investment and infrastructure alignment in strategic areas, as identified at a broad national level.

4.3.2 Provincial Policy – Gauteng Spatial Development Framework: 2000 and beyond

The introduction to the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (GSDF) states that the document is intended to guide physical development across the province of Gauteng in response to the historical issues (as outlined in Chapter Three) of poor urban form and resultant social inequalities. The GSDF aims to represent, spatially, the Chapter One Development Facilitation Act (1995) principles and through this application of the principles, indicate the desired spatial pattern of the Gauteng Province.

The GSDF is further structured around a 'Composite Land Development Objective (LDO)', which consists of contributions made by the then Metropolitan and Services Councils (their own LDOs). Spatial elements (as referred to in the GSDF) include open space/nature reserves, nodes, corridor development, strategic development areas and the urban edge. These are each discussed briefly below, as they are represented in the GSDF.

Open Space
"The importance of these areas [open spaces] lies in their ability to contribute to the physical structuring of the urban areas, and their role becomes more pronounced with the demarcation of an urban edge" (GSDF, 2000, p7).

No other sections within the document refer to the open space and environmentally sensitive areas that should be protected, except under the section dealing with the urban edge. It refers to

the environmental issues on a rather superficial level, by merely stating that the urban edge is a mechanism to protect the environment through containing urban sprawl.

Nodes

"Nodes have been identified throughout the province and they vary in size, scale, function, impact and either rural or urban. They are nodes, because in essence they are areas of concentration, of people and/or economic activity and they have a specific function in and contribution to their area" (GSDF, 2000, p7).

Nodes are not classified in the document and are not further referred to in the document. They have been placed in the context of the provincial economic core and are only classified as primary and secondary growth areas. No classification is given, but nodes are conceptually shown on a provincial map.

Corridor Development

"The primary focus of the development corridors is to establish economic development along the major transport routes in order to create corridors of activity and to promote economic growth" (GSDF, 2000, p7).

The document refers the idea of mobility but does not relate it to corridor development. In terms of the mobility discussion, two modes of mobility are referred to, namely road and rail mobility and the idea of mobility is linked to moving people and goods to increase opportunities for economic growth.

Urban Edge

"All the LDOs [municipal] identified the need for an urban edge, which would delineate the outer extent of urban development, in order to avoid urban sprawl and to protect the peripheral and rural areas" (GSDF, 2000, p7).

The GSDF states that the urban edge was a requirement to contain urban growth and therefore avoid urban sprawl. The factors which influenced the delineation of the edge were the LDOs of local authorities, as well as natural features within the province. With the development of the GSDF, the local authorities' edges were disjointed and only developed to a limited extent.

Two development scenarios are also outlined in this document, namely development within the edge and development beyond the edge. Development within the edge is premised on urban growth areas, namely areas of consolidation (existing developed townships in need of upgrading and improving), possible future growth areas (vacant parcels of land within a defined urban environment earmarked for future development), long term densification (infill residential densification on vacant land, usually on agricultural holdings or farm land within an urban setting), mining land (mostly undevelopable due to undermining conditions) and military land (only developable if not used and most located in Pretoria). (GSDF, 2000, p45-49).

Development beyond the urban edge is focused in and around peripheral and rural areas where no planning guidelines are proposed. Agricultural, and in some cases environmental, environments should be protected from intense development. Four categories are identified,

namely rural towns, rural residential, intensive residential and extensive rural (GSDF, 2000, p49 - 51).

The GSDF is a very broad strategic document, which merely sketches the provincial development vision in very broad brush strokes without committing to real interventions within the province. The document is based on work that had already been undertaken and collates and synthesises these various inputs.

4.3.3 Provincial Policy - the GSDP of 2007

"The ultimate goal is to be supportive of economic growth, improved livelihoods, mobility, accessibility and compact land use agendas in the next decade or more" (GSDP, 2007, p3).

The quote above is the goal of the GSDP, in which spatial planning concepts such as 'compact land use' agendas are referred to. The GSDP strategy is to "serve as a common platform for planning and investment", which, in effect, should assist stakeholders within the province to come to a common understanding of the space economy of the province and how it functions. It is anticipated that this common understanding will then result in four outputs. These are:
   a. Setting the development trajectory of the province and in doing so, providing a spatial element to the Gauteng Growth and Development Strategy.
   b. Providing an opportunity for the development of a Provincial Spatial Development Framework.
   c. Giving input into municipal IDPs.
   d. Giving input into sector plans.

Issues identified in the spatial economy, as identified in the GSDP, are translated into spatial terms and mapped out, which assists in spatially prioritising and developing strategies to maximise opportunity or to increase opportunities in less advantaged areas identified through the GSDP process. The strategy, however, still has a very economic focus to it and this points to the fact that spatial concepts need to be applied at localised levels, as with the NSDP. The GSDP builds on these principles and mechanisms, as provided by National Government through the NSDP.

The development of plans to address the NSDP-identified economic issues, needs to occur at other government department levels and municipalities need to engage with this data set to apply appropriate spatial strategies as and when required (NSDP, 2006; GSDP, 2007).

This provincial document, the GSDP, becomes a compass for development and aims to focus growth and development to strategic positions within the province, based on the space economy. Strategic Spatial Planning terminology, such as nodes, corridors or densification, is used within this provincial document, similar to that of the NSDP.

4.3.4 Metropolitan Policy – the City of Cape Town

A short historical account of the City of Cape Town's transition and plan formulation procedure provides background to how spatial planning ideas had been formed. This also adds to the history of spatial planning in South Africa as described in Chapter Three but refers more to the actual concepts than just the planning approaches, as was done in Chapter Three. .

Watson (2002) provides a detailed account of the events, which led to the new thinking of spatial planning in the late 1980s in the City of Cape Town. Here some important aspects are highlighted, which led to the new thinking and also the circumstances of the late 1980s and early 1990s that informed the choice of spatial concepts, which are still used in spatial planning documents today.

Prior to the first democratic elections, issues were identified by a group of planners in Cape Town, which prompted a reviewed outlook on forward planning as it was known prior to 1994. Watson (2002) states that the process of relooking and rethinking planning began on 16 June 1989 with a meeting between various influential planners from the Cape Town and Western Cape area. She states that this was an unusual event in the sense that it was not seen to be the norm of to meet to come up with decisive actions to rethink the urban form, without having a clear political directive, which previously formed the basis of planning throughout the country. The meeting was sparked by the political crisis of late Apartheid times and was convened to plan the next phase of work to respond to issues arising from the civil unrest. Plans were however in place, known as Guide Plans. These Guide Plans were a form of blue-print planning, developed by National Government at the time and the function of these plans was to allocate parcels of land to different racial groups for different land uses.

Issues leading to the civil unrest were that of pass laws and non-white people not having free access to the city for opportunities. The resistance grew with the growth of informal settlements as more and more in-migration to city areas was experienced and with this came stronger resistance from the masses. In Cape Town in 1983, a large tract of land, now known as Khayelitsha, was made available to non-white settlers. This tract of land could accommodate approximately 450,000 people, but was far removed from the urban and economic activity of the City of Cape Town. Travelling from Khayelitsha was a 40 kilometre commute (Watson, 2002 & 2003).This shows a classic example of Apartheid style planning where the state provided land for non-whites in areas far away from economic and social opportunities.

Spatial policy was in a vacuum between 1984 and 1988, as no revised Guide Plan was approved until the latter date and this was purely done on the pretence of government looking into spatial planning and ensuring that central government was in control of planning for cities. The approved 1988 Guide Plan had put forward ideas, which dated back to the 1975 National Physical Development Plan, which included deconcentration and decentralisation. Watson (2002) states that these ideas dated back to the 1940s in Britain, where the idea was that large city growth could be 'constrained' through providing New Towns beyond the urban edge areas, where the population could be directed to. This idea led to a multi-nodal city structure in Cape Town and cities that were developed from this premise included Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Wellington and Paarl. Atlantis, an area demarcated for coloured people, had also been allocated, but this attempt at decentralisation failed, as it failed to increase in size as the government had anticipated. Employment and housing growth in the Atlantis area were two of the sectors, which failed dismally, resulting in an urban slum rife with unemployment.

With this area failing dismally to produce the government's desired outcomes, consultants were appointed to find suitable land for low cost housing development. Scientific methods were employed to find and filter through possible portions of land and the low cost model and amounts of land required at this time, showed that it would be virtually impossible to provide housing at government's desired spatial outcomes. The consultant subcommittee at the time apparently

showed apprehension and feelings of discomfort with the model and the locations of where non-white people had to be settled. This was the beginning of a new era in spatial thinking in South Africa, as ideas around integration and development began to emerge in the thinking of planners. Cape Town was also one of the first municipalities which openly criticized Apartheid planning and its results.

The June 16th meeting revealed different ideas regarding how to tackle planning in Cape Town, based on the desired regional outcome. Two positions were noted (Watson, 2002):
1. Sub regional structure plans should be developed, which could still adhere to legislation (the Land Use Planning Ordinance of 1985). Concern was raised over the effectiveness of a very conceptual plan.
2. The second alternative was that of the development of both a spatial and non-spatial development strategy, which was widely participated and provided for a vision rather than a concrete product. This alternative was based on the process and not the product.

These two positions were lying idle as institutional changes occurred just before the first democratic elections and members of the meeting were transferred to other government departments or levels. Both of these proposals were carried out, one from a regional planning perspective and the other from a local planning perspective. The rest of this historical account, as Watson (2002) portrays, is about the lengthy process which was to come after the reconvening of the meeting on 16 June 1989. She elaborates on the structures, which were put in place to start the process and continue with it, until a point was reached in 1990, where actual work was to begin and spatial planning for a post apartheid South Africa was being born.

City of Cape Town Planning, from1990 onwards, had started much earlier in the classrooms of the University of Cape Town (UCT) under the auspices of Roelof Uytenbogaardt. The 1970s saw the upsurge of violence in the Cape Town area. The spatial patterns and conditions that people were living in, were seen as the motivation for these violent protests and these were the issues that spatial planners had to concern themselves with. Living far from facilities and amenities, having poor services, being removed from employment opportunities and just living in unstimulating and monotonous areas, was seen as sufficient to drive people to these violent upsurges and emotional outcries (Watson, 2002 & 2003).

The model which was developed by the UCT academics was largely based on the Compact City Approach and, as Watson (2003, 142) states, this "had the advantage of posing a spatial counter to almost every aspect of the 'apartheid city', and could thus promote an image of planners as politically enlightened and progressive professionals". The new UCT spatial model countered apartheid led segregation and racial separation with the ideas of integration. Elements that formed part of this new model advocacy was that of mixed use developments, higher residential densities closer to amenities and services and ensuring that the urban poor had more suitable land which provided for better city accessibility.

The document reviewed in section 4.3.4.1 below, as quoted by Watson (2003), illustrates the understanding and application of concepts with which this research is concerned and which were built and developed from the work of the UCT Academics, which had run from the 1970s to the early 1990s.

4.3.4.1 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework – A Guide for Spatial Development in the Cape Metropolitan Functional Region – Technical Report 1996

The sections of interest in this report are the Structuring Elements which refer to nodes, corridors and urban edges. Densification is not discussed in any great detail but is rather defined in the MSDF Handbook of 2000.

It is important to note that the Technical Report states that the application of these concepts/structuring elements should be guided by a question which is:

> "How does each action contribute to the vision of an integrated, compact, equitable and sustainable metropolitan region?" (Technical Report, 1996, p34)

URBAN NODES

The Technical Report states what the urban problem is that the concept of nodes wishes to overcome. Patterns of development at the time of this document exacerbated the issues of inequitable distribution of facilities and separation of people by both race and income. Further to this issue, it was identified that the spatial patterns were unsustainable and inefficient in terms of infrastructure and service provision. Urban nodes were one of the concepts identified to address these issues.

According to the report, nodes 'refer to centres where many activities mutually reinforce one another and where there are high concentrations of people'. Further to this an urban node 'is normally a place of high accessibility, usually at an important modal interchange or road intersection... Nodes, through proper location and development, can also act as triggers for the development of corridors'.

The report states that nodes had historically caused the development of towns, of which an example is Stellenbosch.

The Report lists four key characteristics of nodes and these are as follows:
1. They are located at modal interchanges, providing maximum access – the larger the modal interchange, the greater the potential node.
2. They are locations for higher order, health, recreational, educational, commercial and residential activities. Again, the larger the modal interchange, the greater the potential of the node to generate activity.
3. They allow for high residential densities (100du/ha gross) or more.
4. They can create the conditions for sustained growth and development through major public and private-sector investment and increased accessibility.

CORRIDORS

The problems and issues which corridors had to address were the separation of people and activities, urban sprawl, low densities, inefficient layout of townships, prioritisation of private transport and a lack of co-ordinated management.

Corridors were known by the following characteristics:
a. They link major urban nodes.
b. They include existing or potential areas of mixed land use, where residential, commercial, industrial and recreational activities occur in close proximity.

c. They have a public transport system supported by high population concentrations which can sustain frequent services.
d. They have a variety of economic activities, which thrive off high levels of passing trade, easy access, economies of agglomeration and visual exposure.
e. They have supporting rail systems, arterial roads and where necessary freeway systems.
f. They support the growth of economic activity at major modal interchanges where access is the greatest.
g. They also have a wide range of economic, social, welfare, education and sporting facilities which can be shared by a large community.

An important aspect of corridors is that eventually, as many people as possible should live within walking distances from these urban elements. With more people living in close proximity to corridors, which should ideally become public transport based routes, accessibility and mobility will be addressed.

URBAN EDGES

Urban sprawl was viewed as a major issue in the city structure and with this, comes issues of the property market and land speculation. Urban edges intensify development in more desirable strategic areas, which ultimately integrates areas and urban elements with one another.

Urban edges are depicted by lines on maps and are not visible on the ground. The delineation occurs on the merits of environmental, social and economic factors. Detailed studies are however required for this exercise to take place.

The above mentioned criteria highlight the original intentions of these concepts in a metropolitan context.

4.4 The Theory on which South Africa's Post Apartheid Planning is Built – the Compact City

Burton (2000) states that it is now widely accepted that sustainable urban forms are to be achieved through the application of the Compact City approach. This approach is based on the elements of higher density residential development and mixed use development. Burgess (2000) provides an historical account of this approach's development and states that it had started its development and evolution through planning approaches 150 years ago (now almost 160 years). Burgess continues by stating that the focus of urban compaction in the past several years has moved toward a consciousness of environmental protection and sustainability.

The Compact City has been defined and redefined and will probably go through this cycle again, as reaching consensus on this subject has proven to be difficult (Burgess, 2000). Spatial models and geographical scales of spatial plans have not been cast in stone and this causes the diverging application between compaction occurring at regional levels or at local levels, as highlighted below in the approaches to the notion of compact cities. Burgess (2000, p9) does give a definition which is "to increase built area and residential population densities; to intensify urban economic, social and cultural activities and to manipulate urban size, form and structure and settlement systems in pursuit of environmental, social and global sustainability benefits derived from the concentration of urban functions."

Jenks et al (2000) provide four theoretical views on the Compact City Approach and these are briefly summarised as follows:

a) The Compact City Approach strives to achieve the goals of a more sustainable future through reducing travel distances between points of interest and destination points and therefore combats global warming through limiting green house gases. This approach acknowledges that higher densities could impact on the lifestyles of urban dwellers, by living in close proximity to one another, but that they would enjoy lower transportation costs and improved pollution levels (Hillman, in Jenks et al 2000).

b) The second approach is based on a compromise between the notions of centralisation and decentralisation. Centralisation is linked to the concentration of activities (residential and employment) in close proximity whereas decentralisation is having towns and suburbs away from such intense activities. It is argued that both of these have their benefits and shortcomings. Centralisation could have the benefit of regeneration and containment of activities, which improves access to facilities and activities. Decentralisation, however, could have a better range of facilities, due to the availability of land and space (Breheny, 2000). A compromised approach is argued between the two, to provide urban dwellers with a choice of urban form.

c) Schoffman and Vale (in Jenks et al 2000) dismiss the idea of centralisation and propose that neighbourhoods should develop in an autonomous manner, in which they provide for themselves and 'compact' themselves into a self sustaining unit. The notion of compaction takes on a different meaning than that of a physical form. Local compactness is advocate, even though this might occur in a decentralised fashion, such as polycentricity. Thomas and Cousins (in Jenks et al 2000) argue that urban compaction has nothing to offer and is undesirable at worst. The polycentric idea is more acceptable and they argue that compaction can occur at a local level and at a regional level, even though boundaries of settlement areas might not cross. This is argued by stating that if efficient movement lines exist between local compaction areas, less travel time and distance can still be achieved.

d) The final approach, by Stretton (in Jenks et al 2000), is that compaction is unsustainable and does not contribute positively to social, economic or natural environments. He rather argues that cities' transportation systems should be reformed instead of reversing or redirecting urban forms.

Authors represented in Jenks et al (2000) argue that the benefits of compaction must be felt and seen at a local level before it is deemed acceptable or sustainable.

The compact city has not only been advocated from a physical urban form but also from a socially equitable urban form (Burton, 2000). Burton argues that social equity must be considered as part and parcel of the Compact City Approach and examines the aspects of compaction which have some influence on social equity. However, her studies have shown that equality might, to a larger extent, be influenced by the approach of compaction than what compaction influences equity, therefore the relative position of the urban poor is influenced rather than the absolute position.

The idea of social equity brings this section to the South African context as Todes (2003), Todes et al. (2000) and Harrison et al (2008) indicate that issues of equity and social change drive the approach of urban compaction in the South African arena. Even though issues of densification and mixed use environments have also played their role in establishing the compact city debate and application thereof in South Africa, the aftermath of Apartheid in terms of non-functioning,

poor urban forms affecting some people more than other has been one of the issues urban compaction has tried to correct.

The South African application of compact cities has been on restructuring and integrating cities through placing previously disadvantaged groups in well located areas to access more urban opportunities. Todes (2003) explains that concepts such as nodes and activity corridors across cities are intended for integration of the urban area and to provide for efficient public transport on these corridors, which connect areas of economic and social activities placed within nodes. Todes further reiterates that Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, the UCT academics, were the first to develop arguments in favour of this planning approach, which was later taken up by anti-apartheid planners (the example of the City of Cape Town) and later by the African National Congress (ANC) government.

The approach of the compact city has been taken up in South African legislation, namely the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and also the White Paper on Urban Development of 1997. Authors and academics such as Charlton and Mabin (as quoted by Todes, 2003), argued that these compact city notions have not been taken seriously even though they do appear in official policy.

The next section discusses the case study in depth, but prior to understanding the concepts and approaches used within the case study, it is important to understand the institutional issues and history of the case study. Chapter Three has shown that many institutional changes took place in the South African planning system and now this theme is explored at a local case study level.

4.5 The Case Study - The City of Johannesburg

Firstly, this section outlines the historical account of the City of Johannesburg's formation, its initial structure and also its initial strategic focus. This period is known as the first term of office of Mayor Amos Mosondo, a member of the African National Congress, which party holds a majority seat in the Council.

The section then outlines the structure and focus from 2005 to 2008, looking at the Mayor's midterm review accomplishments after the initial phases of structuring the City and building on the first term in office. Amos Masondo has been the Mayor of the CoJ since 2000.

4.5.1 The City's Formation, Structure and Strategic Focus – 2000 to 2005

Although Johannesburg, as an urban centre, is much older than this, the current institution of the CoJ was officially formed on 5 December 2000, at midnight. It was the official day of restructuring a two tier metropolitan local government consisting of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (the top tier) and the four Metropolitan Local Councils (the second tier). The Municipal Structures Act of 1998 governed the formation of this single entity and the Municipal Demarcation Board, prior to the elections in 2000, determined the boundaries of the new City.

It is important to understand the history of the Greater Johannesburg area prior to 2000, to clearly understand the origin of the issues mentioned below. The greater Johannesburg area was divided into thirteen separate local government administrations, divided along racial lines. The black authorities were at a disadvantage, due to limited resources. The white authorities had the

advantage of resources in terms of strong tax bases and developed infrastructure. This vast contrast between areas prompted communities and anti-apartheid urban activists to focus on change and aim for a 'one-city-one-tax-base' approach during the late 1980s. The efforts of such groups resulted in the formation of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber in 1989, which was a forum of negotiation to transform local government (City of Johannesburg, 2006).

Mid 1995 saw the formation of a local government made up of a four substructure model. November 1995 saw the birth of the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJMC) and four Transitional Metropolitan Local Councils (MLCs). This structure, however, caused the metro to fall into grave financial trouble as each of the four MLCs were not required to balance their own budgets but this was done collectively. This prompted over spending with the assumption that the other MLCs might have surpluses to cover shortfalls where required.

In the resultant financial crisis in the late 1990s, the Metro could not pay its suppliers for bulk services as the MLCs couldn't pay over moneys to the Metro for the selling of these services as revenue had failed to be collected (City of Johannesburg, 2006).

The financial crisis led to a task force being set up, known as the Committee of 10, later known as the Committee of 15, by Provincial Government. The Metro's capital and operating budgets were drastically cut and two years later the City's finances were stabilised in the short term.

A long term solution was found in the iGoli 2002 restructuring plan. This allowed for increased investment potential through service delivery and development while still maintaining financial control. This was intended to prevent the City from falling into the same dire financial stress in 1997. The key features of this structure were:
• Service Delivery Entities = Utilities
• Agencies/Corporatised Entities = Separate Companies from CoJ
• Core Administration = various departments
• Eleven Regional Administrations
• New Political Structure improving governance

The new CoJ was not the only metropolitan municipality which was being formed on the same day, but what made the City stand out, was its distinctive organisational structure, as commented on in the publication *Reflecting on a Solid Foundation* 2005, produced by the City of Johannesburg and captured overleaf in Figure 4.3.The institutional restructuring was aimed at making each department, utility company and region self sufficient and responsible for their own finances. This has been successful in allowing the City central control over budgets and holding each of the above accountable for its own existence and prosperity. This also led to aspirations of better governance and management within the metro.

Related to the institutional arrangement was the issue of political power and the political centre of power. The mayor of a city in the previous dispensation and also prior to 2000, had a very ceremonial function with no power directly attributed to this position. The Municipal Structures Act of 1998 made provision for the political head of a municipality, in conjunction with an appointed Mayoral Committee, to make executive and crucial decisions for the new City. The iGoli 2002 plan

was a mechanism to accelerate the implementation of this new institutional arrangement and other agendas as mentioned above.

The Department of Development Planning, Transportation and Environment is located within the main institutional structure of the City of Johannesburg. What made this overall structure of the City new is that the concept of Decentralisation and the Third Way Approach were introduced as a new governance mechanism. The structure forced the entities to ensure their own long term sustainable financial viability and entities had to begin to take responsibilities for their own action. The full council, Mayor and Mayoral Committee and City Manager still had an oversight role to play but each entity had its own Chief Executive Officer to oversee the day to day operations of the entities.

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│ │                            COUNCIL                              │ │
│ │                      (Chairperson: Speaker)                     │ │
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│ │                        EXECUTIVE MAYOR                          │ │
│ │                      & Mayoral Committee                        │ │
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│ │                        CITY MANAGER                             │ │
│ │                   Chief Operations Officer                      │ │
│ │                Finance and Economic Development                 │ │
│ │                      Corporate Services                         │ │
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│ │ UTILITIES                 │    │ CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS          │  │
│ │ Pikitup                   │    │ Johannesburg Metropolitan    │  │
│ │ Johannesburg Water        │    │ Police Department            │  │
│ │ City Power                │    │ Emergency Management Services│  │
│ └───────────────────────────┘    │ Arts, Culture and Heritage   │  │
│ ┌───────────────────────────┐    │ Services                     │  │
│ │ AGENCIES                  │    │ Housing                      │  │
│ │ Johannesburg Roads Agency │    │ Health                       │  │
│ │ Johannesburg City Parks   │    │ Social Development           │  │
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│ ┌───────────────────────────┐                                       │
│ │ CORPORATE ENTITIES        │                                       │
│ │ Johannesburg Zoo          │    ┌──────────────────────────────┐  │
│ │ Johannesburg Development  │    │ ELEVEN REGIONS               │  │
│ │ Agency                    │    │                              │  │
│ │ Metrobus                  │    │                              │  │
│ │ Joburg Property Company   │    └──────────────────────────────┘  │
│ │ Civic Theatre             │                                       │
│ │ Metro Trading Company     │                                       │
│ │ The Johannesburg Trading  │                                       │
│ │ Company                   │                                       │
│ │ Johannesburg Social       │                                       │
│ │ Housing Company           │                                       │
│ │ Roodepoort Civic Theatre  │                                       │
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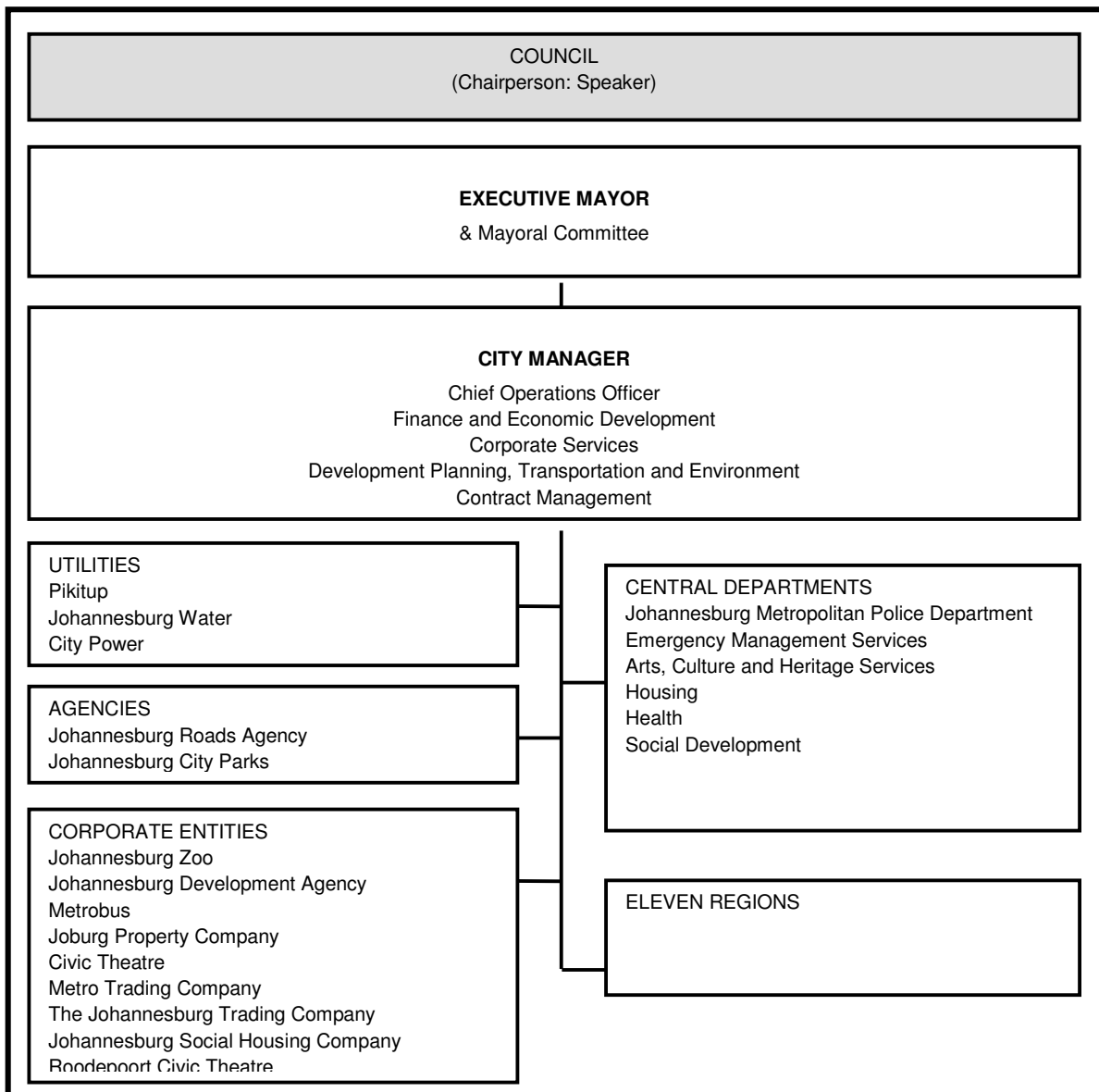
Figure 4.3. Institutional Structure of the City of Johannesburg 2000 (Joburg, 2005)

Figure 4.3 illustrates the City's structure in terms of day to day operations and how the City's entities relate to each other.

The decentralisation model of the City gave each agency the responsibility to perform and ensure a sustainable income of revenue to assist the City with its financial objectives. The separate entities had, and still have, their own management system and each entity is required to meet their own targets in terms of City priorities and strategies.

The Executive Mayor identified six mayoral priorities, after wide consultation. These priorities, as contained in *Reflecting on a Solid Foundation* 2005 and various Spatial Documents such as the City's Local Integrated Development Plans of 2001 were:
- Economic Development and Job Creation
- By-Law Enforcement and Crime Prevention
- Good Governance
- Service Delivery Excellence, Customer Care AND Batho Pele
- Inner City Regeneration
- HIV and AIDS

The priorities outlined a critical strategic path the City would follow, but this did not necessarily mean that other matters were not seen as important in the functioning of the City. The priorities illustrated the policy directive of the City and issues, which were previously neglected, that needed some critical attention.

These priorities had to be taken forward and the first real attempt at this was through the City Development Plan of 2001/2 – 2003/4. This plan was the first attempt at the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as required by the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. This plan further sets out the way for business planning and performance management The iGoli 2002 document advocated the following: Johannesburg should be an "environment in which people are and safe and secure" where there is "The rapid delivery of basic services, housing and infrastructure to all" (Joburg, 2006).

The vision at this point in time was, as contained in the above mentioned City Development Plan and conveyed in Reflecting on a Solid Foundation (2005, p57), :

> JOHANNESBURG HAS A VISION OF BECOMING AN AFRICAN WORLD CLASS CITY DEFINED BY INCREASED PROSPERITY AND QUALITY OF LIFE THROUGH SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH FOR ALL OF ITS CITIZENS

This visioning process and the outcome thereof formed the basis of the longer-term strategic plan, which was published in February 2002 and which was known as Joburg 2030. This plan was, however, very much focused on economic principles aimed at creating conditions of higher levels of economic growth. These principles, as contained in Joburg 2030 (p 8 – 10), were based on four very basic, yet economic, paradigms and these ultimately structured not only the plan but also the way forward.

| PARADIGM 1: A better city can be founded only on increased gross geographic product (GGP) growth. | PARADIGM 2: A city can increase GGP growth by fully exploiting economies of agglomeration so as to increase total factor productivity. |
| PARADIGM 3: Economies of localisation (sector specific) have a crucial role to play. | PARADIGM 4: Normative issues must be applied to the above as a second layer and should not undermine agglomeration or productivity gains. |

Due to this policy being economically driven and 'themed', it is not discussed in detail here. It should however be mentioned that this strategy needed to be supported by sector specific strategies to enable its success and therefore other plans/strategies were derived. These included:

- City Safety Strategy
- Inner City Development Strategy
- Human Development Strategy
- Integrated Transport Plan
- The Spatial Development Framework and related Regional Spatial Development Frameworks
- The Water Services Development Plan
- The Housing Master Plan
- Environmental Management Framework

As the focus of this research falls on spatial planning, the most directly relevant of these is the **Spatial Development Framework and related Regional Spatial Development Frameworks.** These respective documents are analysed in Section 4.6.

4.5.2 The City's Structure & Strategic Focus –2006 onwards

After Executive Mayor Amos Masondo's first term in office, an inventory was taken of the achievements and challenges and this was reflected in the document *Reflecting on a Solid Foundation – Building Developmental Local Government 2000 – 2005* published by the CoJ. This assessment period initiated the development of new strategies for the term ahead and consolidated existing strategies. At the same time, some changes were made to the organisational structure illustrated in Figure 4.4.

Organisational Structure
On 1 March 2006, the ANC was elected as the City's leadership for a second term, based on an electoral manifesto and commitments. The Growth and Development Strategy (2006) and the five-year IDP of 2006/11 were adopted after the election victory. One of the single most important

aspects which was revised was the organisational structure, as some problems were identified in the pre 2006 governance model. These included overlaps in executive, legislative and oversight roles, which impacted on decision-making and delivery.

Figure 4.4 illustrates the City's pre-2006 structure in terms of decision making bodies within the City. It further illustrates the relationship of oversight and decision making roles the committees had over certain functions within the municipality and other operational elements.
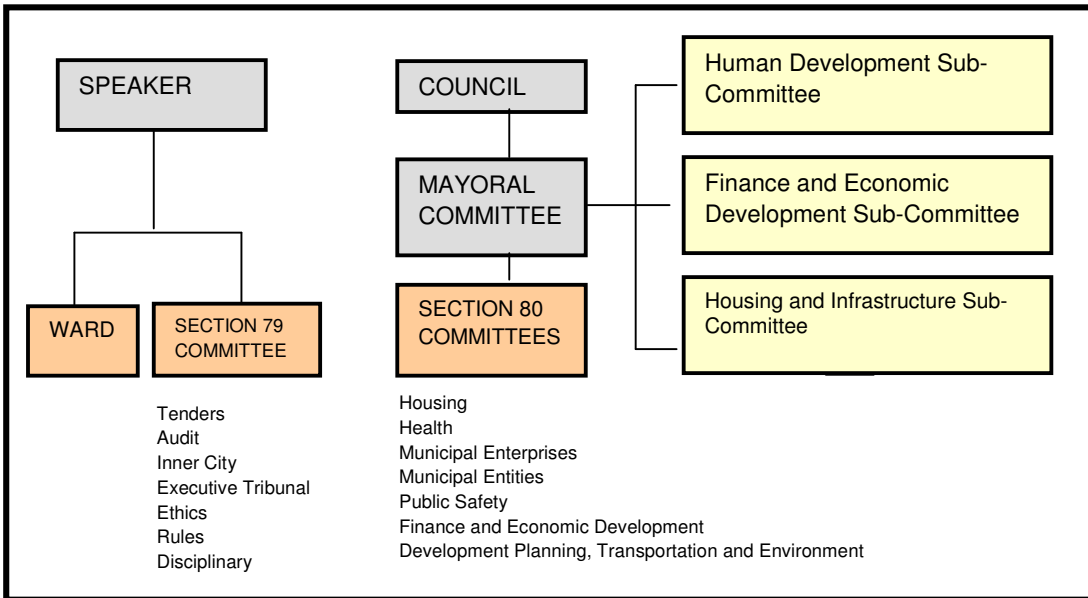
Figure 4.4: City Structure Pre-2006 (Joburg, 2008, p24)

Figure 4.4 shows that there was previously no division between legislative and executive functions within the City's structure, therefore the committees played both roles in decision making. Expressed another way, the roles of decision making between committees overlapped to such a degree that bureaucratic delay was experienced in decision making processes, as duplication of functions were problematic.

Figure 4.5 illustrates the new division in decision making powers over legislative decisions and executive functions.

Figure 4.5: City Structure Post -2006 (Joburg, 2008, p25)
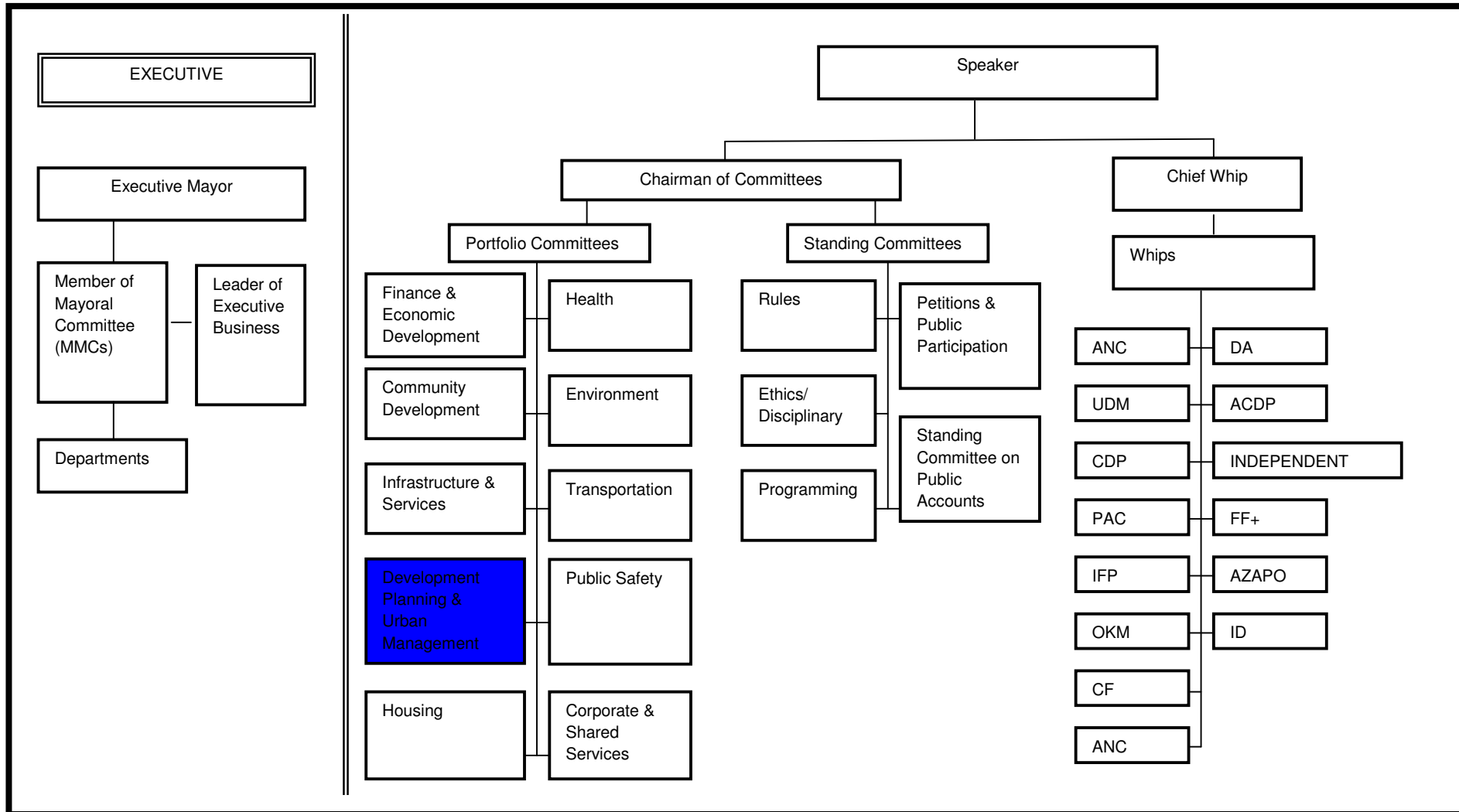
The splitting of the executive versus legislative powers, as illustrated in Figure 4.5, has had some significant impacts on governance within the City which is highlighted in the Mid-Term Report (2008, p24 & 26) as follows:

- Delineates powers more clearly by separating legislative and oversight roles on the one hand, from executive roles and responsibilities on the other;
- Deepens democracy by empowering citizens and enhancing stakeholder involvement;
- Improves the efficacy of governance;
- Strengthens decision making powers and accountability
- Consolidates departments and municipal entities into single sectors, based on a politically led strategic perspective.

The institutional changes will be discussed further in Chapter 5, to show how the governance model is perceived and understood by actors within the City who are involved, in some way or another, in the decision making processes around spatial planning.

As has already been alluded to, the current strategic thrusts are based on the electoral manifesto and commitments, which are now enshrined in the Growth and Development Strategy (GDS of 2006), which in turn, informs the mayoral priorities and the City's IDP. The electoral manifesto further provided for far reaching consultative processes in the decision-making processes and adoption of strategies, which is also reflected in the afore-mentioned documents and manifesto extracts.

Strategic Thrusts
Various strategic plans and frameworks govern the day-to-day operations of the CoJ. The strategic issues are captured in the GDS, which replaced but encompasses some of the Joburg 2030 strategy, the Mayoral priorities and also the Spatial Development Framework of the City.

The strategic thrusts indicate what the priorities are for the City. Reasons for this strategic direction are explored and shown in Chapter 5, with the recording of the interviewees' understanding of what strategic spatial planning is.

The extracts in Figure 4.6 illustrate some of the concepts and strategies contained in the ANC Electoral Manifesto as put forward in 2004 (http://www.anc.org, cited January 2009). Links can be drawn between this manifesto and the City of Johannesburg's strategy formulation, as discussed in this chapter.

Guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), our vision is to build a society that is truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic. Central to this is a single and integrated economy that benefits all.

The combination of some of the most important targets and objectives making up Vision 2014 are as follows:

Reduce unemployment by half through new jobs, skills development, assistance to small businesses, opportunities for self-employment and sustainable community livelihoods.

Reduce poverty by half through economic development, comprehensive social security, land reform and improved household and community assets.

Provide the skills required by the economy, build capacity and provide resources across society to encourage self-employment with an education system that is geared for productive work, good citizenship and a caring society.

Ensure that all South Africans, including especially the poor and those at risk - children, youth, women, the aged, and people with disabilities - are fully able to exercise their constitutional rights and enjoy the full dignity of freedom.

Compassionate government service to the people; national, provincial and local public representatives who are accessible; and citizens who know their rights and insist on fair treatment and efficient service.

Massively reduce cases of TB, diabetes, malnutrition and maternal deaths, and turn the tide against HIV and AIDS, and, working with the rest of Southern Africa, strive to eliminate malaria, and improve services to achieve a better national health profile and reduction of preventable causes of death, including violent crime and road accidents.

Significantly reduce the number of serious and priority crimes as well as cases awaiting trial, with a society that actively challenges crime and corruption, and with programmes that also address the social roots of criminality.

Position South Africa strategically as an effective force in global relations, with vibrant and balanced trade and other relations with countries of the South and the North, and in an Africa that is growing, prospering and benefiting all Africans, especially the poor.

A growing economy
Sustainable livelihoods
Access to services
Comprehensive social security
Crime and corruption
Constitutional rights and **governance**
Africa and the world

Figure 4.6: ANC Manifesto Extracts (**http://www.anc.org.za** 2009)

The extracts above point to those elements of ANC strategy which are contained in the Strategic Thrusts of the City, which has elements such pro-poor agendas, better governance and better access to services, as highlighted above.

The Growth and Development Strategy - 2006

LONG TERM STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE

This section of the GDS focuses on the long-term outlook and proposes interventions based on past trends and analysis. It looks at twelve sector areas, which include:
Economic Development, Community Development, Housing, Infrastructure and Services, Environment, Spatial Form and Urban Management, Transportation, Health, Public Safety, Financial Sustainability, Governance, Corporate and Shared Services

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Six core principles have been identified in the GDS, which underpins strategies and frameworks within the City. These are:
Proactive Absorption of the Poor, Balanced And Shared Growth, Facilitated Social Mobility And Equality, Settlement Restructuring, Sustainability and Environmental Justice, Innovative Governance Solutions

VISION (Joburg, 2008, p25)

In the future, Johannesburg will continue to lead as South Africa's primary business city, a dynamic centre of production, innovation, trade, finance and services. This will be a city of opportunity, where the benefits of balanced economic growth will be shared in a way that enables all residents to gain access to the ladder of prosperity, and where the poor, vulnerable and excluded will be supported out of poverty to realise upward social mobility. The result will be a more equitable and spatially integrated city, very different from the divided city of the past. In this world-class African city for all, everyone will be able to enjoy decent accommodation, excellent services, the highest standards of health and safety, and quality community life in sustainable neighbourhoods and vibrant urban spaces.

SECTOR PLANS

Each of the sectors within the City has a Sector Plan taking cognisance of the aforementioned section in the GDS. This is also related to the IDP of the City and has a five-year life span. The sector plans are used to monitor progress, for budgeting purposes and to monitor performance management in each sector.

The SIX Mayoral Priorities

2000 – 2005 (previous term)		2006 – 2011 (current term)
Economic Development and Job Creation		Economic Growth and Job Creation
By-Law Enforcement and Crime Prevention		Health and Community Development
Good Governance		Housing and Services
Service Delivery Excellence, Customer Care and Batho Pele	Versus	Safe, Clean and Green City
Inner City Regeneration		Well Governed and Managed City
HIV & AIDS		HIV/AIDS

In looking at the two perspectives of the Mayoral Priorities, one does not get the feeling that the direction in which the City is moving has changed dramatically over the period of the Mayor's term in office. However, it does seem as if there was perhaps a 'repackaging' of priorities. The general thrusts have remained, such as economic development/growth and job creation, good governance and service delivery, which is to ensure a well governed and managed city. Additional priorities included after 2005 could be listed, eg. housing, which is also linked with services. Perhaps this is just a repackaged priority, but then, on the other hand, the issue of the environment is being pulled into the priorities.

An examination of the institutional changes over the eight year period does not show clearly how these institutional arrangements have impacted upon strategic spatial planning, the practise thereof and the understanding thereof. However clues begin to emerge, such as decision making processes and governance within the City, which will be probed in the interviews.

The case study takes a closer look at the governance issues related to the Department of Development and Facilitation, which is highlighted in the next section. No published documentation exists on how this Department functions within the City's structure, therefore this was probed in the interviews, which are discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

The next section will now focus on some of the content of the City of Johannesburg's spatial documentation. This will form the basis of policy review, in terms of the content of spatial concepts. It will also form a base from which to probe the knowledge of the interviewees..

The Spatial Development Framework
The CoJ produces a Spatial Development Framework in terms of the Municipal Systems Act 2000, which forms part of the IDP process. It is the primary spatial directive of the City, which is premised on several strategies closely associated with strategic spatial structuring elements. These include:

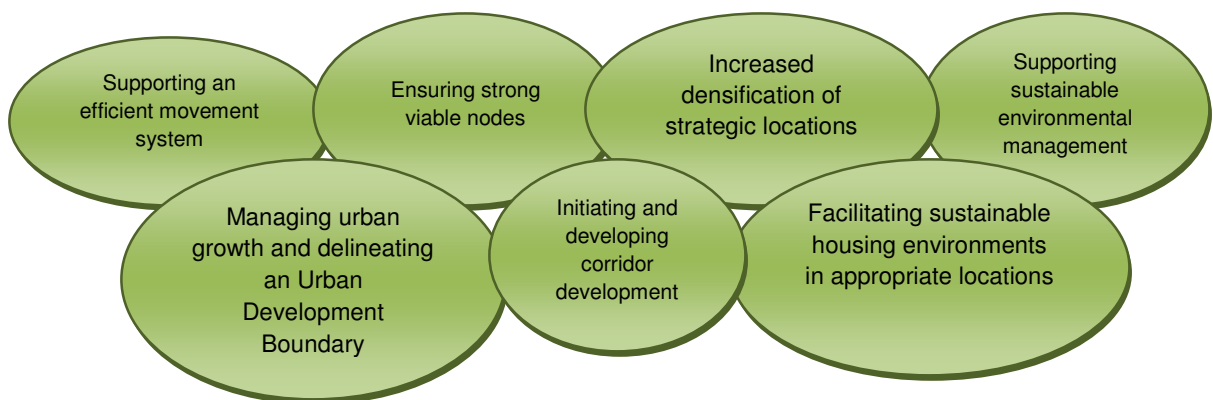Figure 4.7: The CoJ's Development Strategies (SDF 2008/9)

Figure 4.8 below illustrates the author's view of which strategic thrusts are addressed by which spatial structuring element. This is a preliminary opinion, based on the review of what the City wants to achieve and also the knowledge gained by the author while working with these concepts over the past couple of years. In the author's mind, a clear line between two

of the Mayoral Priorities and the spatial structuring elements cannot be drawn at this stage as it is not apparent. These thoughts and the links shown in Figure 4.8, will be tested with the interview material. At this stage, these links are based purely on my own interpretation and experience of working with these concepts and strategies and cannot be based on documentation as no such documentation can be located.
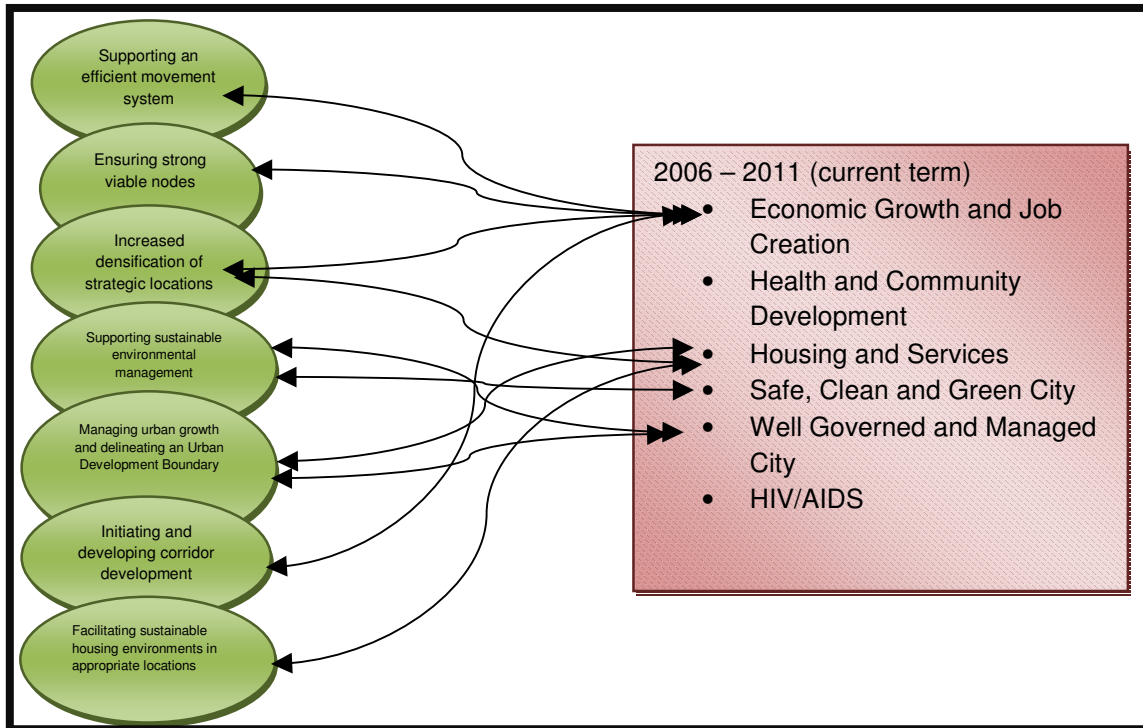
Figure 4.8: Possible Translation of Strategic Thrusts to Spatial Concepts

The following sections take an in depth look at the City's Spatial Strategy as captured under the Spatial Development Framework, with some emphasis on certain concepts in relation to strategic spatial planning concepts.

4.6 The City's Spatial Strategy

This section captures the objectives of the CoJ's spatial strategy and highlights the concepts being used within the spatial strategy documents / frameworks. It focuses on spatial concepts or spatial goals used since the formation of the City of Johannesburg in 2000 and highlights the objectives associated with these elements. It should be noted that not all documents could be found to trace each year's goals and objectives, therefore only the traced documents are reflected in this chapter. These documents are:
- Local Integrated Development Plan (LIDP) Region 3, 2001
- Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) Administrative Region 7, 2003
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2003/4
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2005/6
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2006/7
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2007/8
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2008/09

The names, by which some of these documents were known, are no longer in use and this will also be highlighted. Some documents referred to are at a regional scale whereas other documents are at a metropolitan scale. It should further be noted that the context in which these goals or concepts are being used is not discussed, but this section highlights the goals or concepts which have been used within the City in order to achieve its strategic goals.

The CoJ review document of 2000 - 2005 focused largely on the process, achievements and challenges the new City had faced in building developmental local government and further focused on issues of governance and the six Mayoral Priorities of the City. It was interesting to note that this document seldom refers to strategic spatial planning and merely mentions the plans without any discussion of the actual content, purpose or achievements. The Mid-Term Report, published in September 2008, which reviewed the first half of the Executive Mayor's second term in office, placed much more emphasis on strategic spatial planning and dedicates an entire chapter to Spatial Form and Urban Management. It further highlighted the Spatial Development Framework as one of its strategic thrusts within the City.

This observation illustrates that the focus of the first Mayoral term was strongly focused on governance issues in terms of structuring the City and finding its functional feet. At this stage, spatial planning documents were produced, which were not as strong in prominence and importance in their own right. These will be discussed after this section.

The Mayor's second term saw a greater importance placed on spatial planning as more emphasis was placed on its role within the functioning of the City. The governance model had been restructured to sort out operational issues within the City and the focus fell more squarely on other sectors, one being that of Spatial Planning.

Before moving onto the next section it should be illustrated that the City produces spatial plans at various geographical levels. The current hierarchy of spatial plans is illustrated in Figure 4.9.

Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – Metropolitan Scale (previously known as City Development Plans

Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) – Regional Scale (the Metro is currently divided into 7 Regions whereas previously it was 9 Regions) – (previously known as Local Integrated Development Plans)

Urban Development Framework (UDF) – Smaller than Region but Larger than a Neighbourhood

Precinct Plans – Neighbourhood scale or smaller

Figure 4.9: Hierarchy of Spatial Plans in the CoJ

This illustrates the levels of the plans within the City and serves as a reference point for the documentation discussed in the next sections.

Figure 4.10 illustrates the City of Johannesburg with its strategic elements indicated spatially across the city and points to areas of intersection between the concepts. An example of this would be where nodes intersect with mobility roads, as the one might be complimentary to the other.
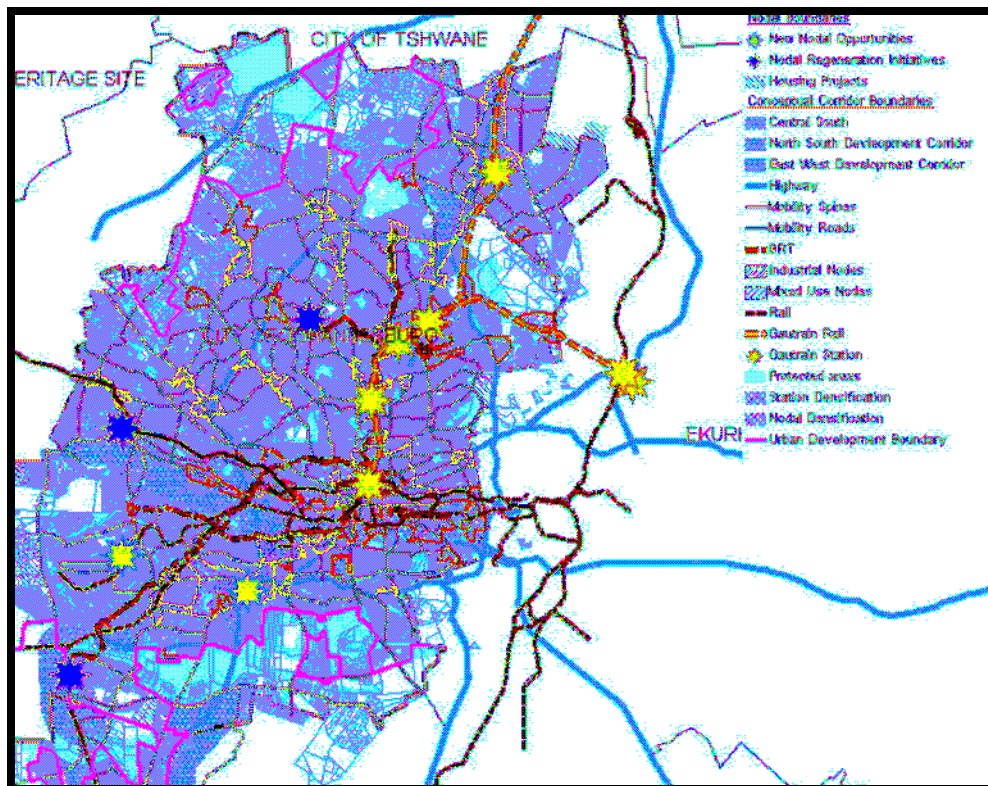
Figure 4.10. The SDF's Strategic Elements (CoJ, SDF 2007/8)

Before moving on to the specific concepts that the City of Johannesburg uses within its spatial planning, consideration needs to be given to the Growth Management Strategy of the City (GMS) of Johannesburg, which was formally adopted in 2008. The GMS prioritises areas of importance for investment, particularly in relation to infrastructure development and provision. The strategy classifies five functional Growth Management Areas across the City's geographical extent and each of these Growth Management Areas has a short, medium or long term investment plan attached to it.

The GMS was developed against the backdrop of the following challenges (GMS, 2008, p1):
- The State's desire to see the City facilitate accelerated economic growth (above current and projected National Gross Domestic Product figures);
- A disjuncture between infrastructure provision and development growth patterns;
- A national shortage of energy;
- The on-going challenge to restructure the spatial economy of apartheid settlement,
- The need to detail where the City is prepared to invest in infrastructure, in terms of priority, medium and long-term.

The five Growth Management Areas are, divided according to their priority status, as follows:
1. High Priority (i.e. 2008-2011 Capital Investment and immediate Service Upgrading)
   a. Public Transport Management Areas (PTMAs)
   The PTMAs are areas where public transport infrastructure investment is occurring throughout the City and includes the Bus Rapid Transit System and the Gautrain Station areas. These investment areas strive to strengthen the urban form through the creation of a sound public transport system.

b. Marginalized Areas
Previously disadvantaged, former black township areas, are prioritised for infrastructure development in order to reach acceptable service delivery levels and promote opportunities in these areas.

2. Medium Priority (i.e. immediate remedial infrastructure upgrading. New Capital Investment 2011- 2015)
a. Consolidation Areas
Two further classifications are made in the consolidation areas, namely encumbered infrastructure areas and non-encumbered infrastructure areas. In the case of development in the non-encumbered infrastructure areas, the usual spatial concepts, as outlined in the Regional Spatial Development Frameworks, will apply, but in the case of encumbered areas, development will be allowed only on the basis of incremental development, where services are available. These areas are not priority areas.
b. Expansion Areas
These areas are located primarily beyond the Urban Development Boundary and have been identified as potential future expansion areas based on the potential of infrastructure availability or possible servicing of these areas. These areas are, however, medium term development areas.

3. Low Priority (i.e. no infrastructure upgrading / provision before 2020)
a. Peri Urban Areas
The Peri Urban Areas are areas well beyond the Urban Development Boundary and no provision of infrastructure and services is planned for these areas. Therefore, no to limited development potential exists.

Spatial concepts are not promoted through this strategy, however, the application of concepts in Regional Spatial Development Frameworks is needed to achieve the growth management targets of the City.

The next section considers the spatial goals and concepts of the City since its formation in 2000.

4.6.1 Spatial Concepts since 2000

The concepts which have been chosen for the purposes of the research are organised into tables of comparison, with additional notes to illustrate, from my examination of City documentation, how concepts might have changed over a period of time or how they might have stayed unchanged. I consider how each concept appears in the City's spatial planning documentation between 2000 and 2008. This is to understand the meaning of these concepts, their evolution and also to assess whether any original concepts have been replaced by new concepts in recent years. This is to probe whether new concepts are continually introduced and, if not, how concepts change or remain the same. This formed a basis to probe the interviewees' knowledge on concepts, as discussed in the next chapter.

4.6.1.1 Mobility & Corridors

This section aims to trace the evolution and usage of the concept of Corridors. Corridors are understood to be areas of movement and may be characterised in different ways to suit various urban areas. Corridors should maximise connectivity across a city as well as increase accessibility through efficient public transport (MSDF Handbook, 2000).

Table 4.1 below outlines the usage of the concept of Corridors in planning since 2001. This concept has been attached to the notion of mobility, which encapsulates the movement of goods and people within, through and to other cities.

Table 4.1: Mobility Policies

Document	Year	Objectives as Captured	Concept Summary and my comments
Local Integrated Development Plan	2001	Provide for acceptable levels of safety and convenience subject to the function of a route. Give convenient access to amenities, employment opportunities and other urban facilities. Enhance and secure the mobility function of relevant routes. Promote inter-modal integration. Support frontage development where possible. Support minimisation of travel time. Support pedestrian movement through street and building design. Provide an urban structure that will support public transport. REFER TO TABLE 4.3	Table 4.2 illustrates the mobility policy of the time as the identification of various categories of roads, namely Urban Freeways, Mobility Spines, Mobility Roads and Activity Streets. Each category is related to the function it needs to perform which is related to high or low mobility and it sets out how each category should be treated in terms of land use and access. No mention is made of the concept of 'corridors' as advocated by early post-apartheid spatial planners. However, elements of the compact city approach are used to address certain issues. Elements include accessibility to opportunities, supporting an urban structure which provides for efficient public transport and supporting the notion of decreased travel times and costs.
Regional Spatial Development Framework	2003	At this stage in policy development corridors were not placed together with the mobility policy but were rather presented as two separate elements instead of a concept supporting a restructuring notion. Mobility Policy Support public transport Promote accessibility of communities to employment, recreation and social opportunities Promote protection of mobility function or major arterials and roads Ensure that the movement system directly links with, and is supported by, strong high intensity nodes and higher density residential development REFER TO TABLE 4.3	Table 4.3 illustrates the mobility policy of the time as adapted from the LIDP of 2001. Fairly minor changes had been brought about and the most notable trend is that a refinement of the policy occurred.
		Corridors The purpose of corridors was seen as follows in the RSDF (p48): Contribute to the growth and development of the city Realises economies of urbanisation Supports more efficient service provision Creates access to opportunities to large numbers of the community located in the corridor Support public transport Major restructuring element.	In describing what this urban phenomena or structuring element looked like the City described it as large tracts of land running in a linear manner that caters for various modes of transportation and has intense and dense land uses associated with it. At the time of introducing the concept the City had identified two corridors within its boundary, one being the east-west corridor connecting the west of the City to the East Rand/Ekurhuleni and secondly the north-south corridor linking the inner city to Tshwane. The separation of the policy and concepts, respectively the mobility policy and corridors, indicate a lack of integration and to some extent duplication of ideas and proposed outcomes. An example of this is that both the mobility policy and corridors' purpose is to create better accessibility for the community to services and opportunities as well as being supported by intensification of land uses (along and at destination points along the areas of mobility and corridors).
Spatial Development Framework	2004/5	As RSDF 2003/4	It is interesting to note that not a lot of evolution or changes occur in a concept over short periods of time. It is also noticed at this stage that the concept of corridors and the usage of the mobility policy are mostly refined and tweaked in terms of its presentation in the documents but has not yet been integrated to support each other in a coherent manner.
Spatial Development Framework	2005/6	From the time of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – 2003/4 it is seen that no new concepts or policy ideas are introduced in the plans of the City but that refinement occurred over time as new plans or policies were developed (i.e. Strategic Public Transport Network) or as new projects came on line (i.e. Gautrain). The plans also became more graphic and a picture started emerging of the City and its desired structure. The policy documents focused more on the design elements	The concepts at this stage in the City of Johannesburg's spatial planning became more implementable and integrated which further related better to land use management and managing the urban environment through the mobility policy and corridor concept, ultimately defined as a city structuring elements. In addition to this it can be seen that the policy, supported by the

			and implementing these concepts which looked more towards issues of turning the policy and corridor concept into reality. REFER TO FIGURE 4.11	corridor concept, became living policy within the spatial field as it could be applied and related to other spatial concepts such as higher density residential and intensified nodal development. The concepts, through the mobility policy, began relating to one another and in such a manner started complimenting each other's functions.
Spatial Development Framework	2006/7		As per RSDF 2005/6	Evolution of the policy and corridor concept was minimal between the 2005/6 RSDF and the 2006/7 RSDF.
Spatial Development Framework	2007/8		The Spatial Development Framework is premised on the same tables and concepts as contained in the 2006/7 SDF with minor changes relating to specific projects (i.e. Bus Rapid Transit System which is an extension of the SPTN).	The mobility policy and corridor concept had not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but had been reapplied to specific capital projects the City.
Spatial Development Framework	2008/9		As per RSDF 2007/8	The mobility policy and corridor concept had not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but had been reapplied to specific capital projects the City

Table 4.1 above, presents a summary of the mobility policy and the concept of corridors over eight years (2000 – 2008). Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below are provided as extracts from the spatial documents, to illustrate the concept of road types and the hierarchy of roads. It also aims to orientate the reader to what the intention of these road functions is in the broader planning realm, in relation to land use planning, form and function.

The tables illustrate that very little change actually occurs once a concept is introduced, in this case, that of Corridors, except in terms of tweaking its wording and making minor adjustments to its form and function. The concept illustrated in these tables is still used in the current spatial documents. It is seen at this stage that continuity in spatial documents occurs especially in terms of the mobility policy and corridor concept. What is seen through the review of the concept and policy over time is that corridor development becomes applicable to other spatial concepts and other structuring elements such as nodes and densification.

It is therefore noted that the mobility policy of the City has remained fairly static in terms of use, form and function in the City's context. As noted in the third column of Table 4.1, the concept is differently presented and applied to various areas within the City. The concepts of mobility and corridor development are used to promote accessibility to economic opportunities and better public transportation. The influences on how these concepts and elements relate to one another are not stipulated in the policy document. However, based on the theory of compact cities, linkages between these elements can be drawn.

These are that:
a) Corridor development promotes efficient implementation and use of public transport.
b) Corridors promote accessibility to employment, social and [recreation] opportunities, therefore making the city more accessible to the previously disadvantaged groups.
c) Corridors support efficient service provision.
d) Corridors assist in restructuring the apartheid city to a more integrated city form.

Table 4.2 shows the development of a more sophisticated approach using these same elements but making them more applicable to daily use. The changes from Table 4.2 to Table 4.3 are highlighted in Table 4.3.

Table 4.2: Road Types/Hierarchy (LIDP, 2001, p30)

DEVELOPMENT COMPONENT	LAND USE	FUNCTION AND DESIGN
Urban Freeways		
Mobility Spines A **MOBILITY SPINE** is an arterial along which through traffic flows with minimum interruption (optimal mobility), whilst development abutting the spine is in terms of specific policy criteria relating to the type of land use to be accommodated and to level of access.	Nodal development Higher density residential In terms of sub area tables	Mainly for inter regional mobility Main public transport route No direct access on arterials Encourage consolidation of erven The provision of on-site parking is a prerequisite for rezoning Ensure pedestrian access Provide public transport facilities It has a distribution function
Mobility Roads A **MOBILITY ROAD** carries mainly intra regional traffic i.e. traffic of a local nature. The focus is on mobility along the route. It is of a lower order than a Mobility Spine. It often connects Mobility Spines or neighbourhood nodes.	Local nodal development Higher density residential	Mainly for intra regional mobility Limited direct access Ensure pedestrian access Provide public transport facilities It has a collector function On site parking must be provided
Activity Streets An **ACTIVITY STREET** is a local street where access to the activity along the street is of paramount importance. Mobility is compromised in favour of the activity,	Residential Business Retail All uses to be of a local and fine grain nature	Accommodate pedestrian intensive uses High level of access Speed calming Provide public transport facilities Activity preferably one block/erf deep.

Table 4.3: RSDF Road Classification (RSDF, 2003, p22)[5]

DEVELOPMENT COMPONENT	LAND USE	FUNCTION AND DESIGN
Urban Freeways		
Mobility Spines A **MOBILITY SPINE** is an arterial along which through traffic flows with minimum interruption (optimal mobility), whilst development abutting the spine is in terms of specific policy criteria relating to the type of land use to be accommodated and to level of access. Mobility spines can be sub-classified into Higher of Lower Order roads. The shift from one order to the other will depend on the intensity of activity and subsequently the need for the provision of more or less accesses.	Nodal development Higher density residential In terms of sub area tables	Mainly for inter regional mobility Standard of vehicle intersection spacing tends to be lower Main public transport route No direct access on arterials Access from side roads or service roads Encourage consolidation of erven The provision of on-site parking is a prerequisite for rezoning Ensure pedestrian access Provide public transport facilities Consider pedestrian movement and public transport services Provision of pavements for pedestrians Restrictions on frontage access – controlled access It has a distribution function
Mobility Roads A **MOBILITY ROAD** carries mainly intra regional traffic i.e. traffic of a local nature. The focus is on mobility along the route. It is of a lower order than a Mobility Spine. It often connects Mobility Spines or neighbourhood nodes.	Local nodal development Higher density residential	Shorter distance distribution Link between the urban main road system and neighbourhoods Mainly for intra regional mobility Limited direct access Ensure pedestrian access Provide public transport facilities It has a collector function On site parking must be provided Provision of pavements for pedestrians
Activity Streets An **ACTIVITY STREET** is a local street where access to the activity along the street is of paramount importance. Mobility is compromised in favour of the activity,	Residential Business Retail All uses to be of a local and fine grain nature	Accommodate pedestrian intensive uses High level of *(direct)* access Speed calming Provide public transport facilities Activity preferably one block/erf deep.
Local Residential Street A RESIDENTIAL STREET is a local road that serves primarily local traffic accessing the served area.	Residential Uses Low intensity non-residential uses, as per Sub Area tables.	Provides direct access to residential property Facilitates mixed traffic within neighbourhoods safely and at low speed Provision of pavements for pedestrians Feeds into arterial road

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[5] The *italic wording* is that which was added in addition to the 2001 LIDP as captured in Table 6. The red wording is that which was removed from the table as captured in the 2001 LIDP and this merely illustrates the changes over an annual review cycle
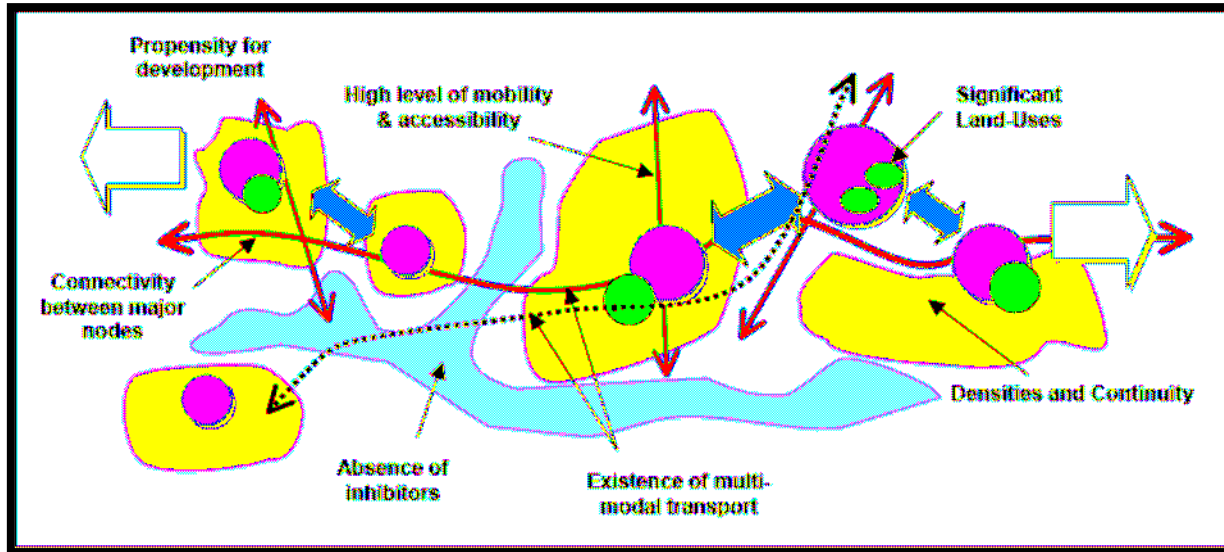
Figure 4.11: Key Cornerstones in Corridor Development (SDF 2005/6, p 67)

Figure 4.11 illustrates the concept of corridor development in relation to other concepts which enhance its form and function. This illustrates the interconnectedness between these concepts and that the concepts begin to relate to each other and that a specific concept, such as corridors, begins to shape the urban environment in a broader sense. It can almost be viewed as the 'glue' of the urban form.

Instead of a new concept being introduced during the period of review, one concept, that of Corridors, has remained and has been built upon. Evidence of who introduced this concept, or where it was introduced, is not clear at this stage. However, this continuity has strengthened the concept of mobility and corridor development as it can be seen to relate to other concepts and also apply to the urban environment with guidelines as contained in Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

4.6.1.2 Nodes

Table 4.4: **The Concept of Nodes since 2000 to 2008**

Document	Year	Concept as Captured	Concept Summary and my commentary
Local Integrated Development Plan	2001	"An ACTIVITY NODE is a place of highest accessibility where both public and private investment tends to concentrate. It offers the opportunity to locate a range of activities, from small to large enterprises and is often associated with mixed use development."	This nodal policy advocated certain elements, which could be present in such an urban configuration, namely **higher residential densities** within close proximity to nodes or within, **intensification of land uses** within nodes, higher levels of **public investment,** provision of **public transport and associated facilities** and the locational criteria of nodes being placed at the intersection of major transport routes.
Regional Spatial Development Framework	2003	"ensuring that the urban structure is sufficiently robust to allow these urban opportunity areas to adapt to market and demographic changes" (p24). The Nodal Policy of this document was expanded upon in terms of its content and it looked at the following issues in relation to areas classified by the City as nodes: • Size and significance of nodes • Physical configuration / classification • Nodal cycle phase • Relationship to Road Classification • Integration into the development lattice	The concept of nodes had not changed but was refined during the two year phase between 2001 and 2003. Elements which could significantly change the function of a node had become more prominent in this policy as it began to look at issues of life cycle of a node and sizes of nodes. Like with the mobility policy and concept of corridors it began to relate to other urban concepts and physical spatial features. An example of this is the relationship with the road classification.
Spatial Development Framework	2004/5	As RSDF 2003/4	Within a one year phase no major changes had occurred in the policy and it remained largely unchanged with little to no refinement.
Spatial Development Framework	2005/6	From this year onwards it was seen that the comments remained largely unchanged yet it became implementable to local contexts. A relationship started developing between concepts, especially movement and corridors.	From the time of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – 2003/4 it is seen that no new concepts are introduced into the plans of the City but that refinement occurred over time as new plans or policies were developed (i.e. Strategic Public Transport Network) or as new projects came on line (i.e Gautrain). The plans also became more graphic and a picture started emerging of the City and its desired structure. What this meant was that the concept of nodes could be applied to the local environment. The policy documents focused more on the design elements and implementing this concept which looked more towards issues of turning the concept into reality.
Spatial Development Framework	2006/7	The SDF of 2006/7 remained in the same fashion as the SDF of 2005/6. An addition, which was found, was the following Nodal Hierarchy categorisation.	In terms of the development of the nodal hierarchy table in this spatial document it can be said that one observes a refinement and sensitivity towards different urban environments and which nodes are located within them. This indicates that work had been done on understanding the concept of nodes better and translating the concept into an urban structuring element. It was the beginning of moving from the conceptual to the reality or the urban environment.

| Spatial Development Framework | 2007/8 | The Spatial Development Framework is premised on the same tables and concepts as contained in the 2006/7 SDF with minor changes relating to specific projects (i.e. Bus Rapid Transit System which is an extension of the SPTN). | The concept has not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but has just been reapplied to specific capital projects the City is investing in. |
| Spatial Development Framework | 2008/9 | As per RSDF 2007/8 | The concept has not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but has just been reapplied to specific capital projects the City is investing in. |

Table 4.4 provides a summary of the concept of nodes and possible changes to this concept over the past eight years.

Over the past eight years, the concept has changed very little. Minor adjustments have been made, but none of any significance. It is seen at this stage, that continuity in spatial documents occurs especially in terms of this concept, as with the concept of corridors. What is seen through the review of the concepts over time is that they become applicable to other spatial concepts and other structuring elements. It is further noted that with the application of these concepts comes further refinement.

4.6.1.3 Density

Table 4.5: The Concept of Density 2000 to 2008

Document	Year	Concept as Captured	Concept Summary and my comments
Local Integrated Development Plan	2001	The density policy of this particular LIDP was fairly vague and referred primarily to issues of site-specific evaluations and taking certain elements into account in the assessment of applications. It put forward the following issues to consider: • Density should relate to public transportation; • Nodes should consist of mixed use environments and should include higher density residential development; • Cognisance should be taken in terms of the site and surrounding land uses • Evaluation of design elements and criteria • Proximity to nodes, transport routes and community facilities needs to be assessed.	This policy did not put forward any quantitative density benchmarks in any specific locations but merely looked at site-specific issues and surrounding areas. It did however relate to other concepts such as nodes and corridors (...relate to public transport).
Regional Spatial Development Framework	2003	The sustainable neighbourhoods idea, as contained in the RSDF, is strongly related to densification and the subsequent policy thereof. Strategic residential densification was promoted in this RSDF in the following manners: • In and around nodes • Along Mobility Spines and Mobility Roads in support of public transport • On the periphery of open spaces • Within areas of focused public sector investments • In selected areas of strong private sector investment in economic activity as highlighted in the RSDFs	Densification, as contained in the RSDF, ensures a diversification of housing typologies and promotes the adequate provision of social and economic amenities to ensure better quality of life. Densification further promotes the optimal use of resources and infrastructure and could also promote safety through design. Densification further attempts to reduce travel and transaction costs and rationalising housing patters in relation to urban opportunities and public transportation, relating to the compact city approach. All of these issues were discussed and explored in the RSDF and the SDF and RSDF put forward a Density Calculation Table. This was used to measure density applications and the units per hectare permissible in terms of its location.
Spatial Development Framework	2004/5	As RSDF 2003/4	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.
Spatial Development Framework	2005/6	From the time of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – 2003/4 it is seen that no new 'densification' concepts are introduced into the plans of the City but that refinement occurred over time as new plans or policies were developed (i.e. Strategic Public Transport Network) or as new projects came on line (i.e Gautrain). The plans also became more graphic and a picture started emerging of the City and its desired structure. The policy documents focused more on the design elements and implementing these concepts, which looked more towards issues of	Densification was, and to a certain degree is still seen as producing a very negative urban form as people associate high-density areas with areas of low quality of life – i.e. Hillbrow. At this stage guidelines were introduced to 'regulate' higher density environments in order to ensure that environments are liveable and provide a good quality of life to the people living within it. This is one of the critiques of the compact city approach. Here it is seen that design guidelines were introduced to start guiding developers in terms of higher density developments.

		turning these concepts into reality.	
Spatial Development Framework	2006/7	As per RSDF 2005/6	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.
Spatial Development Framework	2007/8	The Spatial Development Framework is premised on the same tables and concept as contained in the 2006/7 SDF with minor changes relating to specific projects (i.e. Bus Rapid Transit System which is an extension of the SPTN).	The concept has not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but has just been reapplied to specific capital projects the City is investing in.
Spatial Development Framework	2008/9	As per RSDF 2007/8	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.

The concept outlined in the table above illustrates that at the initial outset, this concept in the City of Johannesburg related to other urban elements and concepts such as nodes, corridors and public transportation. However it also shows that limited guidelines existed in the early 2000s, but with time, sophistication began to develop and densification needed to be guided much more strongly, not only to ensure quality living environments but also to convince and incentivise developers into taking up higher densities in strategic locations. The market take up was looked at in terms of giving developers a better return on investment if they in turn provided services or contributions. Towards 2005/6, the strategic elements of densification came through much more strongly in terms of locating higher density development and this illustrates that the concept has evolved with time and circumstances. This illustrates the robustness of the concept in changing and adapting to the local environment.

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 illustrate the evolution of a more sophisticated approach to the concept of nodes and the classification of different nodes, as with the mobility policy and concept of corridors. These tables illustrate how the concept has been applied in relation to other concepts such as nodes and public transport areas. All of these urban elements are, however, not clearly brought together but are based on one element of the other. An example of this is that densification is looked at only in terms of nodes or only in terms of public transport (which would be found on corridors). The tables, however, provide definitive guidelines for allowed densities within a certain area from the identified areas and show how these concepts complement each other in their application.

Table 4.6: Nodal Density Guidelines (SDF 2006/7, p73)

LOCATION PARAMETERS – Erven / farm portions...	DESIRED UNITS PER HA (Max. no. indicated - NOT CUMULATIVE)
Within defined Nodal Boundary (CBD /Metropolitan/ Regional)	No upper limit defined - to be determined per development proposal (e.g. where infrastructure, access and design 100+ du per ha could be supported)
Contiguous to a defined Nodal Boundary (CBD /Metropolitan/ Regional)*	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 40-80 du per ha could be supported
Within 500m of the CBD or Metropolitan Nodal Boundary**	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 20-50 du per ha could be supported
Within 500m** of a defined Regional Nodal Boundary	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 15-30 du per ha could be supported
Within District Node*	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 20-90 du per ha could be supported

Table 4.7: Public Transport Density Guidelines (SDF 2006/7, p74.3.1.4 Urban Development Boundary)

LOCATION PARAMETERS – Erven / farm portions...	DESIRED UNITS PER HA (Max. no. indicated – NOT CUMULATIVE)
Within 500m* of an existing or proposed train station	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 30-60 du per ha could be supported
Adjacent to and fronting on to a Phase 1 BRT Route#	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 70-90 du per ha could be supported
Within 200m* of a Phase 1 BRT Route#	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 20-50 du per ha could be supported
Fronting on to an existing Mobility Road	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 30-50 du per ha could be supported
Fronting on to an existing Mobility Spine	To be determined per development proposal. Where infrastructure, access and design allows 50-70 du per ha could be supported

Table 4.8: The UDB since 2000 to 2008

Document	Year	Concept as Captured	Concept Summary/My Comments
Local Integrated Development Plan	2001	No mention of UDB	No UDB was mentioned or drawn at this stage in policy formulation which can be traced through the documentation.
Regional Spatial Development Framework	2003	"As one of the tools available to the City to manage growth, an Urban Development Boundary (UDB) was adopted as part of the City's Spatial Development Framework. The concept of the UDB was also an integral component of the 2030 Vision and had already been piloted via the Provincial Gauteng Spatial Development Framework" (RSDF Region 7, 2003, p54). The UDB was delineated in terms of the following set criteria at the time: • Taking consideration of the city's proposed future structure and assisting in its growth management strategy • Considering the availability of infrastructure and services • Looking at the Provincial Urban Edge/UDB • Existing Johannesburg Urban Development Boundary • Providing limited capacity for future growth • Looking at areas already compromised in terms of development pressure • Considering strategically located land for infill purposes • Protecting the Metropolitan Open Space System • Logically aligning the boundary along existing features • Taking into consideration existing developments and rights of land owners • Looking at the municipal boundary for guidance This RSDF (2003, p55) further stated: "The UDB is however, only one form of government intervention to assist growth management and its application should be in conjunction with other interventions and strategies to influence city structure."	The concept of the UDB is here described as a management tool for growth management rather than a concept, which is debateable and will be looked at in the next chapter. However, in saying it is a concept at this stage one sees that the adoption of this concept was from the Provincial SDF. It further outlines what influenced the decision and position of the boundary and what the City's spatial form vision was in the long term. The delineation at this stage focused on growth areas, rights of landowners, open space and the environment and even the municipal boundary and provincial UDB.
Spatial Development Framework	2004/5	As RSDF 2003/4	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.
Spatial Development Framework	2005/6	From the time of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – 2003/4 it is seen that no new concepts are introduced into the plans of the City but that refinement occurred over time as new plans or policies were developed (i.e. Strategic Public Transport Network) or as new projects came on line (i.e Gautrain). The plans also became more graphic and a picture started emerging of the City and its desired structure. The policy documents focused more on the design elements and implementing these concepts which looked more towards issues of turning these concepts into reality.	The concept has not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but has just been reapplied to specific local areas and related projects and frameworks.
Spatial Development Framework	2006/7	As per RSDF 2005/6	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.
Spatial Development Framework	2007/8	The Spatial Development Framework is premised on the same tables and concepts as contained in the 2006/7 SDF with minor changes relating to specific projects (i.e. Bus Rapid Transit System which is an extension of the SPTN).	The concept has not been changed or altered in any significant manner at this stage but has just been reapplied to specific local areas and related projects and frameworks.
Spatial Development Framework	2008/9	As per RSDF 2007/8	Once again the concept has not evolved over a short period of time. Continuity in the manner the concept is used is seen in the document.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the focus of much of the interviews was on the concepts of the urban development boundary, nodes and corridors. It is interesting to note here that the concepts were introduced a great deal of detail and have remained largely unchanged over the past eight years. The concepts have not evolved or been reapplied in different ways over time. It is also evident that the concept was taken from a higher government sphere and adopted into a long-term strategic document.

This desktop review provides an outline of the understanding of what the author sees in the CoJ's documents. The review and analysis in this chapter has not been informed by clear knowledge of the understanding on the part of city planners prior to the introduction of these concepts. It merely shows a summary of the trends of concepts used and changes as observed in the documentation.

In conclusion to this section, it is possible to list some trends in the adoption and use of strategic spatial concepts. These are:
- The introduction of the concepts in the early 2000s was very conceptual and not grounded within the local context. Over time and particularly towards the end of the Mayoral First Term, one sees that momentum was gained in terms of the actual application of concepts and grounding them into the local context.
- The relationship between concepts only developed towards the same time as the application of the concepts. It is clear that from approximately 2005, the concepts were no longer viewed in isolation, but that they began to relate to one another and compliment each other, even if they did not all come together at the same time.

It is clear that a trend exists in 'reviewing/revising' concepts and the application thereof. It seems that major changes only occur after a two to three year period.

Consistency, related to the above-mentioned point and also to the use and lack of introduction of new concepts is evident in this review. Speculation for this is that it is related to ensuring a stable urban environment in which people could live, work and invest, therefore creating a sense of stability and a confidence.

It could also be that concepts only have an impact on the urban environment after a longer period of time, that is, after developments have been successful and therefore, frequent changes and amendment may not be desirable.

One aspect that is not quite clear is the monitoring and evaluation of the performances of these concepts and what actually prompts the changes in the documents and application of concepts.

The documents give no clear understanding of what the historical significance of concepts are and what and how they should be used. The documents provide guidelines to developers and professionals without substantiating what the reasons for these are. Relating this back to the Cape Town document review, it is evident that problem statements are provided with the concepts as well as clear characteristics. The City of Johannesburg documents illustrate this, but not in such a direct manner. The issues are not directly related to concepts and this is

where it falls short in terms of drawing clear linkages between issues identified and concepts used. Not only are the linkages unclear between local issues and concepts, but it is also unclear how local application of concepts relates to larger space economy issues as set out in provincial and national strategies. At no point are the concepts in the strategic spatial documents related back to broader strategic issues.

Even though the above-mentioned point might not feature in the spatial document themselves, no record of research documents could be found to understand the introduction of the concepts and why and how they are used.

It is anticipated that the interview material might illustrate the understanding and continued use of concepts as well as the introduction thereof in terms of what the initial usage and intension was with the concept introductions.

4.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter set the institutional scene of the City of Johannesburg and gave brief policy and strategy reviews of the NSDP, GSDP and Cape Town Metropolitan Framework documents. The linkages between these documents and those of the City of Johannesburg are not easily drawn. This leads to the questioning of whether higher order strategies and policies actually influence strategic spatial planning on the ground.

The desktop research was done not only to gain some insight from a historical point of view but also to review current spatial planning policy. The review revealed the formation and strategic thrusts of the City of Johannesburg and looked at the strategic spatial policies of the City since 2000, when the City was formed. It is evident that the newly formed City, prior to 2006, was still shaping and testing its structure while attempting to address strategic issues identified by the Executive Mayor. It is further noted that strategic spatial planning did not enjoy a great deal of attention and that concepts were introduced in the spatial documents without a lot of substance and prior application in the local context.

In terms of the governance and institutional model, it is seen that it had evolved and the main reason for this was that decision-making in the City was hampered where powers and functions were duplicated. This revision process took a period of four years, whereafter a separation of powers occurred at the point where executive decision-making was split from legislative decision making. The nature of the decision making bodies was also clearly spelt out in terms of which department reported to which committee and which political head. What does not appear in the documents produced by the City is the decision-making processes. This will be discussed in the next chapter, as these issues were probed in the interviews.

What was noted in this chapter, however, is that the application of these spatial concepts really only began during the second term of the current Executive Mayor. It is clear that since 2000, no new concepts have been introduced. The concepts used since this time have merely been refined, reworked and applied. The specific strategies referred to are:
- Supporting An Efficient Movement System – relating to the concept of corridors
- Ensuring Strong Viable Nodes – relating to the concept of nodes

- Initiating And Implementing Corridor Development – relating to the concept of corridors
- Managing Growth and Delineating the UDB – relating to the Urban Development Boundary

The next chapter will draw on interview material to consider how the authors of these spatial plans understood the history and meaning of the concepts being advocated in these plans. This material will further reveal the processes of adoption of these concepts and also the internal processes of decision-making and power relations in terms of strategic spatial planning. Clues have been already been given in this chapter in terms of understanding what drives plans and policies within the City. Some of these clues are political directives through Mayoral Priorities and elected party manifestos, changing institutional arrangements and shifting of planning within these institutional changes and the lack of direction given by other spheres of government, which leaves the local authority to determine its own strategic direction with only high level strategic thoughts in other spatial strategy documents.

CHAPTER 5

THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG: PROBING THE CASE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the spatial policy documents, which have been produced by the City of Johannesburg over the last eight years, to establish the spatial concepts being used. Concepts being used within spatial strategies can be summarised as:
- Supporting An Efficient Movement System
- Ensuring Strong Viable Nodes
- Initiating And Implementing Corridor Development
- Managing Growth And Delineating The UDB

The associated concepts relating to the strategies are:
- Nodes
- Corridors
- Urban Development Boundary

Through interviews, this chapter investigates how these strategies and concepts are understood by employees within the City of Johannesburg's Development Planning and Facilitation Department, selected Provincial Government Officials and also some consultants who have in the past produced, and may currently be producing, some spatial documentation for the City.

This chapter outlines the interview questions used in the research. It discusses the interview content in a comprehensive manner to give the reader a sense of the very diverging opinions and understandings of concepts and also the manner in which the institution, the City of Johannesburg, is operating from various perspectives.

The interviewees, who, for the purpose, of this report remain anonymous due to various sensitivities, are referred to by positions and sectors as illustrated overleaf. All formal interviewees are identified according to an alphabetical letter, which identifies them with statements made.
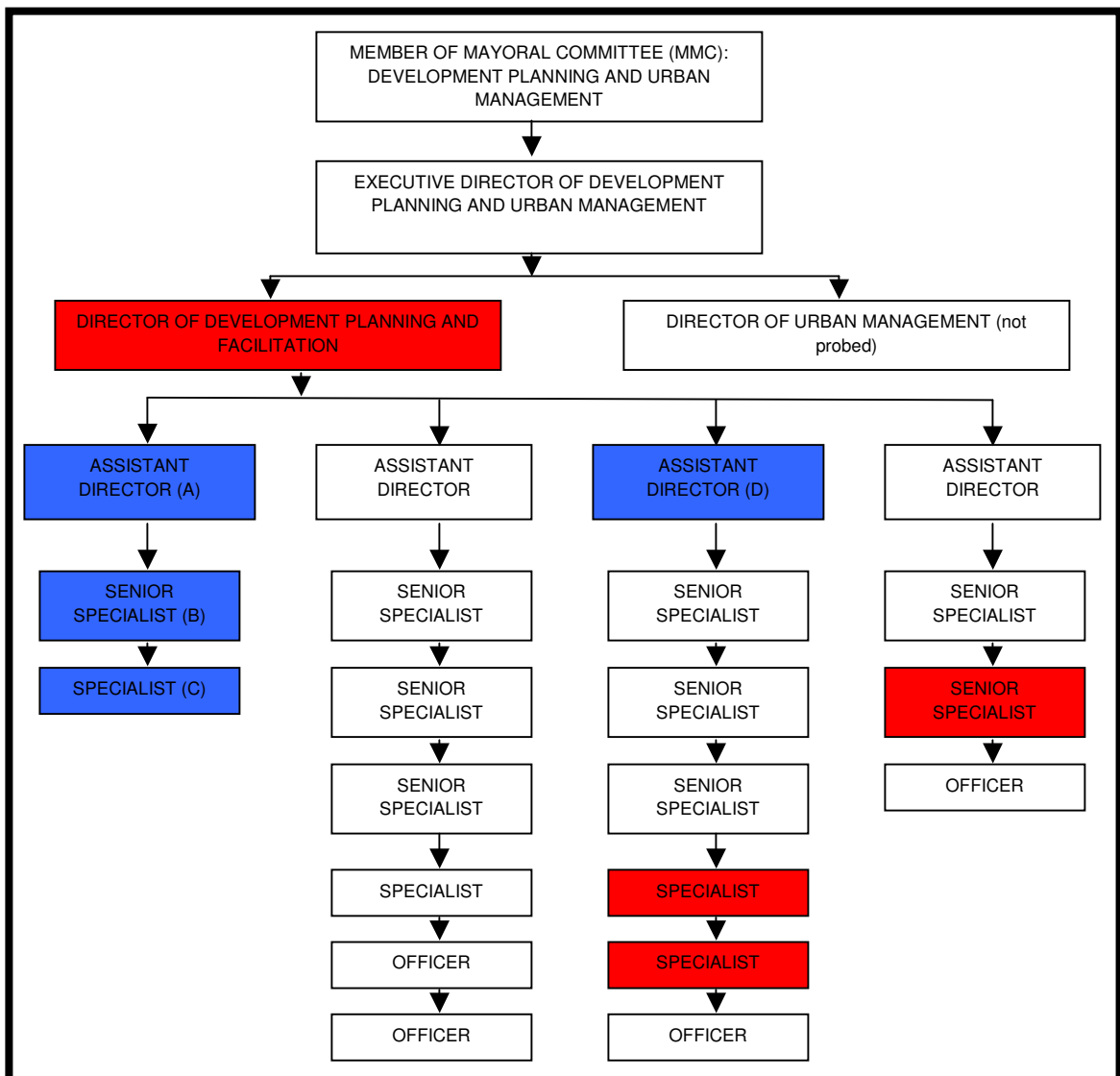
Figure 5.1: Structure of Department of Development Planning and Facilitation in August 2008

The people in the positions highlighted above each have a particular responsibility and were chosen by virtue of being the authors of documents within the department. The interviewees were either the authors of the Spatial Development Framework, Growth Management Strategy, Regional Spatial Development Frameworks or Precinct Plans. Therefore it was deemed appropriate to interview them based on their knowledge of the content of the spatial documents. Also, an additional role of this particular department is facilitation and interaction with other departments on the policies developed. Each of the positions is briefly described below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Development Planning and Facilitation Position Descriptions

POSITION	RESPONSIBILITIES
Director of Development Planning and Facilitation	• This position assumes a leadership role where general direction is given to the department and feedback from the department is given to the Executive Director (ED) of Development Planning and Urban Management. • This position further entails communication to and from the Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) and also represents the department at committees/meetings.
Assistant Director (AD)	• Each smaller division within the department is overseen by an Assistant Director who reports to the Director of Development Planning and Facilitation. All communication from the Director is filtered down to staff under each division by the AD. • The AD also provides guidance to staff while policies and spatial documents are prepared and all documents must get the AD's sign off before it is sent to the Director, ED or MMC. • All general communication from staff to other departments or the public is also overseen by the AD to ensure consistency and follow protocol.
Senior Specialist	• Senior Specialist positions entail the development and application of spatial policies such as the SDF, RSDF or precinct plans. Senior Specialists are usually responsible for a region which entails the review of the SDF or RSDF annually. • This position also entails communication with and to other departments, such as Development Management on a weekly basis in terms of application procedure at Planning Permission Meetings.
Specialist	• Specialist positions entail the development and application of spatial policies such as the SDF, RSDF or precinct plans. Specialists are usually responsible for a region, in conjunction with a Senior Specialist, which entails the review of the SDF or RSDF annually. However, not all regions have a Senior Specialist but only Specialists. • The major difference between Senior Specialist and Specialists are knowledge and experience base, the one usually has more than the other and also grading within the department. • This position also entails communication with and to other departments, such as Development Management on a weekly basis in terms of application procedure at Planning Permission Meetings.

There have been subsequent changes to the structure outlined in Figure 5.1, however, this has no bearing on the decision making processes of the Department and the City of Johannesburg at this stage and the revised structure has no impact on this research. The coloured blocks indicate the positions which were interviewed (blue) or which were engaged in informal discussions or observations (red). In terms of the observations it is meant that the I formed part of official meetings where decision making was occurring or where content of the spatial policies were discussed which had a bearing on the outlook and outcome of this research. These meetings included Operational Meetings, which usually occur on Mondays, Planning Permission Meetings held with Development Management on a weekly basis (the author is part of two such meetings per week) and also meetings with the Association of Consulting Town and Regional Planners (ACTRP), two of which have occurred with Development Planning and Facilitation since the author's joining the City.

In addition, interviews took place with two officials from the Gauteng Provincial Government Department of Economic Development, Integrated Development Planning Unit, as well as two consultants who have produced spatial plans or are currently producing such documents. The officials' respective positions are that of a Development Planner (E) and a Senior Development Planner (F).

For purposes of confidentiality, the consultants will be referred to as Consultant 1 (G) and Consultant 2 (H).

Consultant 1 is a senior planner at Maluleke Luthuli and Associates, a firm of professional planners who work in the fields of land use management field and spatial planning. They further specialise in project management, especially in the housing sector. The division of the company focused on was the spatial planning division. This consultancy has numerous offices across the country.

Consultant 2 is the founder of Dludla Development, a firm the author has previously worked with while in private practice. The company is smaller than that of Consultancy 1 with only one office, but works across the country on numerous projects. The consultant further has a legislative background. Projects undertaken by this consultant include land use management applications, spatial planning projects for the public sector, work at the Demarcation Board and Integrated Development Plan projects. The consultant is a member of the Gauteng Development Tribunal in terms of the Development Facilitation Act of 2005.

The formal interviews were conducted between April 2008 and November 2009, while the informal discussion session and observation period occurred between August 2008 and November 2009.

This chapter is structured as follows:
- Summary of interview questions
- Interview content per sector
- Gauteng Provincial Government
- Consultants
- City of Johannesburg
- Summary of interview content
- Conclusion

5.2 Interview Questions – Purpose of Interviews

All interviews were premised on the same goals, namely probing the relationship between the interviewee and the institution, the City of Johannesburg, in order to reveal decision making processes and power relationships. The first set of interview questions probed the understanding of concepts and strategic spatial planning. The second set of questions probed relationships and decision making processes. Three spatial concepts have been investigated, namely nodes, corridors and the urban development boundary.

The interview questions were structured to ensure that the author could deduce whether or not concepts and ideas surrounding strategic spatial planning were universally understood, and if not, how they are understood and what they mean to the various role players.

The questions in Annexure A were some of the common questions posed to all interviewees. Some additional questions were posed to the various interviewees, depending on their sector involvement, meaning provincial or local government or consultants. Interviews allowed for an hour-long discussion, comprising approximately twenty broad questions with variations and extensions where required. This allowed for answers to be clarified and for informal discussion, if deemed appropriate. Follow up interviews through e-mails and telephonic conversations were also held, where gaps in the data were noticed.

Before moving on to the interview material, it is important to reiterate the Conceptual Framework elements which influenced the methodology. From the variables involved in policy transfer, the following elements were drawn upon in terms of the interview question conceptualisation:

- Who[6] is involved in policy transfer (i.e. the agent)?
- What[7] is being transferred?
- When[8] did the transfer occur?
- Why[9] did the transfer occur?
- How[10] did the transfer occur?

However, the conceptual framework elements mentioned above were not the only influencing elements on the development of the interview questions and methodology. New Institutionalism requires the probing of institutional forces, which may have an effect on decision makers during their decision making processes. Therefore, influences such as power, cultural elements and historical events need to be understood to grasp the nature of forces influencing specific actors. In order to further understand issues of power and decision making processes, the conceptual framework lens of governance is drawn. The background

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[6] In terms of who is involved in policy transfer, one would look at the "agent" who identified an object of transfer and either imports or exports this from one context to another or from one field of study to another. The "agent" could be an organisation or an individual. It could also be a combination of the two, where an individual (a salaried employee, contractor) is instructed by the organisation to find and make recommendations on objects of transfer.

[7] The objects of transfer were previously listed and included objects such as policies, as well as lessons learnt from policies. Not only does transference relate directly to these identified objects, but to how much of it might be identified and used for transfer.

[8] This variable is closely related to all others, as the time is directly related to who is involved (and the longer the time, the more people get involved), where ideas might come from and involve and reasons for policy and idea adoption could increase or change.

[9] Coercion, circumstances, type of objectives or geographic proximity.

[10] It either occurred through coercion or in the event of voluntary, conscious decisions other issues should be kept in mind.

information and desktop study also assisted in understanding what kind of issues to probe, as not all the documentation had the answers that were being sought. An example of this would be how spatial concepts were taken up and what kind of research was actually done before concepts were adopted.

Annexure B illustrates the elements, which were referred to in the conceptual framework when the interview questions were formulated. In the case where a question is linked to the column of 'other' it means that the question was relating to other issues within the conceptual framework, such as governance or institutionalism, which at this point is more complex to pin down, or issues of clarity and background information were being probed to inform the circumstances in which decisions are made and concepts are used. This will be further explored in Chapter 6 when the interview material is analysed.

5.3 Themed Interview Content

The interview material has been 'themed' according to the relevant topics of discussion leading this research. The identified themes include the following:
- The understanding of STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING (SSP)
  - o Defining SSP
  - o Understanding the 'place' this concept fills within the planning realm – the *HOME* of SSP
- Defining STRATEGIC SPATIAL CONCEPTS (SSC) as used within SSP
- *PROCESSES* of researching/adopting/decision making in terms of SSC
  - o Players
  - o Bureaucracies/Departmental Engagements
  - o Driving forces
  - o Issues of Power
- Understanding influences in and around SSP and SSC
  - o Legislative
  - o Political involvement/direction
  - o Interactions/Learning/Research
  - o Historical significance
- The probing of the understanding of the concepts of nodes, corridors and the urban development boundary
  - o Original intension
  - o Process of adoption
  - o Process of use
  - o Comparing intension to outcome

5.3.1 THEME 1 – Strategic Spatial Planning

The interviewees were asked to explain what they understood by Strategic Spatial Planning and to elaborate on how and why they understand the concept in this way. The following ideas emerged from the interviewees' understanding of this:

One of the main ideas that emerged about what strategic spatial planning meant to the interviewees was that it related back to political visions of the ruling party of the sphere of government the interviewee was engaging in. In this case, the African National Congress was

identified by the interviewees. It was explained by all public sector interviewees that the political visions had to be translated to spatial imperatives in order to make visions more tangible and deliverable within the appointed politicians' term of office. I probed whether public planning practitioners engaged with politicians to translate political views and objectives into spatial concepts and it was stated that no such interaction occurs. Political imperatives were filtered down (in terms of the people in positions who have direct access to politicians, refer to Table 5.1) to the authors of documents, who have to decide which planning concepts will best achieve those political objectives.

When asked how they chose which planning concepts to use in this translation process, interviewees stated that options are weighed up in terms of what is readily available in current documents. If necessary, they are manipulated and changed to suit whatever imperative it was that needed that specific translation. An example given by Interviewee D was that a political imperative such as Economic Growth and Job Creation needed to be applied to an area in Orange Farm (Stretford), where limited development has occurred and no stimulus had been provided in this area. The spatial concept then introduced was that of a node. The area was classified as a district node even though it did not have similar characteristics, identity or linkages that other nodes of this nature would usually have. The explanation given was that Soweto is an area with a great deal of political pressure and also planning attention forcing planning practitioners to attempt a stimulation of growth through manipulating concepts (putting this particular area 'on par' with areas which actually are district nodes). In this the characteristics of a district node were manipulated to suit the area, whereas nodes are usually categorised and classified after market forces have taken development of an area into a particular direction.

In relation to the deliverables of SSP, Interviewee C stated that delivering on political imperatives becomes problematic as a five-year term in office (in the political realm) is relatively short in terms of deliverables in spatial terms. Later power, governance and institutional issues related to this point, are explored. Interviewee C's comment also raised the questions of what strategic spatial planning is and what it means to the different role players engaged in this realm. In this case, the professional opinion and work of the planner might be in tension with the deliverable of the politician, which could get him/her, re-elected for a second term in office.

Interviewee G described SSP as developing a 'Spatial Roadmap' in which acquired knowledge is transformed to the spatial in order to establish an area or region's competitive versus comparative advantage[11].

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[11] Comparative advantage is given by the access to certain resources that others don't have. Usually this is related to natural resources. On the other hand, competitive advantages are created by combining different resources, primarily knowledge. (http://wiki.answers.com, cited 15 March 2009)

Some of the interviewees saw SSP in various levels which could interact with each other or which may even have separate functions. Not all interviewees had the same ideas surrounding the levels but the four major understandings of this are illustrated and discussed below.

Understanding 1 (Interviewee B)
Two levels exist within SSP. The first level is about assessing the current situation by looking at critical needs and constraints where plans are developed to solve these current situations and problems. Therefore the first level of SSP addresses the current situation and circumstances through direct and immediate intervention.

The second level of SSP is building on the current situation and interventions by developing a longer term plan to avoid the current situation from re-occurring and critically assessing what the future needs and demands will be. These needs and demands are then translated to the spatial in order to address these needs through spatial means.

Understanding 2 (Interviewee D)
SSP exists at various levels whether in government spheres or between government departments. SSP is not blueprint planning or management but rather providing guidance around the most important urban elements and providing tools to achieve a desired urban form. SSP should ideally look at balancing relationships between urban elements and establishing priorities thereof in relation to each other and other spatial realms. Interviewee D illustrated how SSP should ideally operate in terms of levels of planning: SSP should occur between various departments within a sphere of government but it should also occur between different spheres of government.

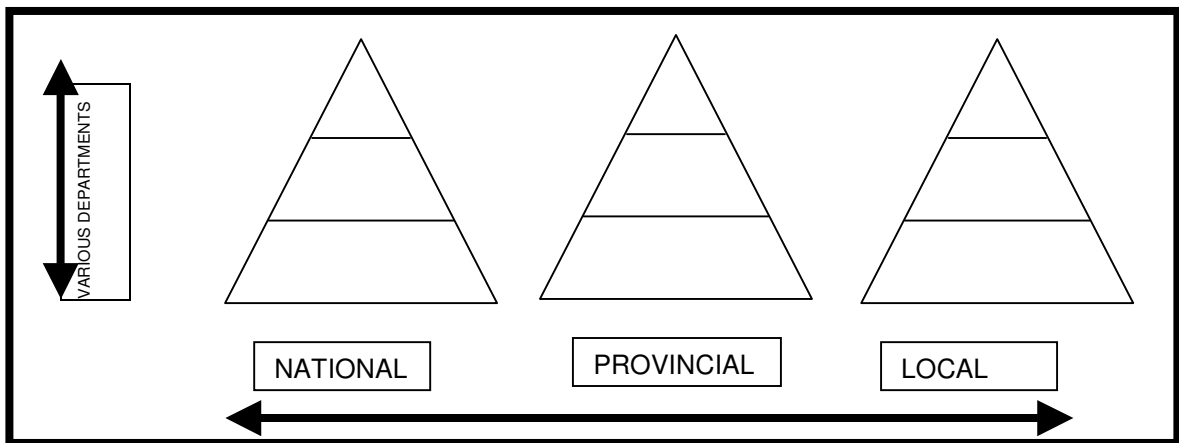Figure 5.2: Levels of Strategic Spatial Planning and the horizontal and vertical interaction (Interviewee D)

Understanding 3 (Interviewee C)
Another interviewee stated simply that SSP occurs at a metropolitan and a regional scale. Reference was made to the Spatial Development Framework, which is a spatial document for the entire City of Johannesburg and also the Regional Spatial Development Frameworks,

which are regional plans within the City. Reference was also made to the Global City Region and associated plans, which were under development. However, the interviewee stated that limited knowledge and engagement had occurred around this new concept.

Understanding 4 (Interviewee G)
The final understanding of the levels associated with SSP consisted of three levels. These levels are:

- o Macro Level: this is a principle-based level, which relates to legislative and policy directives from a higher government level such as the National sphere.
- o The second level is a combination of the Macro Level and the Implementation Level discussed below. It includes the analysis of the local in relation to the Macro Level assessing the social, economic and physical attributes of an area.
- o Implementation Level: physical projects which are based on the principles and legislative requirements.

In addition to understanding SSP at levels of engagement and functioning, this interviewee commented that SSP in the local government sphere does not carry any legislative weight, which is problematic when attempting to translate visions into realities. It was also stated that SSP is a 'woolly' concept, which is theoretically based and has no clear directive. The interviewee commented that it could mean the conceptualisation of development but that the approach as a whole was too broad and theoretical.

Interviewees were asked where they saw SSP being placed within the government sector. In other words, where is the home of SSP in the South African political or government system, which department is the champion of SSP?

It was interesting to note the reaction of most interviewees and how long it took to answer this question. Most interviewees did not actually know which department within government champions planning, let alone spatial planning. The following were some of the answers:

- The Presidency
- The Department of Land Affairs
- Somewhere in National Government
- There is no custodian of planning
- I don't know

One respondent stated that planning as a profession is not clearly defined at all government levels and that no one was taking responsibility for planning as a profession. There are no 'players' and no 'referees'. This is linked to the broader co-ordination function of planning, which most respondents saw as lacking in the professional planning domain.

In the follow up interview session, an attempt was made once again to find an answer to this question and the interviewees were asked whether strategic spatial planning takes direction from legislation and if so which legislation? It was interesting to note that the following pieces of legislation were given:

- The Public Finance Management Act No 1 of 1999
- The Development Facilitation Act

- The National Spatial Development Perspective (even though it is not legislation)
- Transportation White Paper
- Municipal Systems Act

It was then asked which department initiated the various pieces of legislation and in most instances that question could not be answered. However, some attempts were made. The answers included the Department of Local Government, The Presidency, Department of Transportation and the Department of Land Affairs.

On following up this 'dilemma' of not being able to place SSP in a National Department of Government, Interviewees A and D concurred that this is problematic. However, it gives some scope for movement within the profession from the point of view that planning is not clearly defined. Interviewee B stated that this shouldn't be seen as problematic, as this allows for diversification and allows planning to move around various sectors and be multi disciplinary in nature. One of the informal discussions I had with a colleague (a Specialist within DP&F) stated categorically that planning is a profession where a planner is a 'Jack of all trades', which should be seen as a positive aspect, due to the possible diversification opportunities.

This lack of common understanding begs the question, 'where is SSP taking its direction from?' This will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the first round of interviews, Interviewee B did give an opinion on what the 'home' should be or how planning should be structured, which contradicts the latter statement. This is illustrated below:

National Level: National Vision should be formulated, based on the long term and focused on phased planning (Visionaries should exist across sectors, including economic and social, to make the urban form function optimally). This should be implemented by Implementers: Local Government should be implementing the national vision and should be monitored to ensure that this vision is achieved. Local Government should be capacitated to achieve this vision.

A further comment from this interviewee was that local government is managing at the moment but is not achieving what it could if there was a custodian and champion for planning in general.

In conclusion to this theme, the following is noted thus far:
I.   No clear definition emerges from the interview material. This could mean one of several things:
   a.   The practitioners in the SSP field do not have a clear understanding of the approach or they have never rigorously engaged with the topic on a theoretical or conceptual level.
   b.   Interviewees did however relate SSP to levels of something, whether it be spheres of government or geographical areas namely metropolitan or regional.
   c.   No clear directive, meaning or definition has ever been advocated in terms of SSP from higher levels, linking to point (b).
II.   Some instances were mentioned where political imperatives influence strategic spatial planning and an understanding was gained that strategic spatial planning is

there to translate political imperatives into spatial concepts for implementation and deliverables. This could perhaps be where SSP is taking a lead from.

III.   SSP is not clearly advocated or directed from a higher level. It has no home and is perceived as an 'orphan'. Most interviewees could not place planning as a whole in a department or sphere of government to call it its home. Various pieces of legislation were quoted as to where direction might come from but this still does not place strategic spatial planning in a particular department or sphere of government.

IV.   It was noticed that only one interviewee (Interviewee D) related SSP to spatial planning concepts, notwithstanding the fact that no mention was made of what spatial planning concepts were being referred to.

5.3.2 THEME 2 – Understanding Strategic Spatial Concepts (SSC)

Strategic spatial planning concepts are not perceived as concepts by all but rather as tools by some of the interviewees. Different terms are also used by those outside of the public sector environment, as illustrated by the two consultants interviewed. They refer to 'concepts' as urban structuring elements. However, the issue of terminology is not perceived by them as a major issue. Within the public sector, the practitioners referred to some concepts as tools, but once again, they saw this as irrelevant in terms of the grander scheme of spatial planning. In asking what they viewed as tools, the same 'concepts' as identified in Chapter Four were mentioned, such as nodes, corridors and the urban development boundary.

When asked whether the spatial planning practitioners understood where these tools/concepts originated, almost all respondents indicated that they don't know the history behind the concepts but some indicated that they might be of European descent. Practitioners do not know how they were introduced to the South African context. Most of them simply replied that they did not know the history behind that which they are using on a daily basis.

I probed whether these concepts are understood by the interviewees in the same way. This was particularly probed with nodes, corridors and the UDB, discussed in Section 5.3.5, and as this section shows, it is not understood in the same way. Further, in meetings and in the informal discussions I had with colleagues, I found that concepts can be debated amongst co-workers and can be understood differently. In some cases it was not a case of not understanding a concept, but the depth of knowledge would differ, therefore the concept's application would differ. The understanding of concepts also differed from department to department, particularly when it came to the land use applications submitted to council, where Development Management seeks clarity on the application of concepts on the land use applications.

An example of such an observation is the interpretation of a specific node, namely a neighbourhood node. Some of the issues pertaining to a neighbourhood node would be the extent of a neighbourhood node and also what should constitute a neighbourhood node. Even though neighbourhood nodes might be classified as nodes which serve a community function and should include uses which serve that community, some planners would argue that a consultancy, such as an engineering consultancy or a law firm, would be suited to a neighbourhood node. Development Planning and Facilitation staff would argue that such a use cannot be placed within a neighbourhood node, yet some land use planners would argue

that it is well suited due to the low intensity of the use. This shows that a neighbourhood node is perceived differently from a policy perspective, which would advocate a "neighbourhood use", whereas land use planners would approve uses based on their intensity (ie. traffic generation, amount of staff, built form etc). The definition of the node would clearly state that neighbourhood related uses may be approved in a neighbourhood node but the concept of a neighbourhood node is not universally understood to provide clear direction on what a neighbourhood should constitute of. This shows a difference in the understanding of concepts and also in their interpretation.

The interviewees were further asked whether formal learning sessions are conducted to train other colleagues on concepts, whether other colleagues in other departments understand these concepts and whether any other forms of learning occur to further knowledge on concepts. Interviewees D and B categorically stated that other departments might use the concepts and planning jargon associated with it but that they do not necessarily understand what it all entails. It was further stated that policies and information sharing sessions occur with other departments to 'showcase' work, but that this is done because this is required (protocol), not with the vision of educating or sharing in such a manner.

I probed whether the concepts are used in the exact same way for each case and it was stated by Interviewee D that manipulation of concepts is not uncommon and if a need arises where a concept must apply, then it will be adapted to suit that particular case. An example was given of Stretford Station, where the area was described as a District Node but it did not even have the characteristics of a neighbourhood node. In this instance, the concept of District Node was moulded to fit the situation.

5.3.3 THEME 3 – Decision Making Processes

The Processes theme is divided according to the various sectors interviewed, namely Provincial Government, Local Government and Consultants. Interviewees were presented with a hypothetical scenario and asked to explain the decision making process in relation to this scenario. This section is best illustrated graphically, as did most of the interviewees. It was interesting that all the interviewees understood and translated the various processes in a very similar fashion.

This section of the interviews was formulated in an effort to understand the decision-making powers and to probe relations between the decision makers. It also relates to issues of institutionalism, such as the history of the institution and relationships among institutions, governance in terms of decision making processes and power relations between institutions and within institutions and how institutions influence decision making

PROVINCIAL
The hypothetical example that was given to both provincial officials was of a municipality applying to the Provincial Government to have its UDB or a section thereof, realigned. The relevant municipality would apply to the Provincial Authority, in this case the Department of Economic Development, specifically the Integrated Development Planning Unit, to realign the UDB. This would entail consultation with the relevant officials responsible for the UDB and

the submission of a motivation for the change in boundary alignment. The following sketch and associated comments were given to illustrate the process of adoption or rejection.

1 → Municipality would apply to the Department of Economic Development (DED) to have the UDB realigned in a certain area – the Municipality would have consultations with the DED to discuss and debate this. After the consultation period and the submission of the application the Municipality might get an indication of the likely outcome, which in this case might be NO CHANGES.

2 → The DED reassesses the application in-house and writes a recommendation on the matter based on facts presented and discussed. The recommendation is for NO CHANGES. Change font

At this stage it was indicated that professional planners apply their mind and professional discretion to the proposal in writing the recommendation.

3 → The recommendation is sent to the Head of Department of DED where an endorsement is sought for the recommendation – the recommendation would be endorsed for NO CHANGES

4 → The recommendation is sent to the Head of Departments Forum of Provincial Government where a further endorsement is sought for the recommendation – the recommendation would be endorsed for NO CHANGES.

5 → The recommendation is sent to the Executive Committee (EXCO) of Provincial Government where an endorsement is sought for the recommendation – the recommendation would be denied and the application for CHANGES would be approved.
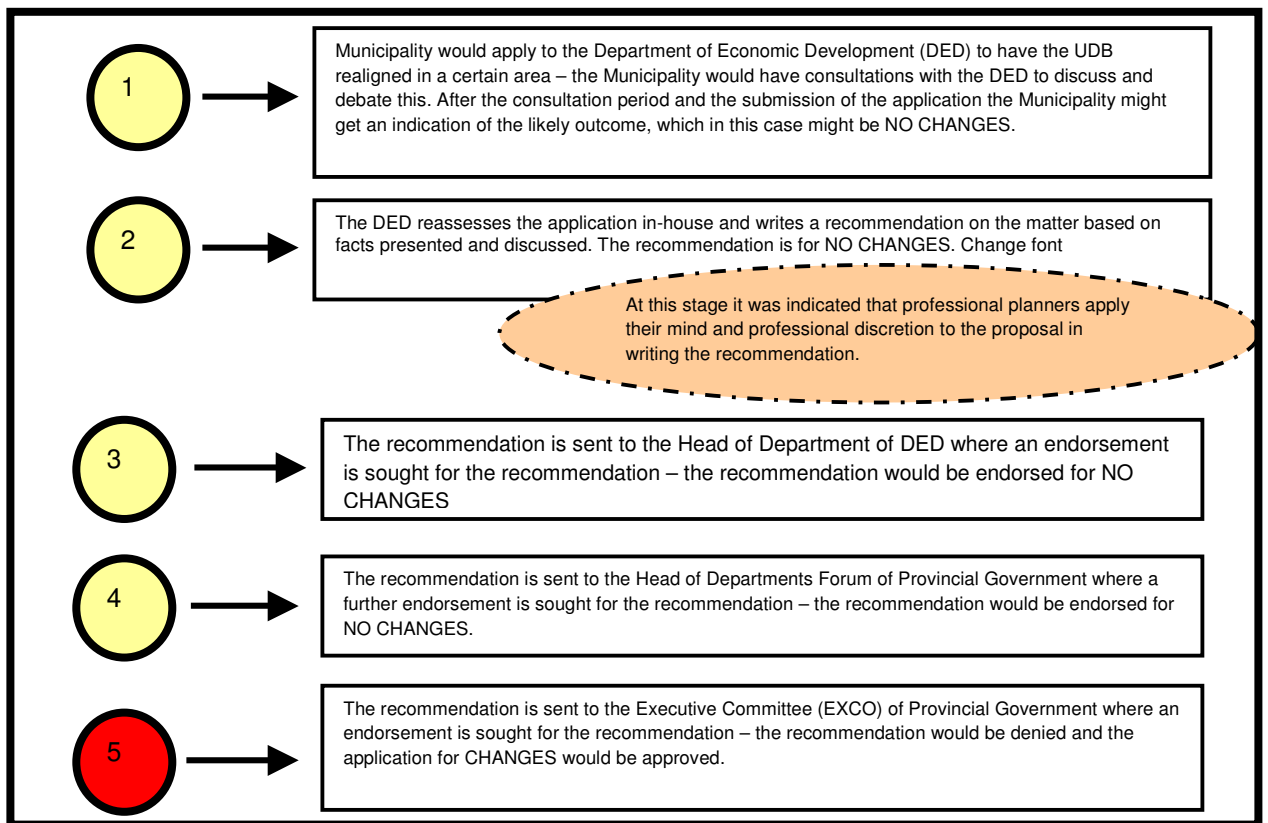
Figure 5.3: Decision Making Process of Provincial Government in terms of Spatial Decisions (as illustrated by both Provincial Interviewees)

The process illustrated by the Provincial Government Officials (Figure 5.3), showed an example of decision making that does not lie with the trained professionals, but rather in the hands of political players. A 'no change' recommendation was made at four stages within this process, this but was ignored at the final stage, where a change was approved. In this interview, it was stated that there is an element of suspicion related to such decisions, where some corruption might occur or where senior officials have their own agendas. For example, land, owned by a political player, is outside of the UDB and an application for realignment is arranged through someone else. Politicians will endorse the recommendation by the particular officials if it is in their favour or reject it if it isn't. This constitutes a serious allegation or suspicion on the officials' side, but interviewees reiterated that this is seen and experienced on a regular basis. The officials expressed that they are employed and paid for their expertise and knowledge, but that it seldom influences decisions made by higher-ranking officials and politicians.

The sentiment of the officials was that they are detached from final decisions in terms of the process above and that there is limited communication between them and the decision

makers except for the respective recommendations made. This means that they are left "between a rock and a hard place" as there is disparity between what they communicate to applicants, regarding their views and recommendations and what the outcome is. This creates tension and may, in some cases, damage professional relationships between officials at various government levels.

The example given to interviewees was that of the City of Johannesburg. The Provincial officials noted that if the author had chosen another city as a case study, i.e. Tshwane or Ekurhuleni, a different relationship dynamic would be made known. No secret was made, in either the interviews with the Provincial Officials or the interviews with Local Government Officials, that tension exists between these two spheres of government due to the urban development boundary issue. This relationship has been 'damaged' and is somewhat strained due to the above mentioned issues occurring. Both parties stated that the City of Johannesburg has little regard for what is said and decided at Provincial level, as the Provincial UDB is not legislated through an act of law, whereas the Municipal UDB is legislated through the Municipal Systems Act through the formulation of the IDP. This process of engagement, between the two spheres of government around the alignment of the UDB, occurs as a form of, or rather an attempt at, intergovernmental alignment and co-operative governance. However, good intentions do not always have the desired outcomes and in some cases, such above, it is only done for reasons of protocol and because it is required. In terms of legislation, that provincial government oversees local government activities to a certain extent. Exactly how this area should work is and not clearly understood by the interviewees or the author. The process is compliance driven rather than strategic and integrated between spheres of government and shows strained governance relations between the role-players.

One of the consultants noted that power struggles and processes of decision making are a common problem in provinces where larger and stronger municipalities exist, such as the Western Cape and Gauteng in particular.

A further example of tension between Gauteng Provincial Government and the City of Johannesburg is that of the ongoing legal woes between the two parties relating to the Development Facilitation Act and the Gauteng Development Facilitation Act Tribunal. In short and without any legal jargon, the City of Johannesburg had taken the Gauteng Development Facilitation Act Tribunal to court as they felt that Provincial Government had no authority to make decisions in their area of jurisdiction relating to land use applications. The issue was raised when the City of Johannesburg felt that the Tribunal made decisions contrary to their policy and the City subsequently gave no regard to their decisions and the outcomes thereof in terms of updating land use records in the City's registry. This has left land owners, who have made use of this avenue to apply for land use changes, in limbo as the rights have been granted by one authority but is not recognised by another. This means that should the land owner exercise his rights without the Local Authority accepting the Provincial decision, the Local Authority could deem the use illegal and take legal action against the land owner.

This illustrates that the relationship between two spheres of government has been compromised, with this legal exercise underway for between four and five years. Government

relationships therefore impact on property owners, as two spheres of government, which should ultimately strive for the same outcomes and goals, are at loggerheads with each other in terms of power issues where real decision making has been brought into question. The court cases thus far have been ruled in favour of the Provincial Authority, yet the City of Johannesburg continues to fight the decision and has been granted leave to appeal.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the case of the interviews with local government officials, the hypothetical example was given that a new policy document was to be developed and approved. Interviewees were then asked to explain the process of adoption/rejection within the local government set up.

The Local Authority, in this case the City of Johannesburg, has a very clear process of policy formulation and adoption, as illustrated in Figure 5.4, and discussed by the various local government officials.

Figure 5.4 illustrates the adoption process of policy documents as a whole. I was also interested in whether new concepts are continually being introduced into these documents. The interviewees stated that the introduction of new concepts are limited but that minor adjustments to current SSC are continually being introduced through document review processes. The current concepts, as shown in Chapter 4, are continually being refined and monitored for performance. Interviewees were asked what the procedure would be in the event that new concepts are introduced. The responses received included that desktop studies are undertaken and sometimes such concepts would be tested in a pilot study.

One response was rather intriguing as Interviewee C stated clearly that, in some instances, new concepts are picked up on by politicians who in turn 'force' or the agenda to incorporate or use such concepts. An example given by the interviewee, was the Gauteng Global City Region (GGCR). I probed whether the City of Johannesburg was involved in the study of this concept and it was stated that it should involve the City, as it would naturally form part of the GGCR, but no interaction had occurred between the City, neighbouring cities or Gauteng Province, who were the drivers of this agenda at the time of the interview. I searched for global city region related topics on the City of Johannesburg website and it was interesting to find that the City had actually been involved in this process but that it was political involvement rather than officials being involved. Twelve articles were located on www.joburg.org.za produced during the period from May 2004 to September 2008. It was interesting to note that the Mayor of the CoJ was part of an overseas delegation to 'study' global city regions dating back to July 2005, yet this official was unaware of this development, which directly impacts on their daily work.
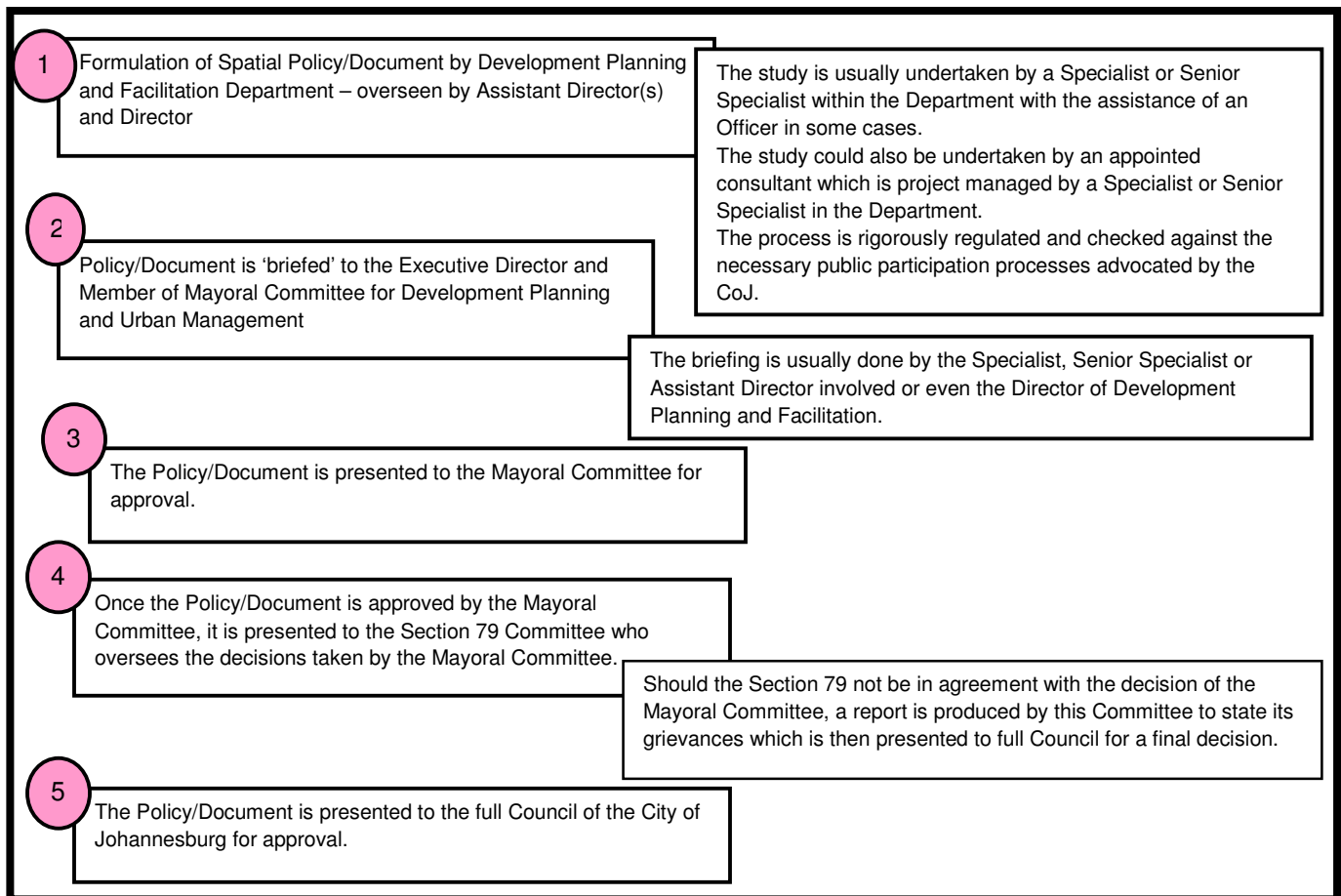
Figure 5.4: The Decision Making Process of the Adoption/Rejection of Policy/Documents in the City of Johannesburg.

It is interesting to note the contrast in terms of political 'interference', if one could call it that. No sense of political manipulation was given in the decision making process here, as was presented with the provincial government scenario. However, from the earlier information presented above, it is evident that a new concept was being explored by politicians without the input of officials.

CONSULTANTS

The consultants interviewed had different opinions of the City of Johannesburg's decision-making styles and project management, which influenced the outcome of projects undertaken by appointed consultants. The decision-making or adoption process in Figure 5.4 applies to this sector's work in relation to the City's commissioned documents the author was interested uncover whether Consultants had the ability to introduce new concepts through work commissioned by the City.

The consultants were asked whether or not they had the ability or scope to change or introduce concepts to the work they were doing. The consultants' experience was different in this regard. Interviewee G stated that they had the scope to introduce and influence the thinking of the project manager handling the process and project from the City of Johannesburg's side and Interviewee H conveyed that the officials of the City of Johannesburg are very fixed in their thinking and final product expectation. In these instances the project managers were different City officials, but they worked under the same Assistant Director and section within Development Planning and Facilitation.

In trying to understand this the author spoke to a City official, who said that taking a stronger lead in the City's projects versus leaving the consultants to do their own work and merely guiding where seen appropriate, is partly personality dependant,. It is also dependant on how the project is structured and whether the City officials have a clear idea of what they need or what they want to come from projects. This situation will usually result in some preconceived ideas being placed on the table for consultants to work with. This was one of the comments made by Interviewee H, who had worked in the situation where fixed ideas and thinking were in place before the work was commissioned.

The author also asked how the consultants went about doing their projects and deciding on which concepts to strongly advocate in their project areas and policy documents. It was quite interesting to notice the different approaches.

Consultant 1's approach was looking at principles advocated from a national level down to the local level and then only looking at structuring elements. In clarifying this point, he stated that the overall principles were to look at what the long term objectives are, as contained in the National Spatial Development Framework, legislation and policy frameworks, after which, the structuring elements, such as nodes and corridors will be investigated. The structuring elements would be analysed in terms of what the principles' needs were, after which, a strong focus would fall on Transit Oriented Development, a fairly recent concept around which other concepts work, such as nodes, corridors and densification. Other considerations mentioned were the environment, competitive versus comparative advantage and also land use budgets. When asked what was meant by Land Use Budgets, it was explained that this referred to calculating available land for the different types of development and looking at how much land would actually be needed to accomplish the various proposals to ensure their success.

Interviewee H had a different approach to this and started by analysing an area's status quo and analysing the various policy documents, which related to an area directly. From this, direct interventions would be examined, to enhance an area through the usage of urban structuring elements, which were categorised as nodes, corridors and urban development boundaries. The philosophy was to make an area functional, to view it holistically and look at it in relation to its surrounding areas and broader functionality. The process would be one of evaluating various scenarios and making recommendations on the desired outcome of an area. In most cases, the City Officials would have an input in stating what the desired outcome should be and also in defining and deciding on the preferred scenario. Limited

reference was made in this interview to other spheres of government's documents or strategies and a localised approach is employed in the consulting work.

5.3.4 THEME 4 – City of Johannesburg Institutional Changes

One of the events explored in Chapter Four was the City's institutional reorganisation in 2006. The documents depicting this stated that the major effect felt from this change was that legislative and executive powers were separated from one another in order to 'streamline' the decision making processes within council. However, the documents did not highlight any specific effects this had on strategic spatial planning even though it has gained prominence and stature after this institutional shift.

Interviewees were asked whether this institutional change had actually had any effect on strategic spatial planning. Interestingly enough, Interviewees B and D did not even recall the institutional changes in the City, but Interviewee A said that the institutional changes has both a positive and a negative side. The positive side is that the planning department is independent, with its own political head and its own Executive Director. This gives the department a chance to push planning ahead, whereas it was previously in a department with transportation and environment. However, on the negative side, the knowledge resource of other departments has been removed and close collaboration has become more difficult with this new divide.

When the author probed the issue further on whether this was the only reason that planning had gained more prominence with the institutional changes. Interviewee D indicated that leadership personality plays a major role too. The interviewees did not wish to elaborate any further on this point, but they wanted to highlight that it did have an effect.

5.3.5 THEME 5 – Understanding Concepts: Nodes, Corridors and the UDB

As seen from Chapter 4, nodes, corridors and the UDB are concepts which were introduced early on in the spatial planning domain. The interviews probed what the reasons were for the introduction of these specific spatial concepts.

One of the major issues which was identified and probed through this process, is the discrepancy between the provincial urban edge and the urban development boundary of the City of Johannesburg, which is not aligned to the provincial one. The City of Johannesburg is not the only City within the Province of Gauteng that is affected by this discrepancy. Other cities in the province are also affected by this. This relates strongly to the content of Section 5.3.3..

The UDB is discussed first in this section, followed by a discussion on nodes and corridors.

The Urban Development Boundary
a. When and why was the concept of the Urban Development Boundary introduced?

Most respondents did not know when the concept of the Urban Development Boundary was introduced. Interviewee A indicated that the UDB was an international concept, which was transferred to South African cities. It was based on planning in the United Kingdom where

green and red lines were used to determine where development could occur and where not. The concept of the Green Belt was also linked to this. In the UK scenario, this meant that a line was drawn around development and the concept of management was one of the leading factors in determining where development should be permitted and where it shouldn't. The respondent further indicated that the UDB was a line drawn during the early 2000s by some consultants for the City of Johannesburg, after a detailed process and strong argument for its use. Unfortunately the process outcomes and detail of the process are not known and the documentation thereof could not be located.

In most cases, the respondents had some idea of why the UDB was introduced. It was said that it was introduced to manage the urban footprint and to concentrate cities to become more compact   (Interviewees A, C, E, F and H). Some alternative ideas were that the UDB was introduced to protect environmentally sensitive areas. One of the alternative answers, provided by more than one respondent, was that the UDB was introduced as a result of the amalgamation of various Municipalities during 2000 and that the UDB was actually used to delineate development for municipal areas not to 'enter' each other's areas of jurisdiction (Interviewee B and D).

The City Official respondents further stated that the focus of the City and its priorities had also altered the motivation behind the UDB. It had started as a tool for managing urban growth but had subsequently looked at pushing low cost housing opportunities inward, closer to economically viable areas and had also started assessing the viability of infrastructure costs to the City in outlying areas.

As discussed in Section 5.3.3, some conflict between the City of Johannesburg and the Provincial Government exist around the Urban Development Boundary. It was interesting that most individuals interviewed at the City of Johannesburg and Provincial Government were of this opinion.

b. Does the idea of the UDB link to the idea of the compact city? How?
This question's answers were partly discussed in the first question's answers, as some respondents showed that a connection between Urban Compaction and the UDB exists. The respondents, when asked this question directly, all said that it is linked to the concept of Urban Compaction and that the UDB is a tool used to contain urban sprawl. The concept of the UDB was therefore portrayed as a tool of management to achieve the concept of Urban Compaction. Its classification had therefore changed in this question's answer from being a concept to being a tool. At a preliminary level of analysis, it can be stated that an originally understood spatial concept had changed status to a spatial tool aiding another spatial concept. The classification of spatial elements is therefore fluid and perhaps even use-dependant.

c. Do you know who introduced these concepts at city/provincial/national levels?
All respondents hesitated to answer this question and indicated that they did not know who had introduced the concept of the UDB. Most respondents included that they thought it was introduced firstly at provincial level and was then only at municipal level.

d. Do you understand what the UDB should be doing both at a city level and a provincial level?

Most respondents took the opportunity to respond to questions (6) and (7) (Annexure A) in this answer. The City Officials felt aggrieved by the fact that the two boundaries were not aligned and this posed some major issues to be contended with. This once again relates to some of the animosity discussed in Section 5.3.3. It was said that the UDB was a line, which demarcated the area of development, especially in terms of City's development. The line was a guide for developers to decide where opportunities for development existed and where it was not supposed to occur. However, with two boundaries, one at provincial level and the other at local authority levels, conflict between the two was inevitable. In some instances, the provincial edge is more restrictive than the municipal edge and vice versa. This not only causes confusion for developers/property owners, but also for government officials and decision makers in other government departments. This places strain on relationships and the lack of consistency on how concepts are applied hampers decision making in certain departments (i.e. Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment) as different advice and instructions are received from different departments at logger-heads with each other. This then places developers in a predicament as awaiting decisions is costly in terms of time and money.

Some issues related to this are that the lack of common understanding between the two government spheres poses a problem, as the function and definition of the UDB is not clearly defined in terms of what the differences between the two lines should be and also why the two lines should be differently aligned.

One of the comments made by a Provincial Official was that UDBs of the different municipalities should not be too closely aligned as this will have a parasitic effect, where less affluent municipalities encroach on more affluent municipalities and in such a way, start becoming reliant on infrastructure, which is provided by the other municipality. In most instances, the more affluent municipality then cross subsidises the less affluent municipality without receiving compensation or payment for services rendered.

The Provincial Urban Development Boundary is very much a tool for environmental conservation as the Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment strongly assess applications against and adhere to the Provincial UDB. It is interesting that the Provincial UDB is not legislated, but is purely a policy directive. The Municipal UDB is legislated in terms of the Municipal Systems Act, which requires Spatial Development Frameworks to be developed as part of the Integrated Development Plans of Municipalities. Therefore, in terms of legislative standing, the Municipal UDB is much stronger. However, Provincial Government takes the standing that they have the control over the alignment of the UDB, whether at a Municipal or Provincial level.

When the author tried to understand better what the underlying issues really are, the following was mentioned: Provincial Government has an oversight role over Municipalities and in terms of the Constitution, as interpreted by the officials, Provincial Government as more decision making power in such issues.

Some respondents (Interviewees A, B and C) stated that the function of Provincial Government is so badly defined that most City Officials feel that Province could be 'ignored' and that Provincial Government really does not have a function within the governance hierarchy of the country. It was stated that the Gauteng Province had no leadership role and does not give any direction to municipalities in terms of development goals or what the province, as a whole, strived for. It was stated that Provincial Government could be dissolved and that it would have little to no effect on Municipal functions. The relationship difficulties described previously between the City of Joburg and Gauteng Provincial Government exacerbates this issue.

It was interesting that the officials that commented in this way said that this is not the case in all provinces though. The provinces with the most affluent municipalities and strongest governance models, meaning that they are well lead and functioning in their administrative functions, struggle with this issue and that it was "the tail that wagged the dog". In other words, Municipalities are so strong administratively and Provincial Government is so weak, that Municipalities are giving direction and taking none. It was pointed out that this is the case in Gauteng and the Western Cape. In areas such as the Free State, the provincial government has quite a strong hold and oversight role on the municipalities. This was evident in some of my own work experience. All land use control applications in the Free State are submitted to the local authority but are then sent to Provincial Government for endorsement. Also, the local authority has no power in making decisions where the UDB is concerned and all applications are made directly to the Provincial Authority.

Many power related issues and decision related issues were raised in trying to answer the question of the function of the UDB. In simple terms, most officials felt that their government sphere had more authority. In discussions with Provincial Government, it was clear that they felt they had the last say, whereas the City of Johannesburg felt that no cognisance had to be given to what Provincial Government's stance is.

It was further stated, by both the provincial and municipal officials, that the Provincial Urban Edge would only have legal backing once the regulations to the Gauteng Planning and Development Act (which is under revision) were fully developed and accepted. However, Provincial Officials insisted that they still have the last say, as legislation states they have an oversight role to play where municipalities are concerned.

In trying to understand what the UDB was trying to achieve at these two government levels, the author realized that a more pertinent issue is the necessity of alignment. Most City Officials did not know what the purpose was of the Provincial UDB. It was seen as a stumbling block and only caused frustration for their work and performing the functions they were tasked with. Provincial Officials listed the objectives of the UBD as follows:
- Limiting poverty on the outskirts of economically active and viable urban areas and pushing the poor towards economic and social opportunities.
- Limiting Urban Sprawl
- Finding a balance between location and affordability
- Ensuring densification

City officials were, however, clear on what their respective UDB was to achieve, which is to curb urban sprawl, ensure densification and also to ensure that infrastructure provision and servicing in the longer term is financially viable.

In looking at the responses, the author gained the sense that there is not such a big difference in what the UDB is designed and set out to do. Yet, there is an ongoing power struggle in terms of who has the last say and whose boundary is 'law', even if it is just in their eyes.

e. Do you think that it is achieving/has achieved these objectives as discussed above?

The City Officials confidently indicated that the UDB is a successful tool for managing growth in outlying areas and also in achieving desired densities in strategic areas. Aerial photographs indicated the effectiveness of the UDB by showing higher densities and more development closer to city centres and economic opportunities. Due to that fact that the Provincial UDB was not understood and that, in most cases, the officials did not even know where it was located, the City Officials indicated that they could not comment on its effectiveness.

Interviewee G believed that it was not successful and was misunderstood. Its full potential was not harnessed as it carried little development incentives for developments to occur closer to economic opportunities and is not accompanied by a framework on what it should actually be doing in specific areas as not all areas are the same. It is seen as a line on a map and nothing more.

f. What, in your opinion, _is_ the relationship between the city's UDB and the provincial UDB?
g. What, in your opinion, _should_ the relationship between the city's UDB and the provincial UDB be?
h. Do you think it is necessary to align the provincial and city UDB or do you think they fulfil different roles?

The above listed questions were answered in question (d) and in brief it can be reiterated:
- No relationship currently exists between the two UDB's.
- The relationship should be one where mutual goals are strived for and where more interaction and cooperation occurs.
- The respondents were all of the opinion that one UDB would be more effective in achieving commonly understood roles as the current set up of two roles was not about the UDB as a concept but rather a tool for power struggles.

i. Has the UDB been successful since it has been introduced?

This question was asked to confirm the answers of question (5). The answers remained the same except that one of the City Officials said that in light of the success of the UDB, other concepts were not yet as successful. When asked why this was, the Interviewee replied that most effort had gone into the UDB and achieving its goals had taken a lot of effort and energy. Other concepts were neglected but had now begun to pick up some momentum and receive more attention than previously.

j. Do you think the UDB is an effective strategic spatial mechanism and concept in achieving the desired urban forms in the city or do you think there is room for improvement? (Please motivate).

The general feeling from most respondents was that the UDB was effective and successful but that it needed to be improved with a monitoring system to measure and evaluate its success. This would lead to better planning abilities in terms of pro-active planning, which is based on trend analysis and future projections. What it has not been successful in, although it did aim at doing, was to drive low-income housing projects in the right direction, namely towards the centre. This could be blamed on conflicting policies and also the limited housing grants, which do not afford the opportunity to provide low cost or social housing to the poor in more desirable locations. This could be an illustration that the concept is limited to some degree and is not as successful in some objectives as in other. In the author's mind, this points to one of two scenarios - a weakness in either policy formulation of low income housing or a weakness in the concept.

Nodes and Corridors
a. When and why was the concept of nodes and corridors introduced?

Some of the respondents indicated that nodes and corridors were transferred from some of the policy documents, produced by the MLCs, prior to the 2000 amalgamation of the City of Johannesburg. The concepts were however not well defined or qualified in this period prior to the formation of the City of Johannesburg. An exact time period in which these concepts were introduced into policy documents could not be provided.

Most of the City officials indicated that they were unaware of when this introduction of the concepts occurred as these concepts were already taken up in policy by the time they joined the City.

The Provincial Officials could also not provide a definitive answer and stated that according to their knowledge the concepts of nodes and corridors were formally and officially introduced into policy documents such as the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (GSDF) in 2000.

b. Does the idea of nodes and corridors link to the idea of the compact city? How?

Yes – this was a common answer to this question. Interviewee A, B and C indicated that nodes and corridors are tools which direct investment and development to strategic areas within the City. These concepts are also related to density as these node and corridor areas are the preferred locations for residential densification and development intensification, as this creates a city which integrates work, live and play opportunities for residents in close proximity to each other or at least connect these areas of activities through corridor development.

The provincial officials did not have the same clear answers as the City officials and on probing the issue further it was revealed that they do not work as closely with these concepts as the officials at the City of Johannesburg do. This is confirmed with the available

documentation of the province. The GSDF has broad information and explanations of these concepts but fails to apply these in specific areas.

c. Do you know who introduced these concepts at city/provincial/national levels?

As with the concept of the UDB, most respondents stated that they were not sure who introduced the concept of nodes and corridors at any specific government sphere. Most of the municipal official respondents indicated that nodes and corridors were introduced at municipal level, linking to the ideas being contained in the MLCs documents. They further stated that there is not an updated GSDF and also that they have never seen the current, even if outdated, GSDF.

Interviewee A indicated that he had seen the GSDF and had a copy thereof but stated that he never referred to it.

d. What, in your opinion, <u>is</u> the relationship between the city's identified nodes and corridors and that of provincial government's?

The City of Johannesburg interviewees indicated that there is no relationship between identified nodes in the City and Provincial Government as Provincial Government had no identified nodes and corridors due to the lack of an updated GSDF.

On probing whether or not direction was taken from a document such as the Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective (GSDP), the interviewees at the City of Johannesburg indicated that Province was taking direction from the City's planning, and other cities in Gauteng , and not vice versa. The officials (mostly those officials working with the citywide Spatial Development Framework [SDF]) indicated that the GSDP and the GSDF is reflected in the SDF but that no true direction is taken from these documents.

The officials mostly working with the Regional Spatial Development Frameworks indicated that they seldomly refer to such provincial documents or policies. They stated that the SDF team incorporates what needs to be incorporated into the SDF and the SDF filters into the RSDF.

The Provincial Government officials however stated that even though broad areas are mentioned in terms of the space economy which the GSDP refers to, municipalities should take development direction and spatial planning from this document as it was prepared from a space economy perspective and would assist in creating a more integrated, economically competitive province. The Provincial officials stated that there is a poor relationship between city and provincial identified areas as no engagement occurs between the institutions on these concepts, let alone on where they should be positioned.

The City of Johannesburg interviewees confirmed this statement and indicated that they only engage Provincial Government on issues surrounding the UDB.

e. What, in your opinion, <u>should</u> the relationship between the city's identified nodes and corridors and that of provincial government's be?

As with the UDB, alignment is seen as crucial, however, the City of Johannesburg interviewees stated that alignment is impossible if Provincial Government fails to produce

policy documents in which these concepts are contained or communicate about issues surrounding concepts such as nodes and corridors. The GSDP is seen by the City officials to be an economic document with limited mention of nodes and corridors. It was stated that limited direction is actually taken from such documents and that the City analyses its own areas of jurisdiction and apply the concepts as contained in City policies and frameworks.

The Provincial officials indicated that they understand that alignment is necessary amongst spheres of government in terms of strategic spatial planning but that municipalities should take care of their own strategic spatial planning and take into consideration broader policy statements as contained in the GSDP and even the NSDP. They indicated that they were unaware of how nodes and corridors were even defined in the municipalities' documents across the province and stated that their main concern was the UDB. They take care of the wider provincial territory and engage with abutting provinces to ensure that municipalities don't grow too close to each other in order to prevent that municipalities create parasitic relationships where poorer municipalities latch onto richer municipalities' infrastructure.

f. **Do you think it is necessary to align the provincial and city concepts or do you think they fulfil different roles?**

The City officials stated, as previously mentioned, that little regard is given to what the Provincial Government states and they see that this relationship will not change in the near future. It would be beneficial to have better aligned ideas of where concepts should be practiced as this would ensure that better developments take place without the unnecessary waste of resources in terms of investment. An example of this was that if Provincial Government had similar ideas of where nodes and corridors had to be located in order to optomise land use and investment, similar to ideas the City has, projects such as housing developments on the urban edges of cities would be avoided as this would go against their own policy (if policy between the spheres were aligned.

City officials stated that due to the fact that Provincial Government has no policies in place, and also that they show disregard for municipal policies, they develop haphazardly outside of areas of economic or social opportunity and contribute to ill functioning, unsustainable development.

In a situation where developments are happening in a Provincial policy vacuum, the City officials had no hope of alignment or fulfilling similar roles within an area where jurisdiction overlap ultimately.

g. **Have nodes and corridors been successful since they were been introduced?**

The Provincial officials refrained from answering this question. As they indicated previously, they have limited experience in this policy area as it is not a focus area as the UDB is.

The City officials, especially Interviewee A, indicated that success is seen with these nodes, but that the UDB had been an area of focus for the City that other concepts where not as rigorously developed and implemented as the UDB. Focus now has to be shifted towards these concepts and strides have been made through specific policy documents looking at specific areas of investment such as the Sandton, Rosebank, Midrand and Inner City areas due to transport oriented developments occurring around the Gautrain and BRT.

h. Do you think nodes and corridors are effective strategic spatial mechanism and concepts in achieving the desired urban forms in the city or do you think there is room for improvement? (Please motivate).

The Provincial Officials once again refrained from answering this question due to lack of experience with these concepts.

The City of Johannesburg officials however reiterated what was said in question (g) and stated that more attention had to be given to these areas and that room for improvement existed in strengthening these concepts in the policy documents as had been done with the development of the UDB.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The interviews were aimed at probing issues linked to the initial questions of the research, namely identifying the influences on strategic spatial planning and identifying the intentions, meanings and understandings of strategic spatial planning concepts. The interviews used the conceptual framework elements of New Institutionalism, where issues of the institution were probed relating to history, institutional make up and relationships between actors and governance relating to power and decision making processes were probed. The interviews were also aimed at enhancing and clarifying some of the literature and policy review.

Clear commonalities emerged from the interviews, which enabled the formation of themes. The four major themes, as discussed in the chapter, all relate to one another in some way, which will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the conceptual framework elements. The interview data and policy review will be analysed against the various conceptual framework lenses in the next chapter. What can be said at this preliminary stage, is that the issues of power are contentious on various levels, with regard to internal and external processes, which include relationships between politicians and officials and officials of various government spheres. This is especially noted between the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Provincial Government.

In defining some of these concepts, there are many discrepancies and people working within the same environment do not necessarily understand issues in similar ways. It seems as if most provincial and city officials are clear in what they are working towards, namely broader political agendas, but the means and of achieving this is not necessarily the same.

It is also evident, at this point, that those using concepts do not know their origin and initial use. Some respondents had ideas around the issues mentioned above and understood what they are used for currently. It is interesting to note that most could also assess the concepts' success, even though they didn't have a clear understanding of what its intention was from the point of inception. Some respondents were not even clear on how or why the UDB was introduced at Provincial level. The lack of Provincial insight into nodes and corridors is interesting to note and what we see is that these concepts are more rigorously engaged with at municipal level.

It was interesting to note that no one mentioned these concepts coming from higher government spheres and no international examples of these were used to illustrate any points of clarity. A sense of spatial concept isolation to the local context is gained from this exercise at this stage. In other words, it seems that the concepts are almost unique to the local context investigated and that these concepts almost function in a vacuum of local strategic spatial planning, unconnected to influences or thinking from elsewhere in the world, unless the practical users of these concepts are oblivious to the influences.

CHAPTER 6

THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG: CASE STUDY AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the case study research data collected through the desktop study and the interviews. The conceptual framework lenses, as extracted in Chapter 2, will be applied to the research data and is briefly highlighted below.

The first conceptual framework lens is based on elements of New Institutionalism. These elements, outlined in Section 2.3.1, will be used to highlight contextual and historical issues of the case study. Contextual and historical issues will also be highlighted relating to the development, evolution and understanding of strategic spatial planning and its concepts. It further illustrates issues of power through understanding relationships between and within institutions and relating these to decision making processes. The culture of the institution is also related to the contextual understanding as these cultural norms and standards begin to inform the environments in which decision making processes occur. The cultural environment adds to the functioning of relationships within and between institutions, which add to the element of power.

Power, as mentioned, is a complex and intangible element, yet it is omnipresent as Foucault states. Power can therefore take on various shapes and sizes within different situations over different periods of time. In terms of this research, power has been examined in two ways. Firstly, power is looked at in terms of relationships and positions of actors/stakeholders within the institutions and how these positions relate to decision making processes. Secondly, the power of actors is assessed through determining whether knowledge of the subject matter has influences on decision making processes. It further looks at how the subject matter of Strategic Spatial Planning and its concepts are understood and used based on power relations, as well as in terms of contextual and historical events and issues.

Relating to New Institutionalism and power is the conceptual lens of governance. Governance, for this study, relates to how decision making processes occur, especially through dialogue and interaction of institutions.

This chapter analyses the influences on Strategic Spatial Planning and its concepts in terms of these above mentioned lenses. The section above already illustrates the complexity and interdependence of the framework lenses and it should be noted that they cannot be applied in isolation from one another but that they are presented for the sake of analysis as separate themes. The chapter does not attempt to analyse comprehensively all aspects of the case study against every lens. Rather, it demonstrates the application of the conceptual framework by analysing a select number of factors identified in the research through the lenses.

The first section will analyse the data according to New Institutionalism's lenses. The second section is twofold and will analyse issues of governance and show linkages to issues of power in planning.

6.2 Institutionalism in the Realm of Strategic Spatial Planning

The case study has been set against a background of historical events and changes over time in relation to strategic spatial planning. The background included international changes in relation to planning approaches, which have indicated that issues surrounding economic, social and environmental change may be responded to through planning approaches. The background also looked at the South African context in terms of its broader contextual changes over time related to political and social issues, which impacted on planning approaches and practise.

This section has four sub sections against which aspects of the research will be analysed. The first sub section looks at historical events in planning approaches, both internationally and locally, which has led to the current day understanding of strategic spatial planning. The second sub section considers events and issues influencing the formation of the City of Johannesburg. It also considers the understanding of strategic spatial planning in this institution against a backdrop of broader historical elements. This sub section also looks at the actual composition of the City of Johannesburg and will further outline how this has changed over time and assess if these changes are as a result of broader contextual and historical issues. Thoenig's (2003) hypothesis that policy choices of the past dictate policy choices of the future, will be tested in this sub section. The final sub section will look at the issues of institutional culture and assess whether Aspinwall and Schneider's (2000) statements of procedures, rules and norms condition actors within their institutional setting and also if the logic of appropriateness, as per March and Olsen (in Berglund, 2005), applies to the case study.

The section will conclude with a summary of the pertinent issues, which have played a role and influenced the current institutional context of the case study and its understanding and practice of strategic spatial planning.

Historical Context – Towards Strategic Spatial Planning
Strategic spatial planning is currently practised in South Africa and across the globe on continents such as Europe and the USA. However, this was preceded by other planning approaches and only truly emerged and gained status from the 1970s/1980s.

It is important to highlight what type of events and issues have played a role in planning in general and on strategic spatial planning in particular. The point of highlighting certain events and historical occurrences is to establish the influences on strategic spatial planning and find the elements through history which have added to the South African planning practice of strategic spatial planning.

Table 3.1, in Chapter 3, lists the various planning approaches, which date back to as early as the 1860s. This table indicates issues which influenced the development and, consequently, the understanding and purpose of the various approaches. One of the major influencing

factors highlighted in this table is that planning became more sensitive towards environmental issues. However, this was not the only element of concern to be addressed. Others included issues of social concern and well being of city dwellers. These concerns were born out of urban conditions which developed due to rapid economic and industrial development. This is especially seen in planning movements such as the Garden City Movement and the New Town Movement where quality urban spaces are set in and amongst environmental spaces to reach a balance between urban and environment, which in return reacts to social manifestations of big urban industrial settings. These movements also made their way to South Africa, but were taken up in a different manner to achieve a certain urban form, which was also based on social exclusions and divisions. As Turok (1994) stated, planning (pre-1994) was a tool for social engineering. In his account of planning practise, no spatial elements were considered without the element of racial segregation which was further enshrined in legislation such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923 and later the Group Areas Act of 1950.

These international movements were introduced into South Africa through agents of international descent, as South Africa, in its early history, did not have local planning practitioners. Therefore, 'knowledge' of planning was imported by the British, especially in the early 1900s, providing these agents with the power of planning through their knowledge. The planning systems introduced, such as the Transvaal Ordinance, were also based on British planning systems, which aimed at regulating land-use decisions, as described by Albrechts (2004) in Section 3.2.1 and below. Even though land use was regulated through legislation such as the Ordinance, settlements were planned around the principles of planning movements, which the author believes started to show some consciousness of a more holistic development initiative. This means that social and environmental issues were considered in developments based on these movements. The social aspect however, was only applicable to the white minority and addressed their needs over and above the needs of socially excluded groups. Socially excluded groups were therefore not adequately catered for in terms of planning practise. Even as early as the 1900s, planning had already embodied a political nature in the South African context.

Planning practise was developed around the regulation of land use and Albrechts (2004) outlines the difference between land-use planning (which was seen as non-strategic) and strategic [spatial] planning. The changes in the approaches of planning are rather important as they contextualise these approaches and provide information as to what prompts change in the approaches and practise of planning. Land-use planning is seen as regulatory and oriented towards the assessment of land-use proposals. The limitation with this approach, is that limited intervention and encouragement of desirable developments in specific areas and urban contexts can occur, due to the fact that intervention is limited to one development. Strategic spatial planning, however, moves away from this and embraces a whole range of elements. The list of elements will never be exhaustive, as we see in section 3.2.1. Albrechts lists these elements based on an overall description of strategic spatial planning, which he provides as being defined frameworks for action.

Healey et al. (1999) describe strategic spatial planning as a policy, which has various elements that reinforce each other but also takes cognisance of characteristics of the area to which the policy applies. In Healey et al's example, this would be at a regional scale. In more

specific terms, they describe strategic spatial planning as setting frameworks in which desired locations of development and infrastructure are identified.

The evolution of strategic spatial planning as an approach began through a consciousness, internationally, from the 1970s, that urban areas no longer could be viewed in isolation from one another and the City Sustainable movement began to emerge. With this emergence and consciousness of the broader urban structure and environmental issues, more strategic approaches to planning were developed. Spatial planning was revived in the 1980s and aimed to order space and influence land use decisions from a more holistic point of view.

No single universal understanding or definition exists and different authors, academics and practitioners have their own sense of what strategic spatial planning should be. However, a common denominator is that strategic spatial planning moves beyond the assessment of one development (land use regulation) where a variety of elements and issues need to be considered in a broader context. The 'strategic' in strategic spatial planning, is, in the author's view, based on the definitions and descriptions provided. Therefore, this means the consideration of different elements in the formulation of a policy or framework for a demarcated area, where development options have been identified in areas of strategic importance.

In Albrecht's account, strategic spatial planning has been traced back as far as the 1920s and 1930s in Europe. It was taken up by the USA government in the 1970s, based on the work done in the public sector and in Europe in the 1980s. However, it only really gained prominence and recognition towards the end of the 1990s, with the introduction of the European Spatial Development Perspective through the European Union.

What begins to emerge is that strategic spatial planning is not a new concept, but one that has declined and resurged in importance. These shifts seem to relate to and be influenced by economic and mostly political contexts. An example of this is the comment of "neoconservative disdain for planning, but also by postmodern scepticism" (Albrechts, 2004, p743) in the 1980s, which caused the retreat from strategic spatial planning. It was however still being explored in Europe during this period. Resurgence in spatial planning occurred due to new desired urban forms and governance mechanisms, which aimed to implement principles such as territorial cohesion and balanced economic growth in areas outside of the major metropolitan nodes in Europe. The political factor referred to in this example is that the ESDP was approved by political statesmen on a voluntary basis and these agreements had no legal status. The EU member states however, saw the working together of the member states as beneficial to the greater development of the European continent.

With the above example of political influences on strategic spatial planning and previously, the example of rapid economic development influencing approaches to planning, they can be summarised as definite influences on planning approaches. It has been established that strategic spatial planning is viewed as strategic due to the more all encompassing and holistic nature of the practise of planning and the formulation of policies and frameworks.

Institutional Context – Strategic Spatial Planning in the City of Johannesburg

Thoenig (2003) states that politics and policies shape institutions. Institutional reforms in South Africa, particularly in terms of government in this research, have, by and large, been influenced by these two elements. This section highlights what these historical events were, in terms of politics and policies, which lead to the formation of the City of Johannesburg as we know and understand it today.

As was stated in Chapter 3, South Africa's post-apartheid spatial planning initiatives had to face the challenges of a young democracy. One of these challenges was the transformation of government and the formation of a new institutional form. The discussion of the institutional context is set within the context of the struggle to establish and practise strategic spatial planning.

Post 1994, many government departments had set out to change the urban fabric through policies and departmental initiatives. Largely, these initiatives had limited success in the 1990s, as institutional and operational issues hampered development and progress in the spatial planning realm. The years after 2000, however, saw a more concerted effort made towards spatial planning. This is evident through the literature, case study review and interview material. A major reason for stronger focus on strategic spatial planning was that institutional arrangements, legislation and political direction became clearer after 2000. Awesti (2007) states that "there is a 'thickening" or level of maturity institutions reach over time" and this statement applies to the case study, as it becomes evident through the literature review and interviews, that the stabilisation, evolution and maturity of the institution caused focus to shift to strategic spatial planning. This applies to both the national government transformation in the 1990s and the local government transformation in the 2000s, which is analysed in more detail below.

With the first democratic term of office coming to an end in 1999, government seized the opportunity to pause and reflect on what had been achieved in development and planning since 1994. This was done in 1999, with the publishing of the Green Paper on Development and Planning, which reviewed the achievements of spatial planning and highlighted the shortcomings of spatial planning in South Africa.

Shortcomings included a lack of shared vision in planning, lack of inter-governmental co-ordination, pressure on intra-government relations, lack of capacity in government departments and complexity within legal and procedural requirements where planning was concerned. This planning report synthesised issues raised in the other literature and confirms the view of other authors in terms of this period in planning (Harrison et al., 2008; Harrison et al, 2003 & Watson, 2002). Something to be noted at this stage, is that the aims and understandings of spatial planning presented during this period. These aims and understandings were geared toward integration and restructuring of the urban morphology and was developmental in nature. It was almost impossible to achieve these aims and understandings as the structures in which special planning had to function were still establishing, growing and maturing to a stage where the responsibility and capacity of government could be exploited in terms of 'reversing' Apartheid style planning.

Looking at strategic spatial planning practice post 2000, after the introduction of legislation such as the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, we see new institutional reforms occurring, but this time at a local level.

Local government was in a similar institutional reform situation as other government departments and their role was only truly defined in 2006 after all the transformations had occurred. However, negotiation between various role players had started long before 1994 and by 1993 there was a constant effort to restructure local government. This was done through forums, the establishment of metropolitan councils and transitional metropolitan councils. Johannesburg, as a city, also faced financial difficulty towards the end of the 1990s, which prompted yet another restructuring effort with a longer term view. The transition of Johannesburg, as an urban area, had gone through three institutional restructuring efforts by the time it was amalgamated into one Metropolitan Municipality in 2000. It moved from a structure of five 'institutions' to a two tiered institution and what we know as Johannesburg today, a single institution. All of these institutional restructuring efforts were as a result of either political pressure, civil pressure or economic pressure. Therefore institutional restructuring occurred as a result of political restructuring, and policies associated with restructuring and developmental issues within these institutions have an influence on each other. This is explained below in the case of the City of Johannesburg.

With this institutional restructuring focus in mind, both at a broader South African scale and locally at municipal level, it was evident from the document review in Chapters Three and Four that no firm deductions can be made on how spatial planning was understood or defined. However, evidence shows that strategic spatial planning in the mid to late 1990s was perceived as an important restructuring mechanism through the prominence it was showing in efforts made by departments within government to develop policies to this effect. Even though thrusts and interest in strategic spatial planning were shown in this manner, the implementation thereof was not as successful as anticipated (Harrison et al., 2008). Therefore, we can say that strategic spatial planning was a government priority in 1994 but the institutional changes of government in the immediate years after the first democratic elections consumed the capacity of possible strategic spatial planning practise.

With local government restructuring, the City of Johannesburg was newly formed in 2000 and was following the same path as national government had done in the 1990s. Focus was on the establishment of the institution, in order to make service delivery work. The focus was therefore purely on how the City should function and which departments had which functions to fulfill. Strategic spatial planning was low on the agenda during this period of institutional reform. This was evident for the first mayoral term from 2000 to 2005, as documentation of the City's structure and performance was devoid of mention of strategic spatial planning.

The City of Johannesburg's structure was revised at the end of the Mayor's first term in office. The major changes, as conveyed in the documents produced by the City, were that legislative powers are now separated from executive powers. The reason for this change was motivated by the circumstance that decision making powers were not clear enough, which hampered decision making and delivery and could be viewed as hampering good governance efforts due to duplication of decision making powers.

However, the direct impact of this change on strategic spatial planning was not highlighted in any of the review documentation. Only one interviewee mentioned that the department in which strategic spatial planning was placed in the 2000 to 2005 period had been restructured into new departments after 2005. However it is considered of some significance. This change is highlighted below, where it can be seen that a separation of the original sector functions in one department had now split into three directorates namely Transportation, Environment and Development Planning and Urban Management.

This meant that planning, as a function of the city, received its own political head and its own executive director, with a management team dedicated to planning issues. Within the Department of Development Planning and Urban Management, Development Planning and Facilitation was formed with a particular focus on strategic spatial planning. This departmental change gave strategic spatial planning a more prominent position within the city. The leadership of this department also changed its practice and departmental focus from being in a silo in terms of its planning function to one where engagements with other city departments occurred and other departments' business became this department's business too. In this manner, strategic spatial planning was more widely recognised and therefore features more prominently in the current term of office of the Mayor.

These changes over time and recognition of weaknesses in the institutional structure can once again reinforce Awesti's (2007) point that Institutional maturity really occurs over time. This is evident in the case study, where the City of Johannesburg has shown that it has created an 'institutional' awareness of what is required to make changes to strengthen the institution's governance in terms of decision making (not duplicating powers) and also creating opportunities for departments to grow and expand into well recognised departments within the City. This is evident in the council documents where the Department of Development Planning and Facilitation has gone from virtually no mention in 2000 – 2005 to great accomplishments in the 2005 – 2008 period, which have been recognised in documents such as the Mayor's Mid-Term Review.

In the interviews, the authors of these documents concurred with this finding and stated that the institutional changes in the early 2000s placed focus on different priorities. The major priority was to stabilise the institution and its various departments. They also said that personalities drive agendas and that the leadership within the Department of Development Planning and Urban Management played a great role in placing strategic spatial planning back on the City's agenda.

Therefore it is seen in this section that political influences impact on the formation of institutions. It is noted that the formation of institutions in turn impact on the practice of strategic spatial planning. Good intentions in this research, identified as various departments trying to tackle urban restructuring through policy development in the mid-1990s, have shown limited impact on the practicing of strategic spatial planning. Institutional reform has a greater impact on the practising of strategic spatial planning as during the reform periods, both nationally and locally, limited success in this field was noted. Institutional maturity provided opportunity for increased capacity to practise strategic spatial planning.

The practicing of strategic spatial planning leads to the analysis of the institutional culture. This is done through assessing and comparing the understanding of strategic spatial planning and concepts within the case study institution against the work done by the City of Cape Town, as well as comparing the case study understanding against that of the Provincial Government Officials. Aspinwall and Schneider (2000) state that actors are seen as subjects who decide for themselves, based on their conditioning through the institution's procedures, rules and norms, of which decisions will be in the best interest of the institution. The next section explores how the institution influences decision making based on the procedures, norms and standards, as referred to by Aspinwall and Schneider and whether these have an influence on the understanding of the subject matter.

Institutional Culture – Understanding Strategic Spatial Planning & Concepts
The institutional culture deals with the norms and standards of an institution and how these influence the understanding and practicing of strategic spatial planning. This section will look at the interview material and documentation analysis and place this against the literature review, to determine whether strategic spatial planning is understood similarly and can be generalised, or if these are case study specific. The norms and standards, namely rules of engagement in decision making processes and what the norms are to be aimed for in strategic spatial planning (based on the political imperatives), will be highlighted as these are identified in this section.

The documents show a clear understanding of the overall development objectives of the City through the Mayoral priorities being stated in the spatial policy documents. These objectives can be classified as the norms which all departments should be aiming to achieve in their daily practise within the institution. Therefore these objectives become the compass of the City's performance.

The documents, reviewed from a spatial development perspective, state that these objectives are strived for in terms of spatial development and restructuring of the City. However, the translation from the development objectives stated by the Mayor to the spatial concepts employed in the documents, become unclear. The author has deduced that national political objectives, based on the ruling party's manifesto, have been translated to city objectives, which spatial planning documents must translate to deliverables on the ground. In attempting to understand this process and how the authors of these spatial planning documents understand this, it was clearly stated by the interviewees that political direction is given from political heads within the city and strategic spatial planning practitioners must translate these into the deliverables via strategic spatial planning concepts. In this case no political interference occurs but the practitioners must be able to relate these back to the political objectives.

The influence of other spheres of government's strategies and policies, such as the NSDP and GSDP, are also not as clear as would be expected, as the documents, at a local level, refer to the objectives contained in these documents very superficially. No clear linkages can be made and no direction is provided in how these space economy documents should influence strategic spatial planning and the concepts that should be used to address the space economy status quo. These documents are developed for very broad geographic scales and therefore only generally interpret spatial elements. These documents do not

pinpoint positions for development or apply strategic spatial planning concepts. They broadly indicate the areas of maximum potential for infrastructure and economic development and leave local authorities to apply that which they might consider most appropriate in their local context, based on the local knowledge.

It can be deduced that strategic spatial planning is strongly linked to political objectives. Strategic spatial planning is linked to levels of government and interaction between departments, but it was further stated, especially in the first round of interviews, that no direction is given to local government on strategic spatial planning from national or even provincial government. This is also evident in terms of the document analysis between the NSDP, GSDF and the City of Johannesburg Spatial Development Frameworks.

In looking at the research and not being able to identify the direction of strategic spatial planning from national or provincial levels, except perhaps through the translation of political objectives (discussed below), it becomes important to gain an understanding of how strategic spatial planning is understood, as this might highlight some issues relating to the lack of translation described above.

The author's initial idea of what strategic spatial planning is, where it is concerned with co-ordination of public and private investments as well as co-ordination of different government or organisational departments and their respective planning strategies, was not reinforced by the research. These elements or activities were not mentioned by interviewees and even though some documents make mention of some of these elements, such as the NSDP, the translation and impact on strategic spatial planning is not evident. This may be one of the reasons for authors, such as Todes, to explore and advocate linkages between planning and infrastructure provision, which can be classified as co-ordination of investment and co-ordination of different departments' activities.

The author is of the view that strategic spatial planning is taking direction but not from where one would assume it should come, ie. a national or provincial department. At the local level, it is taking direction from the political party in power. However, it could be argued that direction does come from national government, especially in terms of political direction, which is given through the ANC manifesto. Provincial and local government draw their policy objectives from these, as we have deduced from the literature review (see Section 4.5.1, Figure 4.4 and 4.6) in the case study. These political directions from national government are translated to local government policy directives and constitute the norms and standards against which decision making has to be weighed. Therefore, decisions should be argued in terms of these norms and standards and should show that these are achieved.

Even though influences on strategic spatial planning have been identified, it must be said that strategic spatial planning is not uniformly understood in the South African context, as was shown through the desktop analysis of documents and writings, where no common definition was illustrated. Furthermore. it was shown through the interview material, that no two interviewees working even for the same institution, had the same idea of what strategic spatial planning is.

The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001) proposes that,

"the term spatial planning be used sparingly, to describe a high level planning process that is inherently integrative and strategic, that takes into account a wide range of factors and concerns and addresses the uniquely spatial aspects of those concerns. It cannot continue to be used loosely as a term that means different things to different people in different context..."

The different interpretation of strategic spatial planning by various actors in various contexts reinforces the concern expressed in the second part of this quote. Yet, even with these differences, the same objectives are strived for from a political point of view. The differences in interpretation relate to what Albrechts (2004) highlights with the quote provided in section 3.2.1, where many different authors put forward elements which form part of strategic spatial planning as an approach. In the South African context, we see through this research, that the practice of strategic spatial planning also includes a variety of elements.

Some of the elements contained in the South African literature and through the interviews include:
- restructuring the urban morphology through spatial reconfiguration (NSDP, 2006)
- implementation of spatial priorities (NSDP, 2006)
- channelling development and investment into strategic locations (NSDP, 2006)
- guiding physical development in response to historic issues [segregation] (GSDF,2000)
- compacting land use agendas (GSDP, 2007)
- being supportive of economic growth (GSDP, 2007)
- formulating of a vision (CoJ, 2000)
- public sector driven through the translation of political objectives (Interviews)
- creating a spatial roadmap to achieve competitive versus comparative advantage of a region (Interviewee G)
- providing guidance around urban elements and developing tools to achieve the desired urban form (Interviewee D)

Some commonalities are found, for example between the above mentioned elements and Albrechts' (2004) list, namely formulating a vision and formulating plans at various government levels. However, the plans in South Africa are not of the same nature necessarily (i.e. NSDP and GSDP are based on space economy whereas CoJ plans are based on physical features). We also see that strategic spatial planning is public sector led due to the absence of strategic spatial plans emerging from the private sector (ie. consultants). Other issues which would be deemed important in plan making and execution have not come through in this research. Examples of this are that strategic spatial planning should be "focused on decisions (Bryson, 1995), actions (Faludi and Korthals Altes, 1994; Mintzberg, 1994), results (Poister and Streib, 1999), and implementation (Bryson, 1995; Bryson and Roering, 1988), and incorporates monitoring, feedback, and revision" (Albrechts, 2004, p747). These critical elements, which give rise to strategic spatial planning and make it visible, have not been mentioned in the interviews, nor have they come through strongly in the South African literature or case study documentation.

The case study has shown that strategic spatial planning documents are guiding documents for investment, as the wording in the documents (Section 4.6.1) suggests. Returning to the definitions identified in the literature review and drawing some parallels, we can see similarities between Healey et al's (1999) definition or understanding of strategic spatial planning and how strategic spatial planning in South Africa is understood and where it is being steered towards through authors such as Todes (2009).

This analysis has shown that internationally and locally, strategic spatial planning has been understood differently with the use of different elements and factors (such as in Albrechts' extensive list) which drive strategic spatial planning. Some parallels have been drawn between the local and international arenas, where thinking about strategic spatial planning is similar (Healey et al's definition). A movement towards the co-ordinating efforts between strategic spatial planning and infrastructure provision is what is noted through the literature review (i,e, Todes, 1999). The research has not shown evidence in current South African planning practise of this direction advocated by Todes.

Interestingly enough, only one of the interviewees (Interviewee D) related strategic spatial planning to strategic spatial planning concepts and as, stated in previous chapters, strategic spatial planning concepts are also not always referred to in the same manner and they differ in 'translation' from one usage and context to another. This means that in some cases, something might be referred to as a concept and in others, it might be referred to as a spatial strategy or even a spatial planning tool. The interview material has shown this (Section 5.3.5). It is apparent that it doesn't really matter how it is categorised because as with strategic spatial planning, it aims to achieve the same goal, whether one calls a node a 'concept' or a 'tool' for example. It seems irrelevant to the interviewees what it is called.

On probing a little further on how strategic spatial concepts are understood and used, it was interesting to note that the users of these concepts, in their reference to them, show a limited knowledge of what the original intention was behind these concepts and what their initial usage might have been. The documents reflect this gap, as no historical significance is given of the concepts employed in the strategic spatial policies advocating the use of these concepts, even though the documents provide some explanation on what the concept is and what it should achieve.

The NSDP (2006) provides no definitions of nodes, corridors or the urban development boundary even though it does mention nodes and corridors. The GSDF (2000) provide definitions but no qualifications of these concepts. This means that no distinction is made between different types of nodes or corridors and only a broad definition is provided for the concept. The GSDP (2007) also does not provide definitions of concepts, similarly to the NSDP. Therefore, drawing parallels or trying to find a common thread through these documents in terms of strategic spatial planning concepts is rather difficult.

Where parallels can be drawn, is between local government documents, ie. the City of Cape Town and the City of Joburg, and also, to a limited extent, between the City of Joburg and the GSDF (2000). Even though the definitions are not completely similar, similar objectives are strived for. In the case of the City of Cape Town, we see that nodes have four characteristics, which add to the definition where nodes are centres of intense activities which are all of a

nature to support one another and also that nodes are places of high concentration of people (Section 4.3.4.1).

The City of Joburg has experienced a refinement of definitions and characteristics over the past eight years (as illustrated in 4.4 in Section 4.6.1.2). The City of Joburg provides the most refined definitions of the various concepts found in this study. Nodes are defined as places with high accessibility where both public and private investment concentrates and where opportunities and activities can be found.

The GSDF (2000) define nodes in the province as differing in size, scale, function and impact and as being concentrations of activities (both economic and socially). Nodes also have specific functions and contribute to the area in which they are located (Section 4.3.1).

All three of the above mentioned definitions illustrate that nodes are areas of concentration where intense activity occurs and that nodes may differ. This therefore shows that nodes are premised on the same elements but that defining them can be different. Therefore, the articulation in the documents shows similar understandings. This is found with the concepts of both of nodes and corridors. None of the documents provides a basis of theoretical background and the documents, especially the NSDP, the GSDP and the MSDF of the City of Cape Town, state that these concepts are used to restructure the urban morphology which resulted from Apartheid policies and planning practises.

The understanding of concepts from the practitioners' point of view has also showed that different understandings exist of concepts, but that these are based on the knowledge of concepts and not on the actual definition of concepts. Most interviewees illustrated the same themes as the documents provide for each of the concepts. The articulation thereof was different and the examples provided as responses to questions on what concepts mean, show that the levels of knowledge might differ. This could be because of the type of work being undertaken. A city official working on the Spatial Development Framework for the entire city, might not have the same ideas of application as someone working on a Regional Spatial Development Framework where actual concepts need to be applied. Another reason could be the experience levels of officials, in that someone who has been working in the city for five years will have more experience than someone who has only been working for a couple of months. This also relates to the transference of concepts, discussed below.

In relation to the above mentioned issues, i n follow up interviews it was asked whether there are any forms of learning that occur between actors within the same department, as well as other forms of learning such as conferences, other departmental meetings or workshops. It was stated that it was not necessarily a form of learning to engage with others and inform them about policies developed and what those policies contained, but that it was an issue that it had to be done. It is seen as an obligation rather than an opportunity. This points to a weakness in governance, as mentioned previously. This is the case in terms of engagements with other departments, government spheres or even external groups, such as the ACTRP, in some cases. Usually these groups, especially other departments within the city, use the concepts and jargon associated with it, but do not have the in-depth knowledge that a spatial planning practitioner would. Knowledge is built up over time and with experience, as illustrated above in relation to someone working with these concepts for a longer or shorter

period. In terms of learning within the department, this is done to a certain degree when issues may be raised at operational meetings or workshops, but other learning processes are low key and rest on some sort of mentorship, where colleagues might interact in informal discussion. Other formal training and information sharing was not mentioned.

The interviewees also showed that they might have ideas on where concepts originate, but real knowledge of the origins, history and evolution of these concepts, namely nodes, corridors and urban development boundary, was lacking in their explanations. This research did not set out to do a full historical account of concepts. Instead, it aimed to gain an understanding of whether or not concepts are universally understood and if this is based on a particular set of knowledge as described above. The research has shown that knowledge of concepts is not gained through these above mentioned elements but rather through the experience of using them.

One form of using these concepts is through the manipulation of concepts to suit a desired outcome and if that means that one particular concept means two different things within the same area of jurisdiction, in this case the City of Johannesburg, then so be it. The interviewees did not see this as a particular problem but rather as a solution to certain forces, such as political pressure. However, through undertaking this manipulation exercise, one could draw on Healey et al (1999) who state that certain forces, such as economic, political or social forces, impact and shape strategic spatial planning but that strategic spatial planning also influences these external forces. It has been established that all of these mentioned forces have had an impact on strategic spatial planning internationally and locally, but this example, of taking a strategic spatial concept and applying it to an area where it might be suitable in the future, could constitute an influence on external forces as Healey et al. explain. Even though this has not been measured or investigated in this research, that might be a possibility. The interviewee who articulated this specific example indicated that this was done due to political pressure, but what could inadvertently occur is that the external forces, such as the market, politics or economics, may take this up as an opportunity relating to that force (ie. business development may occur in an area where previously it would not ordinarily have been considered).

Another finding that came out of the interview material, is that not all spatial concepts are treated with equal importance in spatial policy. Some concepts receive more attention than others and it was explained that this occurs due to the institution's agenda, which places certain issues as priority. The norms and standards of the institution, that being priorities and policy directives, place a certain expectation on practitioners to perform in certain areas, which inadvertently force or push certain concepts to achieve results faster. An example of this would be the UDB, which was developed and became more sophisticated over time, versus other concepts, such as nodes, which were classified through an internal institutional study and not developed any further. The policy review in section 4.6.1.3 illustrates that sophistication in this concept, namely the UDB, was reached early on and the level of detail presented in the GSDF (2000) also indicates where the focus on strategic spatial concepts lay. The spatial concepts which then advance political imperatives of the institution are prioritised. In this case of the City of Johannesburg, it was the UDB which originally aimed at pushing low income housing opportunities closer to economic areas within the city. The previous section, where spatial planning is led by political objectives, backs this up.

Is it a negative or positive aspect of strategic spatial planning to apply concepts in different ways by different actors to ultimately achieve the same goal that particular concepts might have set? Two arguments might exist here. The author's personal experience indicates that it is a definite problem in certain instances and the reasons for this are those raised in the research issues, namely that officials in the same institution don't understand and apply concepts in the same manner, making the application of concepts to land use applications challenging, as two different interpretations are provided by virtually the same institution. The example of the neighbourhood node is referred to. The author's reflection on her Town Planning education reveals that she was taught to think critically about issues and her education was not technical in nature (there is no single formula that must be applied to a case, as an engineer or a quantity surveyor might do), , but rather theoretical. One planning practitioner's thoughts on a concept might not be the same as another planning practitioner's thoughts, not always based on ignorance of a concept and what it aims to achieve but rather based on the depth of knowledge of a concept. The interviewees concurred with this frustration, especially when interdepartmental relations are at play. This could occur in the decision making process of a land use application (not explored in this research but reflected on by the author as a consultant and employee of the City of Joburg). One might find various departments making different interpretations and representations, which contradict each other.

An issue related to this is that of the UDB struggle between the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Provincial Government. The lack of the UDB between Provincial and Local Government level illustrates the above mentioned frustration further in the sense that it places developers and decision makers in a disadvantaged position, as they are not sure which 'line on the map' is correct as consensus is not reached between government spheres. This issue illustrates that this situation actually has nothing to do with what the UDB as a concept should be doing or how it should be understood, but rather illustrates an issue of authority and area of jurisdiction. Therefore, power struggles, as discussed in the next section, can limit the effectiveness of planning practise between spheres of government, which impacts on developers. The issue of understanding the concept and applying it is non-existent in such a case, as governance issues appear to be weak or ill defined. This is explored in the next section.

The alternative argument might be that national and provincial documents provide a broader scope of applying and interpreting concepts and this could give more freedom to planning practitioners who have to analyse, apply and implement policy documents. The open-endedness of documents such as the NSDP and GSDP illustrates this, where no guidelines for applying elements contained in these documents are provided. Once again, different levels of application and interpretations exist in strategic spatial planning and depending on the government sphere to which it is applied, positive and negative aspects can be identified.

In conclusion to this section the following findings can be highlighted:
- No historical awareness or significance exists within spatial planning documents where spatial planning concepts are used or based on the interviews conducted. This illustrates a lack of research, experience and perhaps even a lack of understanding of the concepts. This issue can raise challenges in decision making processes and in

the application of concepts as discussed in this section. What has been identified, is that the experience of planners plays a role in the understanding and application of concepts.

- Spatial concepts are manipulated to be used in different scenarios and are not applied as they were initially developed.
  - This causes inconsistency in the use and application of concepts across one area of jurisdiction.
  - The goal posts of what concepts should be reaching changes from one situation to another due to the inconsistent application of concepts.
  - It could be argued that by manipulating and applying concepts differently in the City one influences external forces through planning decisions in the application of concepts where it might be deemed 'inappropriate' in the current geographical setting.
- 'Power' struggles between government departments over strategic spatial planning concepts do not contribute anything to development. Further, such struggles don't contribute to the evolution, use and application of concepts for these concepts to reach a level of satisfactory development and universal understanding.

In conclusion to this section, it can therefore be said that various influences on strategic spatial planning in the South African context have been noted. Those influences are political objectives and legislative requirements, even though the latter is to a limited extent. Political objectives are filtered down from national government, but the translation of broader objectives to local objectives is an iterative process, which is not backed up by documentation. Due to strategic spatial planning being practised differently, various levels of practise and application are noted. Where national and provincial government practise it through analysing the space economy, local government practises it through determining locations for development through the application of strategic spatial concepts. The aim of regional planning in the international context was to balance growth between areas within and amongst regions even though this is at a transnational scale. The South African perspective is similar in nature, even though this occurs at a national scale and the role of strategic spatial planning is perceived to restructure the fragmented cities through making political objectives visible and implementable in order to give all citizens the right to equal urban opportunities.

Definitions differ both in terms of strategic spatial planning as well as strategic spatial planning concepts. Parallels have been drawn between government spheres within South Africa and also the South African versus international context, where possible. These parallels show that due to the lack of direction in terms of definitions and also implementation, one can have a positive outlook on planning practise by stating that strategic spatial planning is open ended and should be interpreted and applied according to the needs of the location to which it is applied. However, if spatial planning practitioners don't have enough knowledge to master the application of concepts, one might have similar situations as arose in the mid 1990s, where new concepts were difficult for practitioners to grasp and apply. Similar issues as those highlighted in the 1999 Green Paper on Development and Planning might exist.

6.3 Governance & Power – The Decision Making Processes

Decision making processes are reliant on structures within institutions and between institutions which links to relationships between agents both within and between institutions. Those relationships are inherently dependent on positions of agents/actors/stakeholders within and between institutions. Knowledge is an element of power (Maeder, undated; McHoul & Grace, 1993; Smart, 1985; Fillingham, 1993), which can influence the practise, understanding and formulation (decision making processes) of strategic spatial planning policy.

This section will, in particular, look at the interview data and relate this to the decision making processes, which are in place in the formulation of strategic spatial policy.

Two decision making processes are analysed. Firstly, the decision making processes between the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Provincial Government. Secondly, the decision making processes within the City of Johannesburg.

Gauteng Provincial Government vs. City of Johannesburg

In the case of Gauteng Provincial Government and City of Johannesburg, one hypothetical example was given regarding decision making processes where the UDB was to be realigned. This process requires the City of Johannesburg to make an application for realignment because of development pressures of even infrastructure constraints, even though legislation does not prescribe it. The provincial government officials produce a written recommendation, which is sent for consideration to the elected politicians.

As this particular example in the case study shows, governance seems to be compromised as an example of possible corruption was flagged by the provincial planning officials. The frequency of these probable practices are not clear, but this example illustrated that such an activity places strain on intergovernmental relations, as clearly seen in Chapter Five. The officials interviewed claimed this sort of practise is not an isolated example.

This example also illustrates the poor or lack of application of good governance principles. The example has illustrated that transparency is not maintained in this situation, as no records of the decision, in the form of minutes or other documentary evidence, can be obtained by the provincial government officials who have to provide feedback to the UDB Realignment Applicant, which is the City of Johannesburg in this case. It has further compromised accountability, as the politicians are not seen to be held accountable for their decision in this particular example, but the provincial planning officials have to rationalise the decisions of the politicians after decisions have been made.

This particular example has affirmed a statement made by Flyvbjerg in his book Rationality and Power (1998),that, the greater the concentration of power, the less inclined powerful interests are to engage in rational argument. No rational arguments are provided by the decision makers, who hold the power to make the decisions regarding strategic spatial planning in terms of the concept of the UDB. The "rational arguments" are formulated in retrospect by officials who have no insight into the basis of the decision. Flyvbjerg, in Peattie (2001), also stated that power was directly linked to knowledge or knowing, which is

premised on Foucault's understanding of the subject. Foucault argues that power is knowledge and knowledge is power (Maeder, undated; McHoul & Grace, 1993; Smart, 1985; Fillingham, 1993). However, this case has rather illustrated that a negotiated outcome, where officials were in discussions and reached consensus (Section5.3.3), was found on the alignment of the UDB. However, the knowledge of the spatial planning officials regarding the UDB and the specific context in which it was being applied, did not inform the decision. The decision was purely informed by power, which is to be expected in a world influenced by politics as Forester (2001) states. By making certain decisions, withholding information or misrepresenting facts, certain agendas can be pushed. The provincial government officials speculate that certain decisions are made to promote particular agendas, which might be personal or political in nature.

The statement made by Foucault would be controversial and unsubstantiated if applied to the above mentioned situation, as this research did not probe the knowledge of the decision makers (ie. the politicians). Therefore we cannot adjudicate whether the power was exerted due to the knowledge, which in this case would have been the planning merits for the realignment of the UDB. What is noted though, is that the negotiated decision, between the planning officials of the spheres of government, was discussed based on some acquired knowledge and planning merit, which should be viewed as knowledge of the subject. However, that knowledge was not converted to the exertion of power by the officials. Therefore it is noticed that power, as stated by Flyvbjerg in relation to rationality, will always have an influence on decision making and that rationality on its own does not satisfy planning processes, in particular where decisions are made.

City of Johannesburg: Politicians vs. Planners

The inter-organisational relations and governance practises in the City of Joburg were probed through the process of decision making on proposed policies or frameworks. In this case, it was seen that recommendations are made by professional planning officials and approved by politicians without any approval problems, contrary to the example provided by Provincial Government Planning Officials.

Foucault, as represented in Maeder (undated), McHoul & Grace (1993), Smart (1985) and Fillingham, (1993), relates the ideas of power, knowledge and truth to each other and brings this together by stating that knowledge is produced by discourse. Discourse in this instance, is related to the story lines of Harre, as discussed in section 2.3.2.1 in Chapter Two. The story lines are statements and practices which are brought together to form a truth, ultimately based on knowledge. This knowledge, that planning professionals build up through the sharing of information, as tested in Chapter Five, becomes the discourse of strategic spatial planning, which is approved by politicians without any real resistance ever being ,felt during the City of Joburg's decision making processes. Therefore, power has taken on two shapes in this institution. The planning officials take their knowledge and represent it in strategic spatial planning documents. This is a form of power as it influences both decisions of stakeholders using these documents which are approved by Council through councillors' political powers. Power is indirectly exerted through the representation of knowledge as the knowledge ultimately becomes the truth.

In the practising of knowledge and power, good governance needs to be adhered to by those practicing these elements. One such element related to the exercising of power is accountability. All employees are also subjected to a performance management system, which enables all staff to be monitored on their performance, which is linked to a rewards system. This also ensure accountability, which is measured against goals and tasks set for a particular financial year of what has to be achieved, monitored by their superiors. Additional to the element of accountability is the element of transparency. Relating to the element of accountability is that some authors, such as Harrison et al. (2003), highlight some negative aspects of performance management systems, which include that pressure for performance might compromise the quality of products. The accountability might only stretch to whether a task was achieved, not how well it was executed or what the standard of the product or process was. This angle of the accountability elements was not tested. If this angle of the element was probed in more depth, an influence on strategic spatial planning might have been uncovered.

Transparency between actors within the organisation is crucial and in the case of the City of Joburg, the decision making process probed, illustrated that a level of transparency is maintained through the various steps within the decision making process, as outlined in section 5.3.3.

An element of governance not explored in the research was the participatory element between the planning officials and other stakeholders, such as the general public, communities or other organisations. Participation between the City of Joburg and the Gauteng Provincial Government was mentioned in the instance of UDB realignment but not in relation to any of the other strategic spatial planning concepts. Participation in an intergovernmental manner therefore appears to be weak and there is an absence of intergovernmental governance practice in terms of strategic spatial planning.

Governance relates also to the structures and relationships within and between institutions. The institutional structure of the City of Joburg also illustrates a clear path of relationships between positions within the City and also within the Department of Development Planning and Facilitation. The city's structure has evolved over the past nine years, which shows an acute awareness of governance principles and areas of greater efficiency in terms of decision making. An example of this is the institutional restructuring of the City to eliminate decision making duplications and also to enhance governance as the City strives towards good governance as one of its primary objectives.

In answering whether elements of power and governance are influences on strategic spatial planning, one could argue that indirectly, it does have a bearing on the performance and perception of planning. As was highlighted in Section 6.2.1m the restructuring of the City post 2006 has had a positive influence on planning and the perception thereof. Governance contributes to this in a manner where institutional arrangements have allowed the development of departments and development of sound management to place strategic spatial planning back on the agenda of the City, thereby giving it more prominence.

A further comment to be made is that the decision making process appears transparent and clearly defined, which makes processes easy to understand and follow. Decision making

does have an impact on strategic spatial planning practise as processes begin to determine outputs. This means that the path to decision making has not been portrayed in a difficult or negative light, but rather one in which politicians simply make decisions without questioning the product. Even though little interrogation occurs by decision making politicians, a certain decision making power element, which has been bestowed on them, is exercised. The issue is interesting as levels of interrogation of products were not mentioned within the City's structure. These power issues point to a possible problem where the quality of work is not interrogated. Such an assumption is not based on any hard evidence found in this study, but personal experience has seen this go up as a red flag in terms of the 'easiness' with which decisions are made. This might be a subject for further research: governance linked to performance management linked to quality of work, which impacts on strategic spatial planning in the sense of more appropriate application of strategic spatial planning elements.

6.4 Conclusion

The research considered the case of the City of Johannesburg in addressing the research questions. The research was premised on the basis that one of the leading municipalities in the country is likely to provide an understanding of strategic spatial planning as it is might be viewed and perceived in South Africa. The City of Joburg is ultimately striving towards its slogan of being a 'World Class African City'. However, it is acknowledged that not all metropolitan areas are similar in nature or have the same issues to contend with.

This chapter has illustrated that history, politics, economics and social issues have all contributed to the approaches in planning and to what has been determined as some understanding of strategic spatial planning and its concepts. Issues of power and governance have also played an influential role on how strategic spatial planning is practised. It has further been determined that external forces, as listed above, influence strategic spatial planning but that strategic spatial planning can also influence these forces.

Arguments can be made in various different ways, as shown in this chapter. What this implied is that no right or wrong answer exists in this study of the topic, but that various perspectives have been uncovered,, which might further constitute influences on how strategic spatial planning might be practiced and understood.

In concluding the research it is important to assess whether the research has successfully answered the questions developed to answer the key issues which are identified in Chapter One. It is also important to highlight the limitations of the research and, based on the findings of the research, provide some recommendations. This is done in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter briefly summarises the key findings of the research, assesses whether the research questions can be answered based on the findings, discusses the limitations of the research and puts forward some recommendations based on the research findings.

7.2 KEY FINDINGS SUMMARISED

The research has been challenging at times, but has assisted the author in better understanding certain elements of strategic spatial planning and its concepts in light of the exploration of its history and influencing factors.

The influences on strategic spatial planning and its concepts might have been identified without this particular research exercise, but the intricacies of the case study have deepened the understanding of these influences and have also placed it in a more holistic context in terms of tracing historical and contextual events and issues.

It is not the purpose of this section to repeat the history or the case study, but rather to highlight briefly what the influences are on strategic spatial planning and its concepts as this study has revealed. Eight influences have been identified and some of these influences are interrelated or dependant on each other. Each of these will be discussed briefly to highlight how these influences were identified.

1. Politics: To define politics can, at worst, be challenging but what this study has revealed is that elements of politics can be identified as influencing factors on strategic spatial planning, the manner in which it is practised and also the manner in which it is understood. The case study has shown that political objectives are translated from the national sphere of government to local government planning documents. These objectives are viewed as a political influence on planning as the practise of planning must link back to these objectives in all decision making processes.

   A further element of political influence on planning is the legislation that controls planning practice, which is primarily based on political objectives. The Native Urban Areas Act (1923) and the Group Areas Act (1950) are classic examples of how politics influenced legislation, which, in turn, influenced the manner in which planning was conducted for certain racial groups. Currently, legislation such as the Development Facilitation Act (1995), argues for social integration and urban restructuring, which are both political objectives.

2. Economic: In terms of economic and social influences (also discussed under point 3), one sees that the Industrial Revolution (a period of rapid economic and urban

growth), sparked planning approaches to respond to these issues which were creating unattractive living spaces. The Garden City and New Town Movements are seen as prime examples of approaches in planning responding to such issues.

3. Social: Other examples of social issues are the conditions in which the Black population lived during the Apartheid planning period. The uprisings, which were a result of poor living conditions and social inequality, prompted new planning thought in the 1980s, when Dewar and Uytenbogaardt developed a more equitable planning approach in an attempt to restructure the cities of the country.

4. International: Planning approaches were transferred from abroad to the South African context through international agents in the early 1900s with the arrival of British settlers. Planning movements, such as the Garden City and New Town Movement, made their way to the country, as explored in Chapter Three.

5. Institutions: The research has shown that national government restructuring in the South African context in the mid to late 1990s was marred with restructuring government and also ensuring established departments within this restructuring. Strategic spatial planning was low on the agenda even though attempts at policies and frameworks were undertaken. Institutional restructuring and establishment was higher on the agenda during this time than actual strategic spatial planning or any spatial planning for that matter.

   Local government, the case study, illustrated that this also occurred in the early 2000s, at a local government level, as institutions had to be restructured and established. Once again, the early years after the formation of the institution had limited strategic spatial planning prominence and strategic spatial planning only really became important after the restructuring of the institution.

   Institutions also have an influence on planning practitioners, as the culture in terms of norms and standards has an effect on planning. Decision making processes are one of these cultural elements but also political objectives, which become the norms and standards against which decisions should be made.

6. Power: Power relates to governance (which is seen as decision making processes) and this study has shown that power can be used positively or negatively and can be exercised by various actors. In terms of the study, it is noted that power struggles occur between levels of government, which makes the practicing of strategic spatial planning in relation to certain issues and concepts (UDB) rather difficult. This would be at the officials' level after power has been exercised negatively, as discussed below.

   Secondly, power can be exercised both positively by politicians in decision making processes (i.e. the City of Joburg) of negatively in a similar process (ie. Provincial Government).

7. Governance: Relating to point (6) above, governance is intricately linked with power as power is exercised in the decision making processes (described as governance in this study). Relationships within governance can have a positive or negative effect on strategic spatial planning as outlined in (6) above.

8. Knowledge: Knowledge is intricately related to decision making processes and the case study has shown that, in some cases, knowledge is power. An example, planners formulating plans and policies and these being accepted by politicians in decision making processes. Conversely, the case of provincial government's decision making has shown that where power is concentrated – in this case the politicians, no rationality is required in decision making processes. Therefore knowledge can be used positively to influence decision making processes, which most interviewees aimed at doing, but recommendations made by them in terms of strategic spatial planning cannot always be followed through, as the power of decision making does not necessarily lie with them.

The above points very briefly highlight the influences identified on strategic spatial planning. The next section will assess whether the research questions have been answered through this research exercise.

7.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The subsidiary questions are briefly answered below in relation to what has been found in the research analysis leading to the primary research question.

a) What is understood by strategic spatial planning?

The international context has shown that spatial planning has undergone transformation, decline and resurgence over the past thirty years. It has changed in meaning and some of its meanings have been rejected. International understanding has shown that strategic spatial planning can have many elements it attempts to address, but some elements might be addressed where others won't. Another understanding related to the desired location of development and infrastructure investment. Strategic spatial planning has also come under the spotlight in terms of being action oriented. It has further been described as being influenced by social and economic forces, as well as being politically driven in most cases.

The analysis has shown that strategic spatial planning, in South Africa, is understood differently by different actors, even if they are working in the same environment. It has, however, shown that there is a common denominator in strategic spatial planning, which is political objectives having to be translated to spatial concepts in order to achieve deliverables. This was not only seen in the interview material but also in legislation. There is however an academic advocacy for a more integrated approach to spatial planning in terms of identifying desired locations for development, but also beginning to take into consideration infrastructure planning and provision to align these functions better. This has however not emerged from the case study data.

It is reiterated here that strategic spatial planning has a common goal of translating political objectives to achievable deliverables on the ground and the manner in which political

objectives are translated seems not to matter as clear guidelines on strategic spatial planning are not seen in this case study.

b) What is the role and purpose of strategic spatial planning in South Africa?

The role and purpose of strategic spatial planning comes with the understanding thereof, namely translating political objectives to achievable spatial goals. Planning is therefore considered to be political in nature. Political, in this instance, refers to the implementation of political objectives, which are filtered down from national government to local government.

c) What structures and influences strategic spatial planning in South Africa?

Eight influences have been identified and are listed in Section 7.2. with brief examples to illustrate the influence. These are politics, institutions, power, knowledge, governance, history, social issues, economic issues and international influences.

d) What is understood by the term 'strategic spatial concept'?

The term 'strategic spatial concept' is not universally understood, similarly to that of strategic spatial planning. What is seen as a concept in one person's mind might be seen as a tool in another's.. However, as with strategic spatial planning, we notice that how it is understood might not matter but that if the same goal is aspired to with that concept/tool, how we classify it may be irrelevant.

However, it is important that the content of that tool/concept is universally understood because, as is described in Chapter One and Section 6.3, problems are bound to arise if different interpretations are communicated to developers or other planning practitioners.

e) What are the origins of the key spatial structuring elements and concepts and how have these migrated and been translated from various arenas?

This is by far the most challenging question to answer and it must be said that it can only partly be answered. The author found that there is a clear lack of research material in the concepts employed in the public sector's spatial planning divisions. The authors of documents are unsure of where concepts originated from and how they have been transferred.

The most efficient means of answering this question is to look at the Compact City approach, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's work and also the historical significance of planning approaches, which had certain concepts attached to them (ie. 'green belt' could now be referred to as an 'urban development boundary'), which have been reworked and reconceptualised.

It has however emerged through the research that how one understands the concepts is irrelevant, as explained in question (a) and (d). The end product and application thereof, with or without clear academic definitions, is more important and legislation and policy, as they stand currently in South Africa, allow for the interpretation of concepts and approaches in planning.

So in looking at the key research question, we see that it has been partly answered by means of the questions above. What we have not been able to establish successfully, are the intentions and meanings behind concepts, but we have answered the understanding of concepts in general in Chapter Four and Five, through looking at what it represents in the various documents and how interviewees understand the concepts of nodes, corridors and urban development boundaries.

7.4 RESEARCH AND METHOD LIMITATIONS

The research and method used has been effective in understanding some elements or issues in strategic spatial planning, which were perceived as problematic at the outset of this research. As stated previously in the Chapter, some of these issues or problems might not be such major issues of problems as originally thought. The research has assisted the author, as a planning practitioner, in understanding and identifying nuances in strategic spatial planning and its concepts. These nuances can be described as determining the various meanings and interpretations of the planning approach and its concepts but also gaining an understanding that the final goals or aspirations articulated through the literature and interviews illustrate that the different meanings might work towards the same end point or goal.

Even though the author has found some answers through the current method, some additional or perhaps even different elements and understandings might be gained if this same topic was researched by another scholar or practitioner. Reasons for this lie in the limitations of the method applied in this research exercise but also the particular focus that this research has had.

Firstly, the research only considered the view and understanding of strategic spatial planning practitioners and was primarily concentrated in the public sector. No politicians were interviewed to gain their perspective and to gauge whether claims made by some of the practitioners were true or false. The research has shown that decision making powers ultimately lie in the hands of politicians and it would be interesting to see if strategic spatial planning is influenced or even understood in any different way, or perhaps even in the same way, by these public sector actors.

The research was also limited in further interviewing other actors or probing the influence of other actors, such as the general public. The element of governance could further explore through the lens of participation the point of view of the general public and whether issues they deem important in daily life actually have a bearing on how strategic spatial planning is practised and perhaps even influence what and how concepts are used to respond to such societal issues at a deeper level than what this research has done.

The above mentioned point not only relates to governance and the limited choice of lenses used in this research but in general, the research findings could have been different if other lenses were employed of the same conceptual framework elements. The purpose of the research guided the choice of elements identified in the conceptual framework but, if the same topic, as explained above, was researched through other conceptual framework elements, different issues and outcomes to the research might have been identified.

The depth of the evaluations and data that inform this research and the detailed interrogation of the intricacies and nuances of one case study provide depth of material for the research. However, the study is limited in its focus on one case study rather than comparative analysis of several case studies. While this study does not engage with a variety of case studies, it does satisfy the aim of the research to do a qualitative study to clarify issues that were identified as frustrations and or possible problems in the approach of strategic spatial planning. In understanding a wider context through the probing of other case studies, more generalisations could perhaps be drawn, but this research now can form a basis of further research to understand more general issues through the research of other case studies.

The author's own interpretation and actual involvement with the case study material could be viewed as a limitation as the author, a planning practitioner, is close to the subject matter. Even though I have attempted to remain clear of being subjective, my own experience might have created a bias towards certain issues which I viewed as major concerns or problems. This could be a reason for the limited scope of the research to planning practitioners, as I was trying to address my own issues and frustrations. A scholar, not being able to identify with the research topic on a daily basis, might have had a different view on issues and might have probed different perspectives.

The above mentioned limitations are not exhaustive but illustrate that, on reflection, shortcomings and limitations do exist in this study.

7.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The research was born from practical frustrations and what I can reflect on today is that those same frustrations identified in the early stages of the research are not necessarily the same frustrations as I experience today. However, the research has shown that strategic spatial planning is an iterative process with a broad understanding in terms of the approach and also the meaning of different concepts. No two similar definitions can be found for either of these research elements, but what has been established is that strategic spatial planning and its concepts practically work together toward the same goals as set by political imperatives. Therefore, strategic spatial planning has not moved far from the Apartheid understanding of planning in terms of planning concepts being applied without taking social issues into consideration. The social issues have now just shifted from segregation to integration and restructuring.

So what does this finding mean for strategic spatial planning, its concepts and this research? Planning is still political in nature and even though political agendas have changed significantly, planning still strives to reach these goals set by politicians. How one reaches these goals through the practise and understanding of strategic spatial planning is irrelevant,

as the political objectives remain the focus of planning. It might be clichéd in stating this, but the expression, 'all roads lead to Rome' can be as applied, as Rome in this case would be the end political goal and the roads would be that of how planning reaches that end destination.

Strategic spatial planning might not be understood universally and in South Africa, it does not identify with one particular department within government, but it is rather practised and applied differently by practitioners of strategic spatial planning at different levels of government. This does not mean that it does not take direction from somewhere as direction comes through political objectives set by national government. Guidelines of application and practising of strategic spatial planning do not come through, which makes strategic spatial planning a prime candidate for evolution and adaptation to various levels of government as we have seen through the 'strategic' documentation produced through the various levels of government.

The approach of planning practise is dependent on the knowledge and experience of those practicing it. The application of concepts is not determined by what the history or original intention of such a concept was but rather, what such a concept must achieve. Therefore, this research has shown that planning remains iterative and based on knowledge which is not necessarily power in the public sector but that the end goals and visions are what is important in determining how planning is practised.

7.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made in light of the research findings.

a) The filtering of political objectives through the various spheres of government should be more directly defined to ensure that no confusion or misinterpretation occurs at any level. The research has not shown the linkages through the literature review and interviews but has rather deduced this from what the documents have presented as political objectives. This is recommended so to not confuse any practitioners regarding what has to be achieved and also sets the agenda more clearly, which does not have to interpreted.

b) A specific government department at national level, which will be responsible for the development and practise of strategic spatial planning should adopt strategic spatial planning. This is not for over regularisation but rather to align policy and frameworks better in order to ensure the above mentioned consistency, which is needed, will ultimately impact on governance between spheres of government. It will create a stronger link between documents and will assist with drawing more clear linkages, which we have seen is rather difficult currently, with the different policy forms in strategic spatial planning. In doing so, a common understanding and practise should be cultivated to ensure that uniformity in this planning approach is found, which will not undermine the practice of strategic spatial planning, which should still have some scope for manoeuvring, and developments taking place within the framework of strategic spatial planning and its concepts.

c) At a local level, in the City of Johannesburg, strategic spatial planning should be better defined and all spatial planning practitioners should have the same understanding and application of ideas to overcome confusion as described in the

research issue. This could include constructive debate sessions and mutual learning exercises between employees of the same department and employees of other departments.

7.7 CONCLUSION

In terms of the research outcomes I repeat a quote as found in Chapter One:
'This means that strategic spatial practitioners assume to sit in different restaurants [different, countries, spheres of government and sectors] and, more importantly, employ *the same* utensils [strategic spatial planning concepts] to attack what we [the users of these concepts] consider the same menu *in very different ways*'.

The research has shown that this is indeed the case. Strategic spatial planning is used as a concept in South Africa and internationally, yet we tackle similar issues in different ways, because we understand issues and strategic spatial planning's application to those issues in different ways. The concept we employ, or alternatively, the tools, are used in a different manners to attack similar issues, because we understand the usage of these tools differently. The basic fundamentals of strategic spatial planning and its concepts are not grasped and prioritised equally and therefore these limitations of strategic spatial planning come to the fore more often than not, especially in the application thereof.

Flexibility and interpretation of strategic spatial planning should not be thrown away as change needs to occur as we, planners, work in a field where things change rapidly. However, the common goals of these tools should not be undermined due to a lack of knowledge on the part of the custodians and implementers of strategic spatial planning and its concepts.

Reflecting on Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999) and comparing it to this study, one sees that "a lack of a shared vision" has been overcome to a certain extent, if one considers that political directives are aligned to certain degree from national to local government levels. Strategic spatial planning documentation, however, does not illustrate the alignment, as each document reviewed illustrates a different level of interpretation and application of concepts.

"A lack of inter-governmental co-ordination" is difficult to assess clearly, as some of the experiences revealed through this research has been negative in nature. Negotiated outcomes are looked for between government officials in terms of the UDB, but decision makers are not included in these discussions and vice versa. Other strategic spatial concepts are not even discussed between levels of government and this could be due to the fact that strategic spatial planning is interpreted and applied differently across the spheres of government as the policy documents have shown. Co-ordination in the planning realm is therefore seen as weak, due to the very limited spatial alignment between documents such as the NSDP, GSDP and SDF.

"Lack of capacity" and "complexity of legal and procedural requirements" have not emerged from this study, therefore no comments can be provided.

Some progress has been made on the practise of strategic spatial planning since the 1999 report, but communication between spheres of government is required and real engagement around strategic spatial planning will assist in the alignment of priorities and the interpretation of concepts to realise the formulated plans. Through this, strategic spatial planning can be strengthened to ensure better alignment and practise of this approach in its rich context of social, economic and political realms.

Annexure A

First Set of Interview Questions – Aimed at understanding Concept Content

a) What do you understand as Strategic Spatial Planning?
b) Where does Strategic Spatial Planning find itself within the SA planning realm? (eg. which National Department – if any)
c) What would you define as Strategic Spatial Planning concepts? Why?

NODES/CORRIDORS/UDB Specific Questions
d) When and why was the concept of Nodes, Corridors and the Urban Development Boundary introduced?
e) Does the idea of Nodes, Corridors and the UDB link to the idea of the compact city? How?
f) Who introduced these concepts at city/provincial/national levels?
g) What do you understand Nodes, Corridors and the UDB should be doing both at a city level and a provincial level?
h) Do you think that it is achieving/has achieved these objectives as discussed above?
    a. How?
i) What, in your opinion, is the relationship between the city's Nodes, Corridors and UDB and the provincial Nodes, Corridors and UDB?
j) What, in your opinion, should the relationship between the city's Nodes, Corridors and UDB and the provincial Nodes, Corridors and UDB be?
k) Do you think it is necessary to align the provincial and city Nodes, Corridors and UDB or do you think they fulfill different roles?
l) Have the Nodes, Corridors and UDB been successful since it has been introduced?
m) Why?
n) Do you think the Nodes, Corridors and UDB is an effective strategic spatial mechanism and concept in achieving the desired urban forms in the city or do you think there is room for improvement? (Please motivate).

Sector Related Interview Questions

a. What are the processes for policy formulation within Strategic Spatial Planning within your department?
b. Please explain the processes for policy formulation both:
c. In-house policy formulation?
d. Through Consultants?
e. Please explain your input and role in both of the above-mentioned processes.
f. What are the decision-making processes in the formulation and adoption of policies and concepts? (eg. In the event that a 'new' planning concept is introduced to your department, what is the process that is followed to adopt/reject that particular concept? Similarly with policies.)
g. Who, in your opinion, has the biggest influence on decision-making processes?

Follow Up Interview Questions

1. How much and (ii) how does interaction occur between city officials, various city departments and politicians in terms of concepts being used in Strategic Spatial Planning documents and what is the 'character' of this interaction?
2. Concepts being introduced / used – in what way do other forms of learning play a role in decision making? Please describe, explain or give examples where possible.
3. In terms of the hierarchy, or rather family of plans and strategy/ policy documents and direction produced and used in the CoJ, how do they fit into one another/how do the inform one another?
4. In trying to understand the relationship between politics and planning can you perhaps indicate if they influence each other?
   a. If so, how these two different realms feed into each other; and
a. What elements of these two 'realms' influence each other?
b. Strategic Spatial Concepts – are they introduced through politicians?
   b. If yes – can you give an example - how do they come to know of these concepts?
   c. If no – where else are you getting concepts from?
a. Why are you/ city planners choosing to use the concepts as contained in the SSP documents?
b. Do you get strategic political direction and then you have to make the decision on which concepts would suite that strategic thrust best? How do you make the connection between 'political direction' and a spatial concept – what indicates that a spatial concept encapsulates a political or development idea?
c. Do you come up with new concepts to address the strategic thrust or do you choose from that which is readily available and 'known' and in doing so perhaps adapting and changing the concepts' targets/aims/intensions?
d. In terms of institutional changes, looking at the Mayor's first and second terms in office, there have been changes in the organisation of CoJ departments and committees.
e. Has the institutional changes affected Strategic Spatial Planning?
   d. How has this affected Strategic Spatial Planning?
a) In my review of the CoJ spatial documents and the Mayor's report of 2005 I found that SSP in the Mayor's first term in office was fairly poorly represented and poorly developed. In the Mayor's mid-term report published in 2008 (2nd term of office) Strategic Spatial Planning featured fairly strongly in the review document.
   e. Is this observation correct?
   f. Can you explain *why* this is indeed so and where the observation is not correct why you think so?
b) If SSP is stronger in the second term how does this manifest, what does it translate into, what is the effect of this?
c) It was established through my 1st round of interviews that most respondents did not know where the home of Strategic Spatial Planning is and where it should be taking its direction from in terms of other spheres of government.
d) Does SSP take direction from legislation?
   g. What legislation talks about/refers to SSP and associated concepts?
   h. Do you know which government department initiated the legislation? (the reason I'm probing this is perhaps that gives us a clue on where SSP's home is/should be – where direction should be coming from)

Annexure B

Methodology & Conceptual Framework Table						
INTERVIEW QUESTION	INFLUENCING CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ELEMENT					OTHER
	WHO?	WHAT?	WHEN?	WHY?	HOW?	
What do you understand as Strategic Spatial Planning?		YES				YES
Where does Strategic Spatial Planning find itself within the SA planning realm? (i.e. which National Department – if any)						YES
What would you define as Strategic Spatial Planning concepts? Why?		YES		YES		
When and why was the concept of the Urban Development Boundary introduced?			YES	YES		
Does the idea of the UDB link to the idea of the compact city? How?						YES
Do you know who introduced these concepts at city/provincial/national levels?	YES				YES	
Do you understand what the UDB should be doing both at a city level and a provincial level?		YES				YES
Do you think that it is achieving/has achieved these objectives as discussed above?						YES
What, in your opinion, is the relationship between the city's UDB and the provincial UDB?						YES
What, in your opinion, should the relationship between the city's UDB and the provincial UDB be?						YES
Do you think it is necessary to align the provincial and city UDB or do you think they fulfil different roles?						YES
Has the UDB been successful since it has been introduced?						YES
Do you think the UDB is an effective strategic spatial mechanism and concept in achieving the desired urban forms in the city or do you think there is room for improvement? (Please motivate).						YES

Methodology & Conceptual Framework Table						
INTERVIEW QUESTION	INFLUENCING CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ELEMENT					OTHER
	WHO?	WHAT?	WHEN?	WHY?	HOW?	
What are the processes for policy formulation within Strategic Spatial Planning within your department? Please explain the processes for policy formulation both: In-house policy formulation? Through Consultants?					YES	
Please explain your input and role in both of the above-mentioned processes.					YES	
What are the decision-making processes in the formulation and adoption of policies and concepts? (eg. In the event that a 'new' planning concept is introduced to your department, what is the process that is followed to adopt/reject that particular concept? Similarly with policies.)					YES	
Who, in your opinion, has the biggest influence on decision-making processes?	YES				YES	

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