Exploring City official's practices of community engagement

The case of Johannesburg Development Agency officials, Johannesburg

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A research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional planning

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It has been submitted for the BSc with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree to any other university.

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(Signature of Candidate)

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Abstract

Public participation is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa, and it is at the local government that most of the community engagement is undertaken. However with this being said there are a number of signs that indicate that South African people are unsatisfied with how the state engages with them. This paper looked at public participation from the official's perspective, as it attempted to understand some of the challenges they face, the complexities of undertaking community as well how they navigate these challenges and complexities. The research study was conducted on officials of the Development Facilitation Unit at the Johannesburg Development Agency.

Two dimensions of community engagement were presented. Firstly community engagement meetings and how they were conducted, and secondly what officials do with the information that is received from communities, this is what the research refers to as 'the behind the scene work'.

Acknowledgement

I would like to begin by thanking God, it has been through faith and prayer that I have been able to get through university. To my parents, my champions, and my cheerleader's thank you for always believing in me and for the support.

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Contents

List of Acronyms

BRT- Bus Rapid Transport

CBD- Central Business District

CCP – Community Participation Consultants

CID- City Improvement District

CoF- Corridors of Freedom

COJ- City of Johannesburg

CUBES- Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies

ICHIP- Inner City Housing Implementation Plan

JDA- Johannesburg Development Agency

GDS- Growth and Development Strategy

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding (mentioned twice in the report)

PSUG – Practices of the State in Urban Governance

TUHF – Trust for Urban Housing Finance

TOD- Transport Oriented Development

UDF – Urban Development Framework

Chapter 1: Introducing the Research

1.1) Introduction

South Africa has seen a rise in protests in which the people are appealing to the state for what has been called 'service delivery protests' (Alexander, 2010). Several scholars such as Benit-Gbaffou (2008), Alexander (2010) and van Holdt (2013) have understood this course of protest as a symbol of the state's inability to meaningfully engage with the people.

Yet public participation is a key feature of local government in South Africa and there are various platforms that have been put in place to undertake public participation. However, from the outside it seems the people feel that engagement with the state through public participation meetings is not working. What is the view of the officials on this matter, how do they see the process? This research will be looking at public participation from the state official's perspective.

1.2) Problem statement

Community participation is a significant aspect of government as it is stated in the Constitution that municipalities are "to encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in the matters of local government" (as cited in Buccus and Hicks, 2008). Community engagement is seen as a way to get a better understanding of community needs in order to arrive at appropriate solutions as well as a way to promote community ownership through co-operation between the community and local government (Buccus and Hicks, 2008). However the process appears to have difficulties in reaching meaningful participation as often not all interest groups are well represented and people end up not attending meetings due to participation fatigue of continuously attending meetings but not seeing any progress (Ibid).

There is also a negative perspective on the state and thus state officials in South Africa as they are seen to be remote from the people, not hearing their claim. This view stems from frustrations with the state as although there are numerous spaces for participation these spaces have become tokenistic in their nature as the process is superficial and does not open up spaces for real debate (Smith, 2011).

1.3) Rationale

Public participation has been widely covered in literature, however there are gaps which open up room for research. Literature on public participation often looks at the value or short comings of public participation from the people/participants/community's point of view (Cornwall, 2008). There is very little research done looking at public participation from the official's point of view. Although literature has pointed out generic challenges of undertaking public participation such as funding and resource constraints, occupational mandates, legal constraints, geography and clashing jurisdictions, bureaucracy and lack of respect for public opinion (Peterson, 2012), there is a gap in research that seeks to understand challenges from the officials view, and in particular based on their own practices.

There is also a gap in research that is focused on state practices in African cities. There is a variety of literature that focuses on state practices in Africa from authors such as Olivier de Sardan (2008), however there is little literature that focuses on state practices in urban governance from the local or city level. It is important to undertake research on state practices in South African cities as this will help us to analyze the progress, understand and unpack what it means to be a developmental state in which the city is the main agent of change. Which is why programmes such as the Practices of the State in Urban Governance (PSUG), which is supporting this research, have been established to assist students not just financially but also through workshops that tackle various issues such as understanding and relating literature and how to write about state practices, as research on state practices can be complex to navigate. Following from Patience Bosaka's research on public participation from the view of Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo officials (Bosaka, 2015), the research aims to contribute to this emerging body of research.

1.4) Research aims

The research has two main aims which are:

> ➢ Get a better understanding of the complexities of undertaking community engagement in urban environments, from the city officials perspective

> ➢ To develop a better understanding of state practices and urban change in South Africa cities.

1.5) Research Question

- How do JDA officials navigate the complexities of community engagement, when facilitating the development of the spatial transformation of the city of Johannesburg?

1.5.1) Sub-questions

1.6) Context and background

The research will be looking at the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) as an area of focus for exploring official's participation practices. This section of the report will provide background on the JDA and introduce the officials that the research will be looking at.

1.6.1) Background on the JDA

The JDA is an agency of the City of Johannesburg that is tasked with "stimulating and supporting area-based economic development initiatives" through the implementation of the City's Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) and the development of the Corridors of Freedom (CoF) (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2016). Within the JDA there is a newly established unit called the Development Facilitation Unit, led by Christo Bates that is responsible for "negotiating partnerships and collaborations with key stakeholders in JDA development" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2016).

The research will be focusing on this development facilitation unit, which is a quite original and innovative unit within local government structures. The unit is unique as it is a very small unit, comprising of four officials, aside from Christo, who are each responsible for a particular area.

1.6.2) Guiding Development Strategies

The work that is done by the JDA is informed by two development strategies which were mentioned above, the Joburg 2040 GDS and the CoF strategies.

Jorburg 2040 GDS and the Inner City Roadmap

The Joburg 2040 GDS is a development strategy that provides a vision of the kind of city and society the City aspires to be and it also defines the outcomes that the progress will be measured though (City of Johannesburg, 2012). From the visions and principles identified in the GDS the Inner City Roadmap was produced and it is a 'statement of intent for transforming the inner city of Johannesburg" (City of Johannesburg, 2013). It provides the framework for the rolling out of the GDS 2040 in the inner city (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The roadmap has taken an area-based management and partnership approach that will guide the activities of municipalities in the transformation of the inner city (City of Johannesburg, 2013). The area-based approach has identified twelve precincts and neighbourhoods which be part of the revitalisation initiatives and day to day urban management. These neighbourhoods include Braamfontein; Hillbrow and Berea; Fordsburg, Vrededorp and Pageview; Bertrams, Jeppestown and Troyeville.

The roadmap has identified a number of departments and entities that are part of the institutional arrangements and among these is the JDA which has be identified as the entity that will carry out development facilitation. The JDA will also be responsible for the implementation of both City initiated capital projects and collaborative projects between the City and the private sector (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The Corridors of Freedom

The CoF project is part of a new spatial vision for the city of Johannesburg that is based on Corridor Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) (City of Johannesburg, n.d). The vision is to have a city that consists of well-planned transport arteries which are linked to interchanges which will consist of mixed-use development (ibid). The corridors are focused on transforming the current settlement types in which the majority of the city's residents live on the outskirts of the City, far from economic opportunities and jobs and create a city in which people live closer to their workplaces (ibid).

The CoF consists of three main corridors, which can be seen on figure 1, and they include the Turffontein corridor, the Empire-Perth corridor that will link Soweto and the CBD, and the Louis Botha-Katherine corridor that will link the CBD, Alexandra and Sandton.
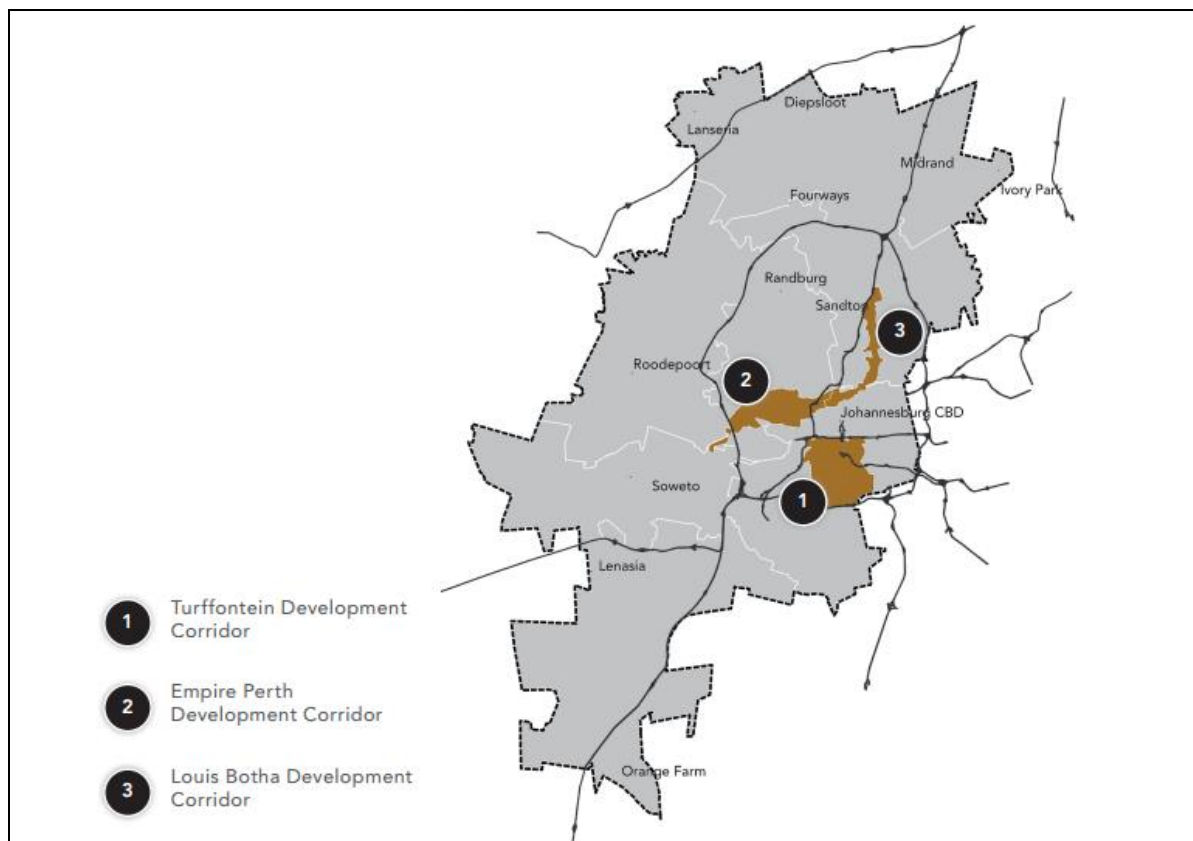
Figure 1: Locations of Corridors (JDA, 2014)

The CoF project is mainly focused on putting in place transport systems such as the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) to better integrate the city by ensuring that those who were previously disadvantaged are linked to work opportunities.

The two development strategies share similar principles as they are both in line with the vision of the GDS 2040. The roadmap supports and continues with TOD in the inner city as the final destination of the BRT is the inner city.

1.6.3) The Development Facilitation Team

As mentioned above there are four members in the unit and they are each responsible for a particular area/project. This section will introduce the projects that the officials are currently working on as well as some of the challenges they are facing in some of the projects.

Nicolette Pingo's work is based in the inner city and is guided by the Inner City Roadmap. Her projects include developing an urban Development Framework for two areas, one of the Eastern Gateway and another for Fordsburg/Mayfair. Her other

projects include an 11 park project that is around getting funding for the identified 11 parks as well as putting in place effective management plans for the parks. One of the main challenges that she is faced with in her work is around the housing challenges people are faced with in the inner city and finding ways to address these challenges as the JDA does not work directly with housing.

Matthew Jackson is the second member of the unit and he is working on the Louis Botha Corridor and the areas he is working in around the corridor include Grant Avenue in Norwood and Paterson Park in Orange Grove. In Grant Avenue the aim is to produce a precinct plan that is focused on unlocking the potential of Grant Avenue, how to better manage the area, work with residents. While in Paterson Park the project is around improving an existing park and using the land around it to develop some affordable mixed-use housing. The challenges that Matt is facing in both the projects is around inclusivity. Both these areas are in affluent areas and there are groups such as car guards that not included in the community.

Another member of the unit is Lwazi Sikiti who is currently working on two projects in Soweto around management plans. He has been tasked with doing research around developing a management plan for the Kliptown Square which is not performing as well as anticipated since its implementation. He is also working on a management plan for the Jabulani Central Business District (CBD) in which some new developments are occurring. One of the challenges he is facing in Kliptown is around having a square that has a number of users that are not working together to deal with the challenges and a lack of clarity on who is coordinating.

Sepati More is the fourth member and she is currently working on two projects which include Nancefield and Orlando East in Soweto. The Nancefield project was initiated in 2011 and it was a multi-phase upgrade of the area as a transport node. The Orlando East project involves the development of a former rugby field into soccer fields with mixed use facilities and some housing. Seipati's role in this project is to communicate the project and its implementation to the local community. (More, 2016). The challenges that she is faced with is with communities that are unhappy with certain

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aspects of the process and as such are blocking the projects. She is working on resolving the conflict and attempting to get the project back on track.

1.7)   Methodological approach

The research methods that this research has followed will be looked at in greater detail in chapter 3. This research was made possible by the PSUG programme and by a relationship that my supervisor and the Centre for Urbanisms and built environment studies (CUBES) coordinator, Claire Benit-Gbaffou has with some of the officials at the JDA. This relationship allowed me the opportunity to have access to the officials. The research is part of a broader research that is studying practices of the state and as such will also be supported by Masters Class interviews done on the JDA officials earlier in the year.

The research will be undertaken through the qualitative research method which is characterised by Creswell (2009:177) as "interpretive research, with the inquirer typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants". The research will mostly involve observing officials practices by attending meetings with them and seeing what they do in their everyday work.

1.8)   Chapter outline

Chapter one is the introductory chapter which looks at introducing the research. This chapter looked at the research rationale, provided some background into the JDA and the focus of the research.

Chapter two is the literature review. The chapter explore three themes that have been identified as relevant to the research which are community engagement, mega-projects and the state.

Chapter three is looking at the methodology that the research followed. The chapter looks at the context in which the research was made possible as well as exploring the method of observation and the challenges of the methodology followed.

Chapter four will be presenting and analysing the findings and will be looking mostly at community engagement meetings attended.

Chapter five will be looking at the second presentation and analysis, it focuses on the 'behind the scene' work which is work that is done outside of and after community engagement.

Chapter six will conclude the research by returning to the research question and reflecting on how the research conducted answered the research question as well as looking at other things that have been found during the research outside of the research question.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1)   Introduction

From the research topic three themes have been identified namely community engagement, mega-projects and state practices. The themes where chosen as they dealt with different aspects of the research. Community engagement was chosen as the research is looking into community engagement practices of state officials and this literature will provide the foundations of understanding public participation process.

The second theme of mega-projects speaks to some aspects of the work being done by the Development facilitation unit. Mega projects have unique characteristics such as being considerably well resourced, the projects are often fast tracked and they also have high political visibility (Jager and Zakharova, 2013). These three characteristics can impact the nature of community engagement of a project and the literature will help in understanding the role and influence of the projects that the JDA is working on. Initially the research was solely focused on work around the CoF and as such the use of the literature on mega-projects but after doing the field work this focus has changed as the work was not only around the CoF. However, this strand of the literature review helped navigating the politics of official's practices even though they have shifted from a sole focus on the CoF.

The third theme is state practices and it relates to the officials as they are agents of the state as the research is centered on understanding official's practices. Literature on state agents, and in particular on 'planners' practices will help in developing an understanding as well finding concepts and ideas around state officials and their practices in shaping the city, that will guide and inform the research.

2.2) Community engagement

Public participation has become a buzz word in both governance and development; however it has proven difficult to have a universal definition for this concept. As public participation is a concept that can be used to signify anything that involves people makes it is an ambiguous concept as it can be reframed to meet anything that it is required to (Cornwall, 2008). Public participation can be understood as a process in which the public can influence the outcomes of projects (Peterson, 2012). Important to the concept of public participation is that the way that the concept is defined and conceptualized affects the outcome and value of the process (Cornwall, 2008).

Public participation vs Community engagement

There is also the concept of community engagement which is often used synonymously with public participation, however upon further analysis these two concepts have some differences (Hoverman et al, 2008). Community engagement covers similar ideas to that of public participation but extends beyond that of the definition of public

participation. Community engagement is seen to focus on processes and practices "in which a wide range of people work together to achieve a shared goal guided by a commitment to a common set of values, principles and criteria and particularly on motivating the public to take action" (Hoverman et al, 2008: 1). The definition of community engagement represents how this research defines and understands public participation and as such the research is using the term community engagement.

One of the important aspect of community engagement is that it is a complex system and what was originally envisaged might not be what actually plays out in reality (Cornwall, 2008). And as Cornwall (2008) points out, the way engagement is evaluated depends on what the engagement was for, that is the process depends on context as well as those within it. There is no one size-fits all form of community engagement as different purposes will need different forms of engagement by different participants (Cornwall, 2008).

Participation typologies

Participation has typologies which have been looked at differently by different people. This research will be using the participation typology put forward by Sarah White (1996), as referred to in Cornwall (2008). This participation typology can be used as a tool to "identify conflicting ideas about why or how community engagement is being used at any particular stage in a process" (Cornwall, 2008: 271). White's typology uses the categories of (1) form, (2) what participation means to the implementing agency, (3) what participation means for those on the receiving end and, (3) what participation is for, as seen in figure 2 (Cornwall, 2008). This form of typology is useful as it looks at engagement from both the official's perspective as well as the participants (Cornwall, 2008). According to White's typology participation can mean legitimation, efficiency, sustainability or empowerment for implementers. These meanings of engagement for the official mean that officials can strategically use the different forms for different projects depending on what it is they hope to achieve from the engagement- as different stages of a project require different aspects of engagement.

This typology is useful for the research as in understanding that there are different forms of engagement to serve different purposes it provides a lens through which community engagement can be viewed and understood by the research,

White's (as cited in Cornwall, 2008) typology of interest shows that participation can be used to achieve different things rather than just measuring levels of participation (as the more classic typology developed by Arnstein (as cited in Cornwall, 2008) proposes.

Form	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end	What 'participation' is for
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management	To give people a voice in determining their own development
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic

Figure 2: Whites typology of interests

Spaces for participation: Invited and invented spaces

Within participation there are different spaces, called invited and invented spaces. According to Miraftab (2004) invited spaces can be defined as spaces of participation that are created by grassroots and their nongovernmental organizations that are legitimized by benefactors and government intervention, and invented spaces are those spaces that confront authorities although they are also occupied by grassroots. In

contrast invited spaces represent those spaces that state officials use, invite communities to come and engage and invented spaces represents the spaces that communities create. Often when people engage with the state in urban planning processes and they feel that the state is not hearing their concerns they move to create 'invented spaces' and in these spaces they set the rules regarding the how, where and the terms of participation (Sutherland, 2011. These spaces often intertwine and can be seen as complementary as it can be assumed that invented spaces are a response to inefficient and ineffective invited spaces.

As seen in the challenges presented in the background there are instances in which communities are not pleased with the processes officials have followed. It will be important for the research to understand how then do officials react to invented spaces of engagement, how do they move forward?

The JDA is mandated to engage with the communities in which they are working. The research will attempt to understand how the officials incorporate the community's ideas, concerns and views with the development ideas set in the guiding policies such as the CoF and the Inner City Roadmap. Is it a process of just informing the community of the development and proposals, or of also attempting to merge community characteristics and views with those of the City?

This review has provided insight into what community engagement is and to its elements. What the review has also revealed is the importance of understanding why community engagement is undertaken.

2.3)   Mega-Projects: The Spatial Transformation of Johannesburg

This section of the review will be looking at some aspects and attributes of mega-projects that can help the research as it attempts to understand what these are and how they affect community engagement.

2.3.1) Understanding the concept of Mega-project

Mega-projects can be understood as "large-scale development of infrastructure projects typically carried out by the public sector" (Bearfield and Dubnick, 2009:397). There have been different characteristics used to differentiate normal projects to mega projects and these include size, public opposition, time, location, market impact,

unique risks, financing difficulties, insufficient experience and unpopularity (idib). However the most dominant characteristic that differentiates normal projects to mega-projects has been the cost (ibid). Mega-projects also have high political visibility (Ibid).

In developing countries large cities are seen as the centers of potential for economic development and as such growth strategies are centered on unlocking this potential (Andrade *et al*, 2011). The growth strategies usually involve either economic interventions that will increase the cities role in the global market or specialized infrastructure development to promote and support economic growth (ibid). These interventions often take place in the form of mega-projects (large-scale projects). In the city of Johannesburg the Corridors of Freedom project was introduced as a project that aimed at increasing the transport infrastructure in the city to deal with past spatial injustices while also creating corridors to attract development of mixed land uses and also to promote densification (City of Johannesburg, n.d).

One of the biggest attributes of mega-projects that have been identified across literature is the large amount of stakeholders involved as these projects are often a result of coalitions and alliances of various agents (Jager and Zakharova, 2013). They consist of internal stakeholders who comprise usually of the state or those that are tasked with delivering the project and external stakeholders, which are different parties interested in undertaking the project and those affected by the outcome of the project (Ibid). An important aspect to note is that each of these stakeholders has their own objectives and agenda (ibid).

One of the main critiques of mega-projects is that due to their focus on attracting investments and increasing a cities global competiveness they are often vested by interest that are working against public interest (Andrade *et al*, 2011).

Due to their size and importance, mega-projects are often placed under scrutiny by the media, public interest groups and those officials that oppose the project (Bearfield and Dubnick, 2009) and this then at times leads to people fighting the project (Jager and Zakharova, 2013). Due to this participation forms an integral part of mega-projects as with the involvement of different stakeholders the project has to ensure that all the stakeholders' objectives and views are recognized. As mentioned earlier mega-projects

have been criticized for not representing the public interest and often in these projects public participation is seen as a way to "reduce uncertainty and managing value creation" (Jager and Zakharova, 2013:11).

2.3.2 The spatial transformation of Johannesburg

Going into the research the understanding was that the Development facilitation Unit's work was mostly around the CoF, which can be considered as a mega-project. However after conducting the field work it became evident that the unit's work went beyond the CoF and is also focused on the Inner City – also, several of the officials whose practices were analyzed shifted the focus of their practice, from CoF related project to other strategic development projects in the inner city or in Soweto. With that the concept of mega-projects still applies but is now broadened to the spatial transformation of the City of Johannesburg which includes mainly the CoF as well as other projects that are aligned with and in a way support the CoF. Work in the inner city is around improving the area which is the center destination of the Corridors of the CoF.

The CoF project can be considered a mega-project as it is a specialized project that requires a huge sum of money to undertake and has a variety of stakeholders involved (Peens, 2015).   And in its nature a corridor can be understood as bundles of infrastructure that is used to connect two or more urban nodes (ibid). Beyond this the project is seen as a way of increasing the cities productiveness and thus increasing its global position.

The Inner City Roadmap does not share some of the aspects of the CoF, but this literature is also applicable to it. As indicated in the introduction some projects such the Inner City Roadmap have attributes that make it possible to see them through the lens of a mega-project as they also entail 1) large amounts of public resources, 2) they require alliances within the city as well as with businesses and communities and 3) due to the importance of the inner city in the cities development the roadmap has high political visibility. The strategies of the roadmap like those of the CoF are also about increasing the cities productivity.

What emerged from mega-projects is that they are often attempting to achieve two goals which do not always collide, namely economic growth and social development. The review has also revealed an interesting relationship between mega-projects and participation, which is that these projects often use participation as a way to avoid resistance.

2.4) State practices

This section of the literature review will be looking into literature that helps in understanding state officials practices in shaping the city, and the arena in which they work. The review will be looking at three distinct sources, Lipsky's (1969) street-level bureaucrats which provides an understanding of were within the state the officials are located and what this means for the work they do. The second source is by Olivier de Sardan (2008) and this piece of literature helps in unpacking the different norms that govern/inform how officials act and how these norms help us better understand how the broader concept of governance can be understood for African Cities. Lastly the review will look at Krumholz and Clavel's (1994) book which documents experiences that officials have had in their work of trying to achieve equity in city developments.

2.4.1) The face of the state: Street-level bureaucrats

Lipsky's (1969) paper points out that although political science has been concerned with finding variables to measure the impact of the state on people, it has failed to study or measure the impact using one of the most important areas which is the place where governments meets the people, that is the point where 'clients' and government officials interact. From this Lipsky (1969) identifies what he calls street-level bureaucrats which are understood to be the men and women who represent the government through their face-to-face interactions with citizens.

The paper identifies three characteristics of street-level bureaucrats. The first is that the work of these individuals involves having to constantly interact with citizens. The second characteristic is that although the street-level bureaucrat works within a bureaucratic structure, their independence can extensively affect the job. Lastly Lipsky (1969) points out that these bureaucrats have extensive potential to impact the people that they deal with. These characteristics do to a great extent characterize JDA officials and as such they can be regarded as street-level bureaucrats.

For Lipsky (1969) the focus is on understanding the challenges that these individuals face and how these challenges then contribute towards the decisions that the street-level bureaucrats make. These challenges are seen to arise from a number of aspects such as "lack of organizational and personal resources, physical and psychological threat, and conflicting and ambiguous role expectations" (Lipsky, 1969: 1).

Lipsky's (1969) classification of street level bureaucrats is useful for the research as it provides a point of departure in which the research sees and understands the JDA officials. In their work as state officials being the 'face of the state' poses both challenges and opportunities that shape the choices they make.

2.4.2) Officials norms vs practical norms: Unpacking officials practices

In relation to these challenges Olivier de Sardan (2008) speaks of the divergence between official norms (how officials are supposed to act) and practice, or what he terms 'practical norms' (how officials really act). He points out that there are legislations and regulations, procedures and organizational structures, which govern official's practices, however these procedures are rarely adhered to. Olivier de Sardan (2008) points out that it is undoubtable that there will always be divergences between norms and practices, however we should take cognizance of the fact that these divergences vary due to different contexts. The interest for Olivier de Sardan (2008) is not in the divergences but rather in how they are understood. He proposes the use of the term 'practical norms' as a way to focus attention to the study of the actual rules that public actors are governed by without value judgement. It is a way to help us to "understand, empirically and conceptually the diversity and plasticity of forms of regulations that underlie the behaviors of public employees" (Olivier de Sardan (2008:19).

The concept of practical norms by Olivier de Sardan (2008) is useful to this research as it informs the research that actions of state officials are diverse and one should enter into research with that and not jump into placing officials practices into broad but limited categories. What is important for the research is the point of departure in which 'practical norms' is formulated, which is in how we study and understand governance in African cities. Olivier de Sardan (2008) points out that how states operate at the level of delivery of public goods and services (local level government) is poorly understood due to the limited way in which literature currently categorizes officials. Thus the

concept of 'practical norms' will help inform the research to look at official's actions or practices based on context and this will help in capturing the practices how they really are.

2.4.3) Re-imagining state officials: Equity Planners

For state planners the challenges they face can be seen in Krumholz and Clavel's (1994) book which tells of the experiences of professionals who are in a quest to realize greater equity for different groups. The term equity planning is defined as "a conscious attempt to device redistributive policies in favor of the least powerful and to enhance the avenues of participation" (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994:1). An important aspect of equity planning is that amongst other things it seeks to achieve greater participation and develop ways to make participation happen (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994). It is concerned with having interactions that will allow people to understand and be able to engage with issues. This research is using this book as it is the only book found that tells of the work behind the scenes and about planners working in the state.

These professionals are trying to ensure that the low-income or working class people see the benefits of public policy which has previously been realized by business elites. They are attempting to achieve this vision by trying to move resources, political power and political participation away from the business elites and towards the people of the cities through coalition building, formulating comprehensive plans, enlisting the support of the private sector and broadening their planning responsibilities beyond city charters. This book deals with a side of public officials which is often underreported, it shows that there are officials who are interested in seeing real social change.

This concept of equity planning is mostly about the practices that officials follow and also relates to work done post community engagement. This concept is useful to the research as it introduces certain dimensions of work done post community engagement.

Chapter 3: Methodological Approach

3.1) Introduction

Qualitative research is intent on understanding a particular social situation, event, role, group or interaction and as such the researcher "enters the informant's world and through ongoing interaction, seeks the informant's perspectives and meaning (Cornwell, 2009:194). As such qualitative research method was the relevant method for the research as the research is focused on understanding official's practices with regards to community engagement. The research made use of Forester et al's(2005) profiles of practitioners: practice stories from the field as a reference point for the process of acquiring the relevant information.

3.2) Context in which the research has emerged and has been made possible

The research is part of the Practices of the State in Urban Governance research programme (PSUG) which is directed by the Center for Urbanism and the Built Environment Studies (CUBES). An agreement has been established between the JDA, the PSUG and CUBES for research to be conducted on the JDA, in which the JDA has been made aware of the research and its aims and has agreed to avail its officials for the research. This agreement is for a broader research programme which involves a Masters Class course (Community Participation in Urban Governance) and this research.

This partnership was made possible by the relationship that Claire Benit-Gbaffou, the supervisor of this research, has with some of the JDA officials, who happened to be former Wits students. This meant that they were very understanding about the meaning, dynamics and potential value of research; committed to training young students, and in a relationship of trust that opened up an opportunity for dialogue about the research.

As part of the agreement the research process was to include two workshops which include the JDA unit, my supervisor (Claire Benit-Gbaffou) and myself (Lebogang Molema). In the workshops the research findings were reflected on to identify information that may risk reputations, negatively affect ongoing projects or be of

ethical concern. The first workshop took place on the 15th of September 2016 and the second will take place at the end of 2016 or beginning of 2017. The JDA unit will also have the opportunity to comment on the draft report. As stated in the letter of agreement from the JDA, should there be strong disagreement regarding the content or formulation of the report, the report will be embargoed from publication for a period of 3 years.

As this research relied on observations and observations require one to be in the presence of officials at all times as part of the initial agreement a possible internship was included.

3.3) Methodological approach

The research made use of the data collection tools for qualitative research methods as listed by Creswell (2009) which are observations and interviews.

The main instrument for data collection was observations. Due to the nature of the scattered projects the observations were not limited to one site/project as the officials being observed are working in different sites/projects. The observations included attending in-house meetings, meetings between the JDA and other relevant state departments and consultants in which plans were discussed and public participation meeting agendas and practices were discussed, and attending public participation meetings with communities to see how the practices are conceptualised and how play out in reality.

The interviews were conducted to complement the observations. The research also made use of the interviews conducted by the master's class with the four officials, Mattew Jackson, Nicolette Pingo, Seipati More and Lwazi Sikiti, as the starting point and follow up interviews were conducted.

There was only one formal follow up interview that was conducted with Seipati More and the interview was around getting a better understanding of the roles of community engagement consultants. Mostly there were informal conversations and engagements that took place with the officials in which questions were asked and ideas were exchanged.

The research also made use of an ethnographic approach through an internship at the JDA.

Box 1: My two weeks at the JDA

My first day at the JDA was a Friday and I was very excited to finally be able to work from there. But the day was not going as I had anticipated. It was a slow day, Matt and Seipati were not in the office and Nikki had just come back from leave and was working on paper work. So I sat down and did some work on my laptop. Around 12 Nikki said she had a meeting at the Housing Department which she is not sure will be of interest to my work. At this point I would have taken any meeting. So I went along to the meeting and at the time it seemed the meeting was tedious as it was a technical meeting in which they were reporting back regarding tasks that the different involved departments had to perform and much of the meeting got lost in translation for me. I went home feeling down and thinking that there was no hope for my research. I also started questioning what it is that I was looking for, what I was hoping to document. So I told myself just go to as many meetings as I could for the next two weeks and maybe something will spark.

Come Monday I went into the office and told everyone that I was there, I finally got to speak to Seipati and she said due to the recent elections things were still slow but she would let me know when she had meetings. Most of the week was slow and there were one or two meetings each day. At this point I was becoming very worried and panicking regarding the research report. I was thinking what am I going to report? I came here wanting to see community engagement and what the officials do but I am not sure if what I wanted to see is what I was seeing.

The most interesting day for me at the JDA was after elections on the day when the Johannesburg council meeting to elect the new mayor was held. The event was streamed live on the TV in the office. In between work and other things attention was paid to the events as they unfolded. With everyone anticipating who the next mayor of the City of Johannesburg will be and also wondering how this change would affect

things as they knew them with regards to their colleagues and their job mandate. It was interesting to experience how officials view and deal with change in politics.

After about two weeks there was a lot that I had seen although I had wished to see more meetings with communities. I saw a different side to engagement which I hope will change the view on what community engagement is all about.

I also found the work that the unit is undertaking quite interesting. The engagement with community's forms part of the facilitation process and the unit is passionate about ensuring that the projects that they are involved in will have effective impacts and make the communities function better for all.

3.4) Research challenges

During discussions for the research with the JDA there was the discussion of a possible internship. The internship was seen as a way to help the research process. As mentioned the research relied on observations and being in the JDA offices daily would make the observation process better due to better access to the officials. Initially the internship was meant to start from June. However due to some unforeseen circumstances, the Human Resources person who was processing the internship leaving the JDA, the internship did not begin when it was supposed to.

For much of the research process there was no internship. Without formal written paperwork I was unable to go to the JDA daily and work from there as the JDA needs the paper work as a way to protect themselves should anything happen to me while on their premises. This made the process difficult as I had to go to the JDA a few times a week to check with the officials if there were any meetings that I could accompany them on. The officials would then forward me email invites for meetings. This method only granted me access to two officials, Nikki and Lwazi, the times in which I was at the JDA offices Seipati and Matt where never in the office. Finally Matt spoke to Human Resources and managed to organise an unpaid internship, which started on the 12th of August 2016. I was able to spend two weeks at the JDA. The internship made the observation process better as I now had access to all the officials and at times meetings would be confirmed the day before and now I had access to them as well as last minute up meetings.

The other challenge was the local elections which were taking place this year, which took place on the 3ʳᵈ of August 2016. The time in which I began field work we were just weeks away from the local elections and these affected normal proceedings. Due to the high tensions around elections some community engagement meetings where disrupted by political tensions. After elections there were changes and some things had to wait until all newly appointed officials were in office. This affected my ability to observe community engagement meetings, and as such there was a lot of observations of meetings with other departments as well as other interested parties.

3.5) Ethical Considerations

The research did not deal with vulnerable groups or involve aspects that would raise major ethical concerns. However the research did involve getting an understanding of what City officials do, the challenges they face and how they deal with these challenges. This could prove problematic as the unit is identifiable as there are only a few officials, and the information might endanger the reputation or jobs of the interviewed city officials, or compromise specific actions or negotiations they are engaging with at the time of the research. Taking point from Bosaka (2015) the aim of the research is to better understand states practices and the challenges that officials face and not to expose them. One of the challenges with the unit that the research was focusing on is that it is a small unit and it will prove difficult to anonymise those being interviewed. To deal with this as mentioned earlier the research process includes work shopping the findings; the afterlife of the report will entail having it read by one of the officials to track any potentially problematic quote or formulation, and then deal with the difficulties it might raise (be it with reformulation, or embargoing the thesis for a short period of time, but in any case retaining my intellectual autonomy).

Chapter 4: Spaces of engagement

This chapter will begin to introduce the findings and will mainly focus on presenting different forms, tools and outcomes of community engagement.

4.1) Learning from past experiences and embracing change

The JDA like many other departments and entities within the City have faced challenges and backlash with regards to community engagement. This section of the report will be looking at the development facilitation unit's officials' experiences of the JDA's community engagement practices over time as well as their understanding of why this unit was formed.

4.1.1) Reflecting on past practices

As it can be seen in the quote below, the practices of participation that they employed where not in the interest of the community but rather were on ensuring that the delivery was effective both with regards to time and budget.

> "Over the past 15 years the JDA has had a lot of backlash from communities around a lack of public participation and engagement. This is due to the fact that when you give a project manager the responsibility to deliver a project within time and on budget, the process of public participation delays this. We would also only do public participation to present the final details of the project that we were implementing, but that did not give people enough time to engage on the design." (Seipati More, Masters class interview, 2016)

One aspect of the engagement process that was not working was the methods that were used to engage with communities. Often community engagement was understood as calling the local community to a hall and presenting the development ideas to the community in the form of a PowerPoint presentation. But this method according to Arnstein's *Ladder of Citizen Participation* is community engagement in the form of 'informing' and this method is a one way flow of information, from the city to the people (Cornwall, 2008).

> "We would PowerPoint but when you go to a large public meeting people hear you but aren't able to interact. They need to digest the information, maybe go home or sit in groups to discuss the information. We also [would] do these presentations without handouts and people are unable to properly visualise the project and provide effective

feedback. We would then be able to say that we presented all of the information, but people would dispute our findings, saying that we didn't know the area, and didn't understand the dynamics of the area." (Seipati More, Masters class interview, 2016)

Community engagement through informing also means that people had no real impact on the final decision. By the time the people were informed of the projects the decisions have already been made and engagement with the community serves as legitimation for the agency implementing the project as is expressed in *Whites typology of Interests* (Cornwell, 2008).

> "Before we established this new office of stakeholder engagement in 2013, we would go to a community and say we are going to build, we've just done a road, we did paving now we are going to do a library, look at this and tell us tomorrow or in two days if you are happy or not happy. But the design had been approved and we had no powers to change it. This would create a lot of tension." (Seipati More, Masters Class interview, 2016)

These methods that were being employed were resulting in a lot of projects being rejected by communities as communities felt they did not respond to the issues of the communities or match with the realities of the community. They were doing more harm than good for the entity as the main objective of the entity is to implement projects. This posed a challenge to their work and ability to deliver.

4.1.2) Changing what does not work

After years of dealing with backlash and several rejected projects it was realised that there was an issue with the way in which things were done and thus the need for change was seen. A JDA Stakeholder Engagement Framework has been developed recently (the document has no date but it seems to have been developed this year as they were in the process of asking for comments) which forms part of the JDA's "ongoing commitment to work effectively with its stakeholders through both the plans and the interventions it designs and the projects it implements" (Johannesburg Development Agency, nd: 6). The JDA points out to the importance of community engagement in the framework. It is identified that planning decisions and development projects have a direct impact on people's lives and as such these processes cannot occur without the community's involvement. Communities need to be aware of the

City's planning processes and also be able to engage actively within these planning processes (Johannesburg Development Agency, nd).

The change that the JDA embarked on was not just about the way in which community engagement was undertaken but also the planning process itself. The way in which the City operated is that there is Development Planning which is in charge of the City's spatial vision. As part of the City's planning there is also the regional planners who are responsible for the planning of the different regions and their work is focused on local level planning and priorities. After the regions, there is the JDA and Development planning who share the duties of precinct plans. However there was still a gap in planning and hence the Development Facilitation Unit was created (Nikki Pingo, 2016). The challenge was that plans were made and then implemented however the plans did not have the envisaged effect. One of the causes was that there was no one who was engaging with the people within the community, there was no one who was trying to really understand how the projects can bring about change in an area (Nikki Pingo, 2016). It was recognised that there was a need for better understanding of the context and the area and that for effective change to occur there needed to be negotiation and meaningful engagement.

The Development Facilitation Unit was put in place in 2015 to fill the gap identified. The team members are each given an area to work within. The mandate is then to find ways to unlock the potential of the area, through several processes but essential to this process is engagement with that community.

> "Development Facilitation is very interesting. All of us were hired on five year contracts and it is expected that we will spend five years in the areas, building those areas. It is different from doing a plan or doing a project following a public participation process. It is about knowing the area, knowing the people who live there and the opportunities, to maximise those. " (Nicolette Pingo, Masters class interview, 2016)

> "My explicit mandate is to create better forums with which to interface with into separate areas….. My mandate is to stay there, unlock it and redevelop. So it's to unlock the potential using the city's plans, the resources that they have." (Matt Jackson, Masters class interview, 2016)

The Development Facilitation Unit is still fairly new, about a year old but the idea behind what their work entails introduces a new way of doing things for the city. Planning that is more sustainable as it does not only plan, implement and leave but stays within the area to also look at the long term with regards to management and building relationships between the City and the community that will contribute towards ensuring that the envisaged effects are reached and sustained.

4.2)   The meetings: narratives of different meetings

Through the research process I was able to attend a number of different meetings with different stakeholders, settings and agendas. This section of the report will be highlighting the different meetings observed and attempting to unpack the styles and what the purposes of the styles are as well as seeing how officials navigated the complexities of the meetings. I will divide the meetings into the categories of large community engagement meetings and small focus group meetings with different stakeholders.

4.2.1) Big meetings -big stakes?

When one thinks of community engagement one thinks of large meetings in a big venue with many people. I attended two such meetings: one was for the Mayfair/Fordsburg Urban Development Framework (UDF) which was held on the 12th of July 2016. The second meeting was for the Paterson Park development, in Orange Grove – which is part of the large development project Corridor of Freedom on Louis Botha- which was held on the 7th of July 2016.

Remaining calm in the middle of the storm: conflict resolution

With the Mayfair/Fodsburg meetings the purpose of the meeting for JDA officials was to update the community on the progress of the UDF. This was the third meeting and was supposed to be the second last meeting before the UDF was finalised. The Fordsburg/Mayfair areas is currently making use of an old UDF as the community had contested the previous UDF, from about 3 years go as they felt it did not represent the communities vision and aspirations for the area. Due to this they had an outdated UDF in place and the City was not intervening in the area. This new UDF is important as once it is approved capex will be allocated for certain projects in the area.

The purpose of the meeting was to show the community what had been produced so far and see if it aligned with the challenges/needs the community had identified and also get feedback before releasing a draft UDF for comment.

The meeting did not have a big turnout there was approximately forty people at the meeting, I consider this poor attendance as the UDF covers a relatively big area Fordsburg, Mayfair North and Mayfair South. The meeting began at 6pm and was held in Crosby which next to Fordsburg/Mayfair.

There were large posters of the plans hang up on the walls for the community to look at. The meeting began with introductions followed by a PowerPoint presentation of what the team had come up with so far, the presentation did not take long -about 30 mins. The floor was then opened for feedback from the community starting with questions regarding the presentation itself followed by other comments.

From the beginning it was evident that the community felt that the plan did not really address their concerns such as drugs, homeless people and dumping. Other concerns that were raised is that the city is proposing areas for densification, who is going to densify and how will they get private individuals to implement the plan? Other people's concerns were around the implementation of the plan, what is the implementation plan? All was well with the question and answer secession until the meeting became a political battle.

The meeting was held on the 12th of July 2016, which was a few weeks before the local elections. So politicians were still campaigning. The then councillor, an ANC councillor who by the way he spoke it appeared was standing in for re-election, walked into the meeting late and apologised for being late. The councillor mentioned that he thought that the community would have had the plans before the meeting and the meeting would then be a discussion of the plans. There was a debate between the councillor and someone I understand was a candidate for the upcoming elections regarding some aspects of the plan and some people began to walk out. They were disagreeing about which street with businesses the UDF should focus on. Christo, who was leading the commenting aspect of the meeting, attended to the questions asked by the councillor and attempted, calmly to point out that they should direct their concerns to the officials. The councillor then left as he said he had another engagement to get to.

The few people that were left engaged in discussions with the officials. There was uproar outside as a result of a fight. Some members of the community found the team; which comprised of the JDA, City transformation, town planning consultants as well as urban design and architect consultants; liable for the fight as the meeting was held close to the election date. The team's reason for having the meeting at that time was that they had an earlier date which they wanted to host the meeting on but the community said it was during a religious season so it should be moved to after the season.

The meeting ended with the police having to be called in to break up the fight outside and it was concluded that another meeting would be set as this one was unsuccessful. A few people remained behind and engaged with the official's one on one. Some officials; including Nikki; were handing out their business cards so that if anyone wanted to speak to them about anything they could call and set up small group meetings.

This meeting was affected by the political climate at the time and although it began well people felt that the arguing and the fight prevented them from having a full meeting. These events posed a challenge for the officials as due to moving the meeting the first time they had lost time and the time frame they were given to complete the UDF was fast approaching. There were still other aspects of the process needed to take place such as placing the final draft of the UDF online and in the local library for comment.

The outcome of the meeting is one that either the officials or the community could have foreseen. Perhaps the political campaigning could have been foreseen but the physical fight that took place was a surprise. The officials did however remain calm and attended to those who were interested in knowing more and commenting and attempted to salvage the meeting. This showed a great deal of professionalism on their part.

Fear of the unknown: refusing development

With the Paterson Park meeting the meeting was about introducing a new development project to the community, which is the redevelopment of Paterson Park. The meeting was also in the evening at 6pm at Spark gallery. There were about 60 people when the meeting began and more people walked in during the meeting.

Figure 3: Attendance at the Paterson Park development meeting

The project involved using some parts of the park to develop affordable housing and keeping the rest as a park with a recreation and sports centre. The CoF project is not only focused on increasing mobility but is also focused on densification. However for people living in low density suburbs, the notion of densification is associated with slums and as such they reject densification (Peens, 2015).

This meeting used a similar presentation method to that in the Fordsburg/Mayfair meeting, which was in the form of a PowerPoint presentation which was to be followed by a "limited discussion, focused only on the salient points from the presentation" (Figure 4: Paterson Park Development Report to the public agenda, 07 July 2016).

What was of interest in this meeting was that most of the presentations were conducted by consultants as can be seen in figure 4. The JDA official, Matt Jackson only spoke for a few minutes, he introduced the overall corridor development strategy along Louis Botha and in particular Orange Grove. Then the rest of the meeting was presentations by the different consultants. It is assume that this method is used as a way to try and provide detailed information and since different consultants are dealing with different elements they all get to present. And perhaps this approach assumes that since the meeting is in an affluent area were many of the residents are educated then the more information and clarity the better.

VENUE: SPARK GALLERY, Pine Road, Orchards

18:15: WELCOME: Roger Chadwick, OGRA
18:20; and Noel Hutton; Overview of the history of the Paterson Park Precinct (PPT)
18:30; Ward 73 Councillor: Cllr Mia Snyman, The importance of the project to Ward 73
18:35; Chairman for the presentation, Noel Hutton: The presentation teams; introduce Matt Jackson
18:40: Introduction to the Presentation: Matt Jackson, the Johannesburg Development Agency, Corridors of Freedom Initiative
18:50: Urban Design: ALBONICO SACK METACITY: Monica Albonico will present the developing housing concept (PPT)
19:00: Chris Brooker: CHRIS BROOKER AND ASSOCIATES cc: OG River and Culvert details, Daylighting and construction (PPT)
19:20: Architects: HOLM JORDAAN; Rikus Engelbrecht/ Justin Mellis; The Paterson Park Recreation Centre Upgrade and the importance of this in the overall concept of the Paterson Park Precinct (PPT)
19:40; KHLA and NLA Landscape Architects, Karien Hanekom & Johan Barnard will tie the development concepts together with a cohesive landscaping plan across the whole of Paterson Park (PPT)
20:00; Limited discussion, focused only on the salient points from the presentation

A REPRESENTATIVE OF CAP will be available in the foyer to discuss various options

Figure 4: Meeting Agenda at the Paterson Park development meeting.

However, once the designs of the overall Precinct were displayed on the screen, that's for areas surrounding Paterson Park, the meeting became a bit restless. Some people put up their arms to ask questions. It was stated that questions were to be asked at the end of the presentation due to time constraints. One gentleman persisted on speaking and his question was around the high rise buildings (densification method) that were displayed in the plan for the area. This concern became the focus of the discussion at

the end of the presentation with the community not being in support of the high rise development.

It would appear that the method of information used, provide as much detailed information to the people so that they can have full information did not work in this case. Once an image of something the community was not in support of was projected the people lost interest and all they wanted to do was to discuss the images.

This case showed the challenge that officials are faced with around getting densification to be accepted in low density suburbs. It is a challenge around changing people's perspectives and getting them to 'buy-in' and support the City's vision. In this case, it seemed the approach was to firstly get the support of the councillor, who spoke at the beginning of the meeting and noted that the community needed this development as well as providing as much information and detail as possible to present a full picture to the community. This approach did not achieve a perfect outcome of full buy-in but it was able to open room for discussion, which is still ongoing.

4.2.2) Exploring different approaches to large scale meetings: Open day approach

The Noordgesig Social Cluster project open day was held on the 1st of July 2016. The open day took place in one of the local parks and was open from 9am to 4pm. The team had set up some tables with plans and designs for the area with the title "Noordgesig, What do you want to see?". The posters indicated things such as upgraded facilities, multi-storey housing, public space, trade facilities, parks, pedestrian environments, cycle paths and pedestrian bridges. The community had the opportunity to place stickers on the type of change they wished to see within the area as well as filling in some questioners. The meeting was an interactive meeting, there were a number of JDA officials present who explained to the community what the initiative was about. People also had the opportunity to indicate where they lived and GiBB was there conducting a heritage building study on the area. The community members were able to bring pictures of their houses and share how long they have lived in the area.

Figure 5: Pictures of Noordgesig open day

The Noordgesig meeting went well, people had the chance to see things on paper and indicate the change they want to see as well as fill in a questionnaire to provide more information. The approach was effective, for both the JDA and for the community, and was able to achieve what it intended. There were over a 100 people that came at different times but it was quite busy in the afternoon as kids from schools also came to see what was going on. Seipait was very happy with the turn out and how the engagements went. Having an all-day open day meant that different groups came at different time and there was time to engage them one on one and be able to answer question.

4.2.3) Reducing scales: communities wanting more face time with officials

"And also with the stakeholders like the focus groups meetings, now with particular stakeholders, res association, taxi association and so on. So that we remove the pressure from the big meeting were some people end up not even being able to say what they want to say because they are overwhelmed." Seipati More, Own interview, 2016

As it can be seen in the quote above officials encourage and want to have smaller, focus group meetings in order get more input from the community. This section will be exploring the usefulness of smaller meetings. Here the research will firstly look at a

meeting between three residents from the Mayfair/Fordsburg area and the JDA and City transformation as well a meeting between a contractor's forum and the JDA. These two meetings involved very angry residents and pointed out some of the challenges that the Development Facilitation Unit is faced with in their everyday work.

Expressing grievances: Unsatisfactory engagement practices

The Mayfair/Fordsburg meeting included three residents, the JDA and City Transformation. The community members reached out to Nikki and asked to set up a meeting. This meeting could be seen as an invented space of engagement, as although the JDA officials are open and encouraging of smaller group meetings, some of these meetings cannot take place unless the community members take the initiative to set them up.

Two of the resident's present attended the community engagement meetings that the JDA had facilitated and were part of a resident's association. They wanted to discuss the process and methods followed to inform the community as they felt they were not sufficient. The other resident had only recently heard of the UDF and had never been to a community meeting and wished to get more clarity regarding what the JDA was doing. She had gone over the SDF to familiarise herself with City's plans and intentions for the area in which she lives. The other residents were unhappy with the City for a number of things and along with sharing their concerns they were there to warn of the petition that was underway to prevent the UDF from being adopted. The intentions of the residents were picked up during the meeting and they indicated to them themselves.

The residents' concerns were mainly around the enforcement of land use bylaws in their area. Their concern was that there were a number of illegal land uses in their area and in their view the City was not doing anything about them and these illegal land uses are having a negative impact on legal businesses within the area as well property values within the area. Their concern was that the UDF says nothing about how these issues will be dealt with but deals with other things. As such they feel that the UDF will not bring about any change to their current predicament and had to be stopped. The two residents from the resident's forum also indicate that they did not trust the previous the administration- this meeting took place after the election and by previous

administration they were referring to the one that was voted out a few weeks before this meeting- and feel that the UDF should be placed on hold until the new administration settles in, and only then can they proceed.

The Challenge for the JDA and City transformation is that land use by-law enforcement is not part of their work and falls within a different department. Although they explained that the UDF will bring about projects that will uplift the area and that without the UDF no capital can be invested in the area, the residents remained adamant on their stance. The other challenge is that the UDF has a time frame in which it is to be completed and approved in order to ensure that when funding for project implementation is allocated the area will also be eligible for the budget allocation.

This case is an example of how JDA officials are the face of the city, street-level bureaucrats. (Lipsky, 1969). The residents' concerns and claims were legitimate but the officials are not mandated or within the correct jurisdiction to deal with these concerns. The instruments of planning for everyday concerns are ill adapted. These officials are not in charge or in the place to ensure that those who are responsible for enforcing the by-laws do it but as the face of the city at the time, the residents are holding them accountable.

Unfortunately, the meeting did not have a positive outcome as at the end of the meeting the two residents from the residents association said they were setting up a petition to stop the UDF.

Wanting to be heard: ineffective communication procedures

The second meeting to be discussed was between the JDA; there were four JDA officials one of which was Seipati and the other was the project manager; and three representatives of contractor's forum from Pimville.

The Pimville contractors forum had called to set up the meeting with the JDA directly as they felt that their concerns were not brought to the JDA's attention by the community participation consultant and they brought forth a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)- which was drawn up by the forum- for the JDA to sign. The MoU deals with the appointment of SMME's in development projects undertaken by the JDA. The forum

indicates in the MoU that they want to be part of the appointment of SMME's as they feel that the process has not been fair this far.

The project manager explained the JDA's policy on SMME's to the forum members. He explained that as far as SMME's are concerned, it is JDA policy that in each project 30% of the project work should be given to local SMME's. The challenge for the JDA is that with certain projects the 30% is not achieved as the projects require skills that the local-businesses that fall within the ward/s in which the project is being implemented (SMME's) do not have.

The other problem raised by the business forum is that communication has been not efficient between the community and the JDA. The forum members indicated that they had been asking for a meeting with the JDA for some time. They have been dealing with a community engagement consultant who, they feel has not been effective in undertaking his work.

The JDA explained that they understand the position that the forum members were coming from but cannot sign the MoU for several reasons. Firstly, the JDA engages with communities through the councillor, who they access through the regional offices. As such they are not directly in charge of community engagement or community related issues and in order for them to sign the MoU it must go through the regional office first and get a signature from there first. The second reason is that although the forum is saying that it represents the majority of the SMME's in the area, the JDA needs proof of this, as they are only three people in the meeting. There have been instances where individuals approach the JDA claiming to represent the community but are not. The forum took this well and were intent on following the right procedures to get the MoU signed.

The challenges that came through in this engagement were related to the aspect of consultants. The community engagement consultant involved appeared to not be communicating information between the JDA and the community, and the community claims the consultant was not always transparent. The other challenge is that the person who was previously in charge of overlooking the project was not very active in the project and had recently left and someone new was in charge. And this meeting

served as a way to get the new person in charge up to date with the challenges in this project.

To the forum, the communication between them and certain people within the JDA is a reflection of the JDA not to hearing their concerns. The business forum came into the meeting highly displeased with the JDA as they had continuously expressed their concerns but nothing was done. The internal factors at play are unknown to them and have had a huge impact on the situation. Although the MoU was not signed they left the meeting more informed and having a better than when they came into the meeting. But the forum wanted to have direct communication with the JDA and not through consultants from thereon in. The officials were able to assure the forum representatives that the JDA wants to listen and support the community and its businesses.

4.3)   Conclusion

This chapter presented 5 different forms of community engagement, some with similar features, but all presenting different aspects of engagement. Most of the meetings discussed above raised several challenges that officials are faced with in different community engagement encounters. The challenges included conflict resolution, having to get community support for the City's vision and plans, broken trust from the people and people problems outside of one's duties/mandate/powers to the table.

Chapter 5: Making community engagement matter: The work behind the scene

Community engagement forms part of a lengthy process that involves other forms of interventions from City officials. Literature has focused on the process itself, how are communities engaged and measuring the level of engagement through tools such as the ladder for community engagement (Arnstein, 1969). More difficult, this literature argues, is to assess the outcomes of participation- what did it change? This gap in literature can arguably be attributed to the fact that in reality, the work of officials engaging with communities does not stop at the engagement stage. What do officials do with the concerns raised in community meetings, to attempt to meet the needs that have been expressed? How do they bring issues raised by communities in plans, projects, budgets, policies? There is very little literature on what happens after a community has been engaged. This section of the report will try to contribute empirically to this gap, by looking at the work that officials do as part of fulfilling their mandate in responding to meeting community needs, and making community engagement meaningful beyond the moments of engagement.

This chapter will be looking at the 'behind the scene work' as expressed in the title and this refers mainly to work and activities that take place away from the public eye, work that is done in officials everyday practices, to attempt to either make community engagement processes easier and better or in findings ways to meet mandates. This is work that not everyone gets to see but plays a big role in officials meeting their mandates. The behind the scene work shows how officials navigate the complexities and challenges of the job and find opportunities to deal with the complexities.

This chapter will be looking at the work done by officials and not at the projects themselves, but is based on the observations I have been able to gather in my time interning at the JDA. None of the projects that officials have been involved in have been deepened or followed up – which could possibly have deepened my understanding of officials practices but was not possible due to time constraints. Rather,

the chapter is focused on analysing and categorising officials' practices- what they do on an everyday basis in their job. In my time at the JDA I have been exposed to what the job entails and what I have seen is that the job is multifaceted and requires multiple skills. This chapter will be trying to give a sense of the 'behind the scene' work in its diversity.

The chapter will be looking at four aspects of 'behind the scene' work

5.1) The complex structure of facilitating: consultants

Often in community engagement processes there are other players involved that play a vital role in the process. These range from other officials such as ward councillors to community participation consultants (CPCs), hired by JDA to assist them in facilitating different dimensions of community engagement. One of the vital aspects is that all these different parties that represent the 'City' share and express the same message to the community, however the diversity of the "faces of the state" in these processes however structurally leads to a number of inconsistencies and a challenge to coordinate.

The City makes use of consultants and they are used to take off some pressure from officials, as well as providing expertise where they are needed. The consultants range from architects and urban designers, town planners, engineers and community participant's consultants (CPC's). Although bringing in consultants is seen as a way to ease processes for officials who already have too much on their plate, at times the use of consultants can create challenges for the officials involved. This section of the report will be exploring two different uses of consultants, firstly CPC's in community engagement and then at urban designers in the production of plans.

5.1.1) Community Participation Consultants

Community engagement at implementation level is a day to day and very interactive process of which the Stakeholder Management Unit of the JDA is unable to handle alone due to the number of projects that they implement; as such the JDA makes use of Community Participation Consultants (CPCs) during project implementation to take over the day to day duties.

"The JDA doesn't have its own community participation facilitators, but meetings start with the development manager, the project manager, then it's me as the face of the JDA on public participation and stakeholder engagement. But because there are many other projects that's why we appoint the consultants to assist us. The challenge is that we have been struggling to get say the same message because if I am I have to be in Soweto and there are two meetings happening in Westbury and Alex and the inner city it's not easy for me to manage. It's different if you move from one place another." (Seipati More, 2016)

The role of CPCs is to "conduct stakeholder engagement within different JDA development areas and project areas" (Johannesburg Development Agency, n.d; 31). The CPCs provide the JDA with an array of different services. Firstly, they are tasked with identifying and gathering those stakeholders that are interested and affected by the project. They are also tasked with the development of skills, conducting SMME audits and databases for the area. Along with these they are also involved in the setting up and conducting of community meetings are they are part of the briefing of Ward Councillors and /or Ward Committees as well as arranging Public meetings (Johannesburg Development Agency, n.d). In the arrangement of meetings, they are responsible for the preparation of invitation letters, press releases to the local papers and posters and flyers. They are also facilitating and take minutes of community meetings. The CPC's are involved in the processes of Community Liaison Officers (CLO) and they are part of the appointment process and performance management of CLO's (Johannesburg Development Agency, n.d). Lastly, the CPCs provide the important service of distributing information to the community as well as solving problems that may arise during the implementation process. This service is very important as they are the channel of information provision between the project team, contractors, ward councillors, ward committees and stakeholders (idid).

CPCs are appointed so to better deal with and manage community engagement and everyday implementation interfaces with the community. However, making use of CPCs has its own challenges as community engagement can be a complicated process. CPCs play a very important role in the implementation process as seen in the quote below.

"Their role is get buy-in by doing public participation with the community of where we have a project. "(Seipati More, 2016)

What this means in that they are responsible for getting the community on board with the project, getting the community's support and approval for the project. If they fail to get the community's support this can result in the project being delayed or blocked by stakeholders and such they play a very important role.

Working with CPCs comes with a number of challenges for officials. One of the biggest challenges of making use of CPCs is that they all have different approaches and these approaches are sometimes different from those used by the JDA.

> "There are so many of them and they end up not using the same approach that we have designed. To say this is the approach. You appoint a company that has been working in Tshwane for an example or in other areas outside Joburg municipality. Where things are done this way when they come in here they want to bring that way of doing it in here. And end up getting communities not happy because of the approach. It creates a problem for JDA because then it means we are not uniform in communicating. We don't send the same message or we have the same message but we don't send it the same way." (Seipati More, 2016)

> "We also have community participation consultants who I then work with to say this is what we are going to say and this is how we are going to say it, this is the approach from the JDA. The challenge is that they are so many of them and in different areas sometimes they communicate different things so we are working on getting one message out. We've tried but we are still not getting there because every project appoints different consultants to do public participation. There is a need for management of the CPC process for it to work to the advantage of the JDA." (Seipati More, 2016)

There are many different CPCs that the JDA makes use of and not all of them have worked with the JDA before and all have different approaches. It is important that communities get uniformity from the JDA and the CPCs as to communities they as seen as the 'City@ or 'government' even though CPCs are private contractors when they work for the JDA they are the JDA. If different messages are communicated this can cause confusion and frustration for the community and they can react in a way that affects the project negatively.

> They sometimes miss what is wrong in other projects, what goes wrong in other projects and this is sometimes what causes project stoppages. To say this has been ongoing since

April, like now were we come from with Ntombi. The people are saying we have been complaining, raising grievances since April and no one was listening to us that's why on Friday they decided to stop. But that happens because even if the CPC sometimes think they can resolve things by themselves without necessarily involving the JDA, whereas the stakeholder would be wanting to deal directly with the JDSA at that point. And by the time it has escalated the people say they want to see the JDA. We don't want to talk to consultants.

The DM (Development Manager) does not get information, I don't get information and the people end up seeing us as not listening to them and not doing anything with their issues.

Communication between the CPCs and the JDA seemed to also be a challenge in some of the cases whereby the CPC is not communicating with the JDA as to the issues on the ground whilst they attempt to deal with them. In some cases the issues can be resolved and the project moves ahead but in some situations the issues just escalate and result in project blockages and that is only when the JDA becomes aware of the situation.

The officials are trying to change the system internally. To say that these are the challenges but if we did this maybe it can mediate these challenges. For example, if the officials that will be managing or communicating with the CPCs on behalf of the JDA are part of the selection process so that they the CPCs are familiar with them from the get go and also allow the officials to influence the choice of CPCs based on their experiences. The other is around the approach to say you have a template of the approach that the JDA makes use of and all CPCs are to follow it.

This work involves conflict resolution and coordinating between different stakeholders to improve community relations. More than being behind the scene work this section shows the complex structures in which community engagement is undertaken. To say that what appears to be a simple process of officials (the JDA) engaging with communities has so many other players and aspects than that. It is a process that involves different players and it makes it vulnerable to misunderstand and miscommunication that can affect a project.

5.1.2) Urban Design Consultants

The City of Johannesburg also makes use Architects and urban design consultants in the development and production of plans. Plans require a lot of work, they involve write up and production of graphics such as maps and designs and officials are involved in many other projects and do not have the time to compile the plans as such consultants are brought in to assist with the plans.

Through the research process I was able to experience some aspects of the process of producing a precinct plan. The plan was for Grant Avenue which is in Norwood.

There were large number of internal meetings between the JDA and the consultants. The meetings went over the plan over its different phases discussing the content and changes that were made as well as changes to be made. The JDA official was very involved the process and the production of the plan. Urban design consultants are also a part of community meetings and in community meetings they present the plan to the community.

Box 2: First impressions

The first meeting that I attended as part of the research was for the presentation of a precinct plan to internal stakeholders. The meeting was very formal, it was held in a boardroom at the JDA and Consultants were presenting the first draft to the City, the JDA and Transport Engineers. In the presentation, homeless people, car guards and informal traders were presented by the consultants as being a problem in the area. They showed a picture of informal traders and said they were blocking walk ways and said that car guards are creating safety issues in the area. The area that the plan is being developed for is a suburban area in the north of the City and is can be considered as a fairly affluent area.

I felt very uncomfortable with how it was presented. I felt that it was being implied that they had no place being in the area and had to be removed. Maybe that's not how it was implied but that's how it across to me. Later in an informal discussion with one of the officials I raised this point and their response was that consultants don't understand

as they have not been trained as planners and such sometimes don't understand or view situations the way that we do as planners. They are not focused on perusing social justice in their work. One of the JDA officials at the end of the presentation pointed out that the issue of car guards and informal traders should be re-evaluated and rather they should try to understand why those people are there and try to build a better understanding rather than just saying they are a problem.

Field notes, 04 July 2016

In many of the meetings attended it was clear that the JDA official was trying to push for inclusivity in the plan. In many of the meetings the consultants were focused on the graphics rather than on content itself. The official had to attend to numerous meetings with the consultants to ensure that the plan was inclusive and representative of all.

5.2) Influencing Policy: ICHIP

The City of Johannesburg has a huge affordable housing supply challenge (City of Johannesburg, 2013). The JDA officials in their facilitation and implementation work are faced with the challenge of addressing the housing needs of the poorest, but also lower middle class, in the City. As such the JDA was seen as worthy entity to be a part of the formation of a new housing policy for the inner city called the Inner City Housing Implementation Plan (ICHIP).

In her work in the Eastern Gateway, Nikki identified housing as one of the main challenges facing the inner city and has worked on findings ways to find a way to deal with this challenge.

> "I think a challenge has been around the housing issue and around what the Urban Development Framework can say with regards to housing, which comes out as the most pressing need in that area. What we have come to see is how to create an environment for that housing type, and how to go a step further to make sure that we are reaching those vulnerable populations who can pay less than a R1000 a month". (Nikki Pingo, Mastersclass interview, 2016)

Although the challenge of housing was identified, Nikki was working on an Urban Development Frameworks which will identify key projects to implement and most of the projects include infrastructure and public realm. The projects don't address housing.

> "My objectives for the Urban Development Framework is to look at projects that will emerge from that plan that are really implementable and that will bring about support for existing organizations and support quality housing in the Inner City. This is difficult because the JDA at the moment doesn't work directly on housing. But the plan can make specific recommendations about housing, such as what other amenities are required to support that high density housing environment." (Nikki Pingo, 2016) (Masters Class Interview)

Faced with this dilemma of not having any direct ability to address these challenges Nikki saw an opportunity in ICHIP as it was based in the inner city and would help her in the challenges she identified; and she would also have the ability to use the knowledge about housing challenges she gained while working in Eastern Gateway. Nikki used her connections from Wits and PLANACT, Simon Mayson who she knows from her time at Wits and PLANCT, to be a part of the ICHIP steering committee. She was able to her knowledge about housing challenges that she gained while working on Eastern Gateway UDF to contribute towards the formulation of ICHIP.

The plan introduces strategic responses through six delivery programmes and five supportive programmes. The plan indicates which department/entity and other parties will be responsible for each programme. The entities identified are JOSHCO, CoJ Housing, EMS, JDA, CRUM, Group Finance and ICPS. The JDA is responsible for three delivery programmes and four supportive programmes, in some programmes it is just the JDA alone while in others it shares the responsibility with other parties

Being part of the committee afforded her the opportunity to influence the policy and also use it to her advantage; she was able to make the priority area of the plan one of the areas of the plan to be the Eastern Gateway, the area she had developed an UDF for.

Being involved in the formulation of the policy is a means of finding a way to get work done that is important to the regeneration of the City but that the JDA had no way of providing. This is telling of how officials use other networks and channels to meet their mandate.

Once this policy comes into effect it will allow JDA officials to have platforms and resources to provide (plan) for housing within the Inner City. Although the Plan is

focused on the Inner City, its principles can be adopted and applied to other areas outside of the inner City, it serves as a stepping stone for the City.

5.3) Post development: management plans

One of the growing focal points for the City's development is around area-based management plans to ensure that the investments made by the city have a long-life span. This section of the report will be looking at how officials are attempting to navigate this new but important element of their work.

"One the aspect of our work is to look at the long-term sustainability." Nikki Pingo, Own interview, 2016

Urban management can be understood as a "managerial approach to planning an implementation of urban development measures and it seeks to redress all malfunctions that may occur in the use of public and private environment" (Menguele, 2007:7). Urban management has been seen to go beyond participatory urban planning as it involves forming joint tasks with the end users of public amenities and services. It includes the end user's effective involvement in the processes of implementation, operation and maintenance (Menguele, 2007).

Until recently most areas made use of the City Improvement District (CID) model which is a non-profit organisation that operates within a defined geographic area in which the property owners pay a levy that is used for 'supplementary and complementary services' in order to enhance both the physical and social environment (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

However, the CID model has recently been declared illegal by the Supreme Court of Appeal (Cox, 2015), which means most current CIDs have in fact become informal or at least voluntary. The other challenge with CID's is that they are implemented and more effective in more affluent areas as the property owners have the means to pay the levy whereas areas with less means have not had any form of urban management beyond services provided by the City.

Development facilitation officers are now not only tasked with developing and improving said areas but they are also tasked with ensuring that the areas have

effective management plans in place. The challenge for officials is that there are a few existing models of urban management and the biggest and most successful is the CID model which they can no longer make use of.

5.3.1) Precinct Management: Grant Avenue

Officials are in the process of finalising a precinct plan for Grant Avenue in Norwood. and with that recommendations should be made regarding a management plan. The challenge was in ensuring that the area adopted inclusive plans, both the precinct plan and the management plan. One of the challenges identified by the official in the area is that there are groups of people that work and move within the area that are not seen as part of the community such as car guards, informal traders, and migrants. But in officials' views these groups are part of the community and in their own ways contribute towards the community and as such should be included in both the development and management plans. These views are views that are held by the officials and not necessarily by the local community and since these groups are often unware, or uninformed of community meetings and maybe perhaps even feel like they don't belong in community meetings, the officials have taken it upon themselves to speak for these groups and invite them into the process.

The problem for officials is that there are few exiting models and very little information available regarding urban management plans in South Africa. And it is my understanding that officials can only make recommendations for urban management models to communities and they themselves cannot be directly involved in the decision making process of adopting a management model for an area. This poses a challenge for officials as they have no way of ensuring that the management will be inclusive.

Box 3: fighting for inclusivity

A meeting was held at the urban designers and architects offices on the 02nd of August 2016, and this meeting was focused on going over the precinct plan for Grant Avenue and ironing out a few details as well going over ideas for a management plan. In attendance was a representative of the urban designers and architect firm, a town planning consultant and a JDA official. The challenge in the meeting was finding suitable recommendations to make regarding an urban management plan and forum.

The urban designers felt that they had done their work and included the recommendations in the plan however the JDA official was not satisfied. It got to a point where the consultant took out the contract between them and the JDA to show that they had done what was required of them.

The problem for the JDA official was that the recommendations made could not guarantee that the approach adopted by the community would be inclusive of all groups within the area. The challenge was how can they through legally binding measure that the community would adopt an inclusive management system and ensure that all property developers in the area would be obliged to contribute towards the management structure. Most of the meeting was very confusing and intimidating, and made me realise that I know very little about town planning schemes and legal aspects of planning. A lot of planning schemes and legalities were discussed and it was clear that they was nothing that could be done to ensure that property developers would be obliged to contribute towards management structures. The meeting ended on a note that there was nothing that the JDA official could do and the official was frustrated by the outcome.

Field notes, 02 August 2016

5.3.2) Park Management: 11 Parks Project

Another challenge that the City has is around the management of Parks and public open spaces. In an assignment done in third year on Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) it was seen that the entity is struggling financially and is unable to manage parks and open public spaces effectively. JCPZ is still trying to navigate and find ways to collaborate with communities in the management of parks.

In her work on the Inner City, Nikki is working on the eleven Parks Project which is focused on getting funding and management (maintenance) plans for eleven parks within the inner city. She found some of the Josie Adler and Yael Horowitzs, two activists/consultants working in eKhaya (Hillbrow informal CID), working on this project and jumped on board as a state representative. So far they have made progress on getting funding for the upgrading of some of the parks; the challenge has been in

getting a management agreement with JPCZ. eKhaya is a neighbourhood development programmes that was used for a rundown part of Hillbrow (Housing Development Agency, 2012). The model has had some considerate success with regards to the regeneration of the physical quality of the area; it has increased the sense of security and well-being of its residents, resulted in increased private and public investments in the area and has managed to stimulate social cohesion and increased community involvement (Housing Development Agency, 2012).

They are proposing making use of a management system similar to the informal CID eKhaya model which was used in Hillbrow. However JCPZ was not agreeing to the proposal and this initially did not make sense to me as to why they would turn down what appeared to be a good proposal. But later in a conversation with Nikki she expressed the concern for JCPZ was that as much as the model has worked for Hillbrow, its approach which is centred on getting property owners to contribute financially towards the management could end up resulting in exclusion. The main focus of the City is to ensure that public spaces are public and accessible for all and the fear in partnering with or involving property owners is that they may control the spaces in a way that makes them inaccessible for some people. For example, they could hire security which might prohibit people from using and accessing the public space. The other challenge is that although the Ekhaya model has been successful there is very little known about the model itself.

Nikki is trying to find a way to reach an agreement with JCPZ and the eleven parks project co-ordinates to ensure park management improvement in the Inner City. This project falls in an area that is part of the Inner City Roadmap and although this project is not one given to the JDA by JCPZ, Nikki got involved in it as its success will contribute towards the work she doing in the inner city and as she stated:

> "Public space is very important. Actually the Inner City has a lot more public space than other parts, especially the inner city core which was traditionally commercial and has undergone a change through renovations of buildings into residential stock. Eventually it is also about creating quality open space in this part of the inner city that can support not only an intense dense population living in affordable housing, but also act as a space where central inner city residents can come and spend time.". Nikki Pingo, Masters class interview, 2016

Being involved in the project shows initiative beyond what is mandated at the time. This could be seen as 'defining planning responsibilities broadly' as identified as one of the strategies used officials in Krumholz and Clavel (1994), that is the official is broadening their responsibilities beyond those mandated to them. As JCPZ or any other departments within the had not yet asked for Nikki to do work on parks but in her understanding of her broader work and having defined areas of focus she was able to get in on a project that would help her in achieving her.

5.3.4) Conclusion

This section reveals the challenges officials are facing regarding management plans. It is relatively new territory that they have to navigate and there is very little information to help them. This is an area that they still have to explore and it will be a learning by trail situation.

5.4) Creating partnerships: TUHF and South Point

The City has a number of things it has to delivery and at times it is unable to deliver due to limited resources. Officials within the City need to find other ways of delivering to the people.

> "In many cases the business owners or the property owners are holding those resources, so the question is how to get those resources to be more distributed or to be more targeted in a way that tries to be more widely beneficial. It is a different approach to the work I did before I joined the JDA. It means trying to work more directly with the private sector, understanding some of their needs and concerns and how we can utilise those resources and focus them for wider beneficial use. It is about finding the key champion, if they weren't already coming to you, and have them say "we need the city to do this." (Nikki Pingo -Masters Class Interview- 2016)

As it is seen in the above quote private developers play a key role in the development of the city. One of the City's main challenges is the provision of low-cost housing. The City only has the financial and institutional capacity to provide said amount of housing and the rest is provided by the private sector. As such it is crucial for City entities/officials to have partnerships with the private sector in order to align and improve the housing supply. The Development Facilitation Unit at the JDA understands the importance of

these partnerships and is embarking on forming partnerships. For instance, the JDA has formed relationships/partnerships with TUHF and South Point.

5.4.1) Putting agreements on paper with TUFH

The JDA is currently in the process of drawing up a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Trust for Urban Housing Fund (TUHF). TUHF is a financial provider that provides "access to funding for entrepreneurs, from all walks of life, to purchase, and subsequently convert or refurbish buildings in the inner cities of South Africa to affordable residential units available for rental" (TUHF, 2016a). TUHF not only provides entrepreneurs with financial capital but also provides support, guidance and risk managements to new comers (TUHF, 2016a). TUHF has its own existing relationships/understanding with other City entities. In workshops provided by TUHF to their entrepreneurs City officials have the opportunity to present what the City is working on and make them aware of priority areas.

What makes TUHF a great partner to sort after, in the JDA's view, is that it is in the business of financing affordable housing, it supports small scale landlords that provide various forms of affordable housing (TUHF, 2016a). This is crucial as the bulk of residential stock needed is for the poor and those in the low to medium income brackets. TUHF already has a relationship with the City extending the partnership to the JDA is very fruitful for the city.

The MOU that is currently being developed is intended to "further synergies between the organisations, in order to jointly improve the rate and scale of inner city rejuvenation and Corridor of Freedom in the City" (TUHF, 2016b:2). I was in attendance at a meeting between the JDA and TUHF in which they were discussing the MOU and I was given the fourth draft for discussion.

A big part of the MOU is the understanding of the role that the JDA plays in the public investments and the role that TUHF in developing affordable accommodation. The MOU sets out an agreement that both parties will work in collaboration with each other with the JDA providing TUHF and its clients with information regarding areas that the JDA will be investing in and TUHF will analyse its applications to identify areas of high interest as to inform the JDA of priority investments (TUHF, 2016b). The two will also work

together to identify priority precincts in which both parties will combine and coordinate investment.

As mentioned earlier in section 5.2 the City has a challenge of low cost housing availability and as such the City is looking for ways to improve the supply. In their work the JDA officials are faced with the task of providing ways in which they can help improve the affordable housing supply. The MOU with TUHF forms a part of finding ways to answer community needs of access to affordable housing as well as meeting their mandate. This is 'behind the scene' work as it is about forming a partnership that will afford the JDA officials with a strategy to deal with housing challenges.

5.4.2) Bringing interested parties together: South Point

South Point is a provider of student accommodation in South Africa (South Point, 2014). The JDA has had an ongoing relationship with South Point since 2015 that developed through the work that the JDA was doing in Braamfontein. Braamfontein forms part of the Inner City in which the JDA is working in and their first entry into the area was around getting background on the key challenges in area. The was a lobby to have a conversation with different Braamfontein stakeholders and the key stakeholders identified were South Point, Wits University and Play Braamfontein. The City presented the work it had done in the area since 2000 and the key stakeholders would present their future plans for Braamfontein.

Through interaction in this process the JDA and South Point discovered they had a shared vision of improving cycling within Braamfontein. Both South Point and JDA wanted to find a way to activate the cycle lanes and began to work together to achieve the goal. The project is still ongoing but they have spoken to the Department of Transport which is currently researching a bicycle programme in the Netherlands for ideas. This relationship gave way for South Point to ask the JDA for assistance.

South Point is looking at developing a new accommodation building in Braamfontein as such they asked the JDA if they could put them in touch with City officials from the Land-use department. South Point wanted to ask the land-use department for assistance in fast-tracking their applications for the development. The questions were around how long it would take to get certain applications processed and which steps they can follow to speed up the process. But the meeting alone provided them with an

advantage as the officials were now aware of South Point's plans and were keen on helping them.

Box 4: Score card vs. impact

I found it interesting when it was said by Christo Bates (Head of the Development facilitation unit) that this development would look good on Nikki's scorecard and she said that is not important to her and that was not her reason for facilitating the meeting. She seemed to be more interested in supporting people/companies that make a difference than in ensuring that her scorecard looked good. 'Score card' is a statistical record that is used to measure one's progress and serves more as a tick box the that indicates that an official was able to deliver. Having a tick on the score card means an official is seen as productive and doing their work.

Field notes, 19 August 2016

Officials have a lot on their plates and are not always able to dig deep into things. After the meeting one of the JDA officials was made aware (by an informal conservation with a student) that earlier in the year students had been protesting against the prices that South Point charges. From their understanding, South Point was charging according to the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) rates, this means that they charge according to what NSFAS pays for student's accommodation, and this seemed to be an affordable rate. But due to the new information more research is going to be undertaken in order to get a better understanding and see is South Point is really providing affordable student accommodation.

The partnership with South Point was around aligning with a stakeholder that provides affordable housing and in this case student housing in a student dominated area. The partnership resulted in one asking for help around a development for student accommodation. This new development by South Point would increase the affordable student housing supply in Braamfontein. This is also a form building coalitions and relationships that allow one, in this case South Points to use the connections to fast track development. But in the case the JDA was acting as a connector between two other actors that it has coalitions with, while also directly benefiting from the possible

development. This is about being able to identify worthy connections and ensuring that one also benefits from bringing their connections together.

5.4.3) Conclusion

These two relationships provide the JDA with regeneration partners that are resourced. Both of TUHF and South Point are in the business of providing affordable housing. It's these relationships that will allow the JDA officials to be able to more and produce outside of its resource capacities. This shows that officials must be able to identify and form partnerships with parties that help them in achieving their mandate or vision. That the job is about recognising areas were possible partnerships can be formed and to find ways to form those relationships.

5.5) Conclusion

This chapter briefly illustrated some of the work that officials do behind the scenes. This chapter has revealed what happens after community engagement. The chapter has presented some important strategies that officials make use of in achieving their mandate. These strategies include the ability and willingness to build coalitions with relevant shareholders in order to broaden official's limited resources for meeting community. Another strategy identified is the ability to put in place a comprehensive plan that will assist in stating clear goals and help in building the necessary support structures needed (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994). The chapter also shows the importance of officials defining their responsibilities beyond those given to them as this will.

The chapter has also showed the demands of the job, in that one needs to be multi-skilled and have a good eye for spotting opportunities.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

What is of significance in researching state practices among other things is that we often have very well formulated policies; such as the policies that promote and underline the importance of community engagement in development; but when it comes to implementing these policies the state often falls short. In studying state practices, we can see the problems that officials face in implementing policies and development strategies and begin to build an understanding of what we need to improve on and what we need to keep in place.

In the literature review the paper looked at three readings that were different in their own ways but essentially all pointed out to the complex nature of being a state official. Oliver de Sardan (2008) began his paper by signalling that there is a need for empirical research that could be capable of "capturing the complexity, variety, ambiguity and modernity of the behaviours of state agents in Africa" (Olivier de Sardan, 2008; 1). This research was in part attempting to answer to this call thus the research took head to his concept of practical norms.

The research revealed a group of passionate and dedicated officials who used several tools to attempt to meet not only their official mandates, but also sometimes a mandate that they had given themselves (bringing the voices of the poor around the table, for Nikki; building bridges between the private and the state, for Matt; being able to respond to community claims rather than ticking a box, for Seipati, for instance). This research showed that the officials understand the limitations of the state and are building opportunities that will help them to achieve their mandates with the limited resources they have.

The research question of the paper was: How do JDA officials navigate the complexities of community engagement, when facilitating the development of the spatial transformation of the city?

In reviewing the question, I think the concept of 'navigate the complexities of community engagement' can be interpreted in two ways. The first is around the actual meetings themselves, to say how do officials navigate conflict in meetings, or differing perspectives or even dissatisfaction with the state in general that is then taken out on

them in meetings as at that point they are the face of the city? This interpretation is best answered by chapter four which looked at different narratives of community meetings. Chapter four looked at different meetings and analyzed what these meetings meant for the officials and analyzed the different approaches used in different meetings. These findings were eye opening to some of the challenges that officials face. The chapter revealed that big meetings can be complex and difficult to manage- resolve conflict- but that the most important thing for communities is to be heard. Through smaller group meetings, although not all of them ended well, the officials were able to better explain the complex nature of development in the City.

What was also seen in chapter four is that the officials use different approaches to engaging with communities. The mixture between big group meetings and smaller group meetings reveals different information and allows officials to have better understanding of what communities are really asking for.

The second interpretation of concept of 'navigate the complexities of community engagement' could be around how do they go about dealing with the needs of the community, how do they ensure that what communities express in community meetings is met? What do they do with the information they receive from the community. This aspect was best answered by chapter five which looked the 'behind the scene work' that showed the tools that officials use to attempt to meet the needs of the community. It was chapter five that showed a different aspect of community engagement that is rarely documented- due to lack of access to officials as they are reluctant to open themselves up to be researched - but significant to understanding, analyzing and unpacking the meaning and purpose of community engagement.

The officials made use of tools such as building coalitions- as they understand that they might not be able to accomplish what they do on their own- both within the city and with private developers (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994). The officials are able to build partnerships that help them in achieving their mandate. And also through this understanding they make use of the coalitions they have with other officials to get involved in work that also helps them in achieving their mandate, such as getting involved in the formulation of a policy.

Drawing on the two different dimensions discussed it can be seen that community engagement is not simply about getting communities into a room and hearing what they have to say, but rather a continuous process that goes beyond the public meetings into the everyday work of officials. It is about getting the information and setting in place tools that will help to address the information gathered. It goes beyond putting the ideas of how to meet community needs down on paper and into setting up the tools that will help to answer community needs.

This year was just the second year of the development facilitation unit and the unit is new, the first of its kind and they have more freedom than most officials that work in the City. Aside from being given project, they have no prescribed way of doing things. They have spent the last two years learning from experince. They have managed to accomplish quiet a lot but they still have some way to go to. What this research revealed is that personalities affect and influence how officials do their work. The officials in the unit are very passionate, hardworking and set in their ways about what it is that they hope to achieve. It is these personality traits that have contributed towards how far they have come in the last two years.

What was a bit of a limitation for the research as most of the projects are still ongoing and the research was unable to present one finished project. Maybe this could be reason for someone to go back and follow up or choose one particular project and follow up and be able to provide a better presentation and analysis of the work that the officials are doing. Each project had a number of elements that could be analyzed as well but due to the time constraints, this research was unable to. The research just provided a glimpse of the work being done.

This kind of research, research that explores and documents official's practices is very important to the planning field as it creates the space to reflect on what is working and what is not working. This kind of research is particularly important in a developmental State such as South Africa as we are in the process of transformation and still trying to find practices that work and those that do not. This research stands by Oliever de Sadarn's call and head for researchers to explore research in state practices, especially in African Cities, were this form of documentation is limited.

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Masters Class interviews

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Pingo, N. (2016) Interviewed by Marrie Daniel and Thando Foto for Masters class course (Community Participation in Urban Governance), School of Architecture and Planning, Wits University

Sikiti, L. (2016) Interviewed by Zonke Mkhomazi for Masters class course (Community Participation in Urban Governance), School of Architecture and Planning, Wits University

Annexure

Meetings attended

Large Community meetings

Nature of meetings	Officials involved	Date	Venue
Noordgesig Community meeting	Seipati, Lwazi	01-Jul-16	Noordgesig Park
Paterson Park precinct development community meeting	Matt	07-Jul	Paterson Park recreation centre
Urban Development Framework community meeting (Fordsburg-Mayfair)	Nikki	12-Jul	Suliman Nana Memorial Hall, Crosby

Smaller group community meetings

Nature of Meeting	Officials involved	Date	Venue
Going over Urban management plan for Turfontein with Turfontein business forum	Nikki	05-Jul-16	Nandos Turfontein
11 parks project progress meeting: Josie and Bavuyile	Nikki	19-Aug-16	JDA offices
Nancefield stakeholder meeting (5 Community members)	Seipati	23-Aug-16	JDA offices
Meeting with 3 Fordsburg/Mayfair Community members	Nikki, City Transformation	24-Aug-16	JDA offices

Internal meetings with other City departments/consultants

Nature of meetings	JDA Official(s) involved	Other department	Date	Venue
Discussion around development in Jabulani	Lwazi	GAPP, inkanyeli projects	07-Jul-16	Inkanyeni offices
Discussion around ways to approach vulnerable groups around Paterson Park	Matt	ASM consultants	11-Jul-16	ASM offices
Grant avenue precinct plan: Status quo analysis	Matt , Christo	City Transformation, Dpt of Transport, ASM (consultants)	04-Jun-16	JDA offices
Presenting Grant Avenue precinct plan to City Planning	Matt	City Transfromation and ASM	01-Aug-16	City Planning offices
Going over Grant Avenue precinct plan: management plan	Matt	ASM consultants, town panning consultant	02-Aug-16	ASM offices
ICHIP steering Committee meeting	Nikki	Housing dept, JOSHCO	12-Aug-16	Housing Department offices
Meeting with New Mayfair ward coucillor	Nikki, Christo,	City Transformation, Town planning consultant	17-Aug-16	JDA offices

Internal meetings with private sector

Nature of meeting	JDA officials	Private company	Date	Venue
Explaining the City's focus development areas (CoF) to private developer	Matt	Hilton (Developer)	15-Aug-16	JDA offices
Discussion of the current Draft of the MoU	Matt, Nikki,Lwazi	TUHF	16-Aug-16	JDA offices
Discussion with South Point on New Braamfontein	Nikki, Christo, Land use department	South Point	19-Aug-16	JDA offices