

Claiming Space in Post-Apartheid Urban Planning in South Africa

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The illustrations on the following pages have been excluded from the digital copy of this thesis at the request of the university:

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Diagram 1: Map of South Africa showing all nine provinces and some of predominant ethnic groups

Source: Magubane, B. (1998) Vanishing Cultures

ABSTRACT

This research investigates the claim for space to practice initiation in the African townships of Cape town, South Africa. These spaces were not initially provided for when African townships were developed and the status quo persists during post-apartheid urban planning. The research draws on the tools of post-modernist planning theory to investigate and analyze the claim for space. Thus the study commences with a critical analysis of modern and apartheid urban planning theories and practices with the aid of post-modern theory concepts in general, and post-modern urban planning theory concepts in particular. This reveals an oppressive and biased system in favor of certain groups in society and a privileging of a rational discourse in planning deliberation processes. Post-apartheid urban planning is also subjected to a similar critical analysis for relying on the same shaky epistemological foundations of modern urban planning theory. Modern urban planning methods and practices are thus rejected as inappropriate for a new context that is characterized by cultural diversity and consequently, different ways of knowing and being. Instead, a post-modern approach that is more accommodating and sensitive to the demands of a multi-cultural context is deemed more appropriate.

A case study method was selected partly to provide evidence for persisting marginalization under modern urban planning, during the post-apartheid, and partly to enrich a theoretical understanding derived from the phenomenon under investigation. A semi-structured interview approach was adopted in order to facilitate a more deliberative and dialogical interaction with respondents. The selection of interviewees was based on membership of the relevant groups i.e. affected communities, relevant public officials, academics and consultants, which were identified during early stages of research.

The findings reveal: an ambivalent profession in terms of planning for multi-culturalism/cultural diversity; the limited capacity of a haltingly modernist state to effect necessary changes befitting a culturally diverse post-apartheid society; and the realities and limits of power that have prevented idealism and vision of post-apartheid urban planning, instead redirecting them to less attractive ends.

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Nina baka-Jama

Sishakuza

Wena kaBasali

Wena woPhongolo ulumanzi abomvu

Wena ogiya ngobambo amanye amakhosi egiya ngenduku
yombangandlala

Wena owahlangabeza uNdwandwe eza ngamehlo

Wena wokhukho olumajiya olwajiya kwaNtombazi

Sishakuza.

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Glossary of Terms

Multiculturalism is understood as consciousness about the differing cultural needs of people for the purposes of planning. It is a public philosophy that 'acknowledges racial and cultural differences in a society and encourages their sustenance and expression as constituent elements of a national social order' (Fleras and Elliot 1992; Muller 1993) in Qadeer, 1997.

Marginalization is here defined as ignoring the legitimate needs of a certain group/community marked by racial and cultural difference to the dominant culture of the white middle and upper classes that dominates planning

DFA Development Facilitation Act 1996.

Pragmatism is taken to represent a mediating philosophy that brings modern rationality/instrumental reasoning with other ways of knowing and experiencing within specific contexts.

Empowerment various ways of increasing people's capacity to act for themselves.

Culture a criterion, of moral and ethical duty of planners to treat different groups differently.

Context refers to the wider social system within which planning take place. The content of planning is to a large extent determined by the context.

Content refers to the substance of planning.

GEAR refers to Growth, Employment, and Redistribution. The government introduced this policy in 1996 as substitute to the RDP.

RDP refers to Reconstruction and Development Programme in South Africa.

IDP is the Integrated Development Plan.

PREFACE

South African society is currently in the process of unprecedented social transformation following the demise of the apartheid political dispensation. The town and regional planning profession, among others, is at the forefront of the endeavour at both understanding this social transformation process and also using that understanding to inform new planning theory and practices.

Consequently, the Town and Regional Planning profession is in a state of flux in South Africa. Discussions abound in local and international planning literature regarding appropriate approach(s) for the new context. As recently as 1996, the South African Planning Institute (SAPI) was formed to represent the interests of all planners. The planning profession also made a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for past collaboration with apartheid policies.

The impact of modernist post-apartheid urban planning, the current global trends and the questions of multiculturalism and cultural diversity define the context of this thesis. Post-modern theory and post-modern urban planning theory and praxis in particular are used to critically analyse the extent of the transformation of current urban planning theory and practice (chapter 3 and 5). Through case studies (chapter 6) on the claim for space to practice initiation, this research tries to illustrate the degree of this transformation process. The process of transition towards a more democratic society has resulted in the resurgence of issues of identity and cultural diversity, which hitherto have been ignored by planners in South Africa except in the popular media that is replete with references to the `rainbow nation`. During the colonial and subsequent apartheid period, the prevailing official view was that the needs of Natives, later Africans, were to be met in the so-called Native Reserves or Homelands and not in urban areas where Africans were regarded as temporary sojourners in the service of the then nascent mining and manufacturing industries. Indeed the provision of public services such as housing and access to land for example, were used as instruments to control the movements of Africans in and around urban areas. As such, the inadequate provision of facilities was designed to function as a disincentive against permanent urban migration of Africans, and to discourage

their urbanization process. The claim for space to practice initiation in African townships should therefore be understood in this context of deliberate marginalization and oppression of Africans, which characterised colonial and apartheid planning policies and were facilitated by the planning profession. This claim for space should also be understood in the context of the ongoing transformation process towards a more democratic, equitable political system and planning processes, in spite of which the perception of marginalization and lack of space to practice initiation still persists. This lack of officially designated land for the practice of initiation has resulted in the use of any of the constantly diminishing open spaces in and around these townships. The situation is further exacerbated by the seasonal nature of the initiation process, which has relegated it to a state of perpetual marginalization in competing for space with other land uses, such as housing for example, for access to expensive and scarce urban land.

It should be acknowledged that the singularity of the case studies raises an important question of the generalisability of the findings, even in the context of other South African cities. The anti-positivist approach of the research precludes any concerns with generalisability, and instead puts emphasis on context. If generalisability were the sole criterion to determine if a phenomenon was worthy of investigation, the unique aspects of that phenomenon would be rendered irrelevant or compromised. Ironically in this case, this unique phenomenon of initiation and the attendant claim for urban spaces serves to highlight the persistence of a broader issue of participation in planning processes in Cape Town. The research aims at raising important questions regarding the extent of the social transformation process in South Africa in general, and in particular the transformation of the urban planning profession.

CHAPTER 1

Research context and Approach adopted

1.1 Introduction

The record of urban planning in South Africa is tainted by the fact that planners played a significant role towards the realization of the apartheid spatial configuration that excluded the majority of citizens, mainly Africans, from decision-making processes. In spite of the more democratic political dispensation since 1994, planning practice in South Africa is still dominated largely by the scientific approach of modernist planning and policymaking that uses universal value systems (Baum, 1999). Mabin (1995) notes that planning in South Africa is analogous to waking in the post-modern era while still equipped with the politics and planning practices of a modernist past.

Since 1994, planning in South Africa has been linked to the grand and romantic endeavor of reconstructing a damaged society (Harrison 2001). Recent treatises argue for new approaches to planning in the post-modern era (Oranje 2001, Mabin 1995, Laburn-Peart, 1991, 1998, Muller 1995, Boden 1992) among others. Muller (1995:8) argues that 'the new planning endeavor (in South Africa) must flow outwards to the arid and neglected fields of the poor, the underprivileged, the vulnerable. But as Bollens (2002:23) noted in another context, 'the planner's role in addressing racial and ethnic division has not been clearly articulated'.

Differing opinions abound about the nature and extent of professional transformation. Watson (1998) notes that the planning approaches of the 1990s came close to the consensus-seeking practices of collaborative planning, while Oranje (2002) searches in vain for 'the African' in the new planning practices. Smith and Mabin (1997) and Harrison (2001) warn about the realities of power and its limits that have often perverted the idealism and vision of reconstruction to less attractive ends.

Professional organizational introspection about the planner's role in the new context is not lacking. In 1996 the South African Planning Institution was formed, which embraced far wider participation in the planning process than was the case previously. Yet Laburn Peart (1998) talks of a dilemma of a profession that both needs and fears public participation in planning.

1.2 Problem Statement

The history of planning in South Africa, the current global trends and the questions of multicultural praxis define the context of this thesis. The process of global economic change and the fractured, pluralistic nature of metropolitan life (Boden 1993) represent a challenge to modern urban planning skills. Urban Planning must reflect these changes in theory and practice in order for the professions to maintain legitimacy and authority as a social practice. The fact that the profession is in a state of flux in South Africa following the wider national political transformation and the formation of a new planning organization in 1996 makes the task even more daunting but promising.

Urban planning is concerned with the social and political processes of the production and reproduction of urban space. It is now called upon to recognize different cultures and worldviews as authentic, enduring, and worthy of efforts to sustain them (Burayidi 1999, Thomas 1996). But multiculturalism takes issue with the scientific approach of modernist urban planning and policymaking that uses universal value systems (Baum 1999). It poses significant challenges related to, among other things, cultural differences (Qadeer 1997), and increased cultural sensitivity toward the use and perception of urban space. Thomas (200) points out that 'being a sort of a person (or group) involves among other things using the built and natural environment in a certain way'. How can planning then intervene in a manner in which promotes diversity and difference?

There is a need to identify such approaches and theoretical bases to improve

the practice of urban planning in South Africa. Currently there is no agreement about the definition of urban planning and no theory to inform practice about how to execute cross-cultural planning in South Africa. Existing models of collaborative planning have been criticized for emphasizing a rational discourse among stakeholders and for lacking an adequate concept of power (Flyvbjerg 1998, 2001). The susceptibility and propensity to abuse by power (Flyvbjerg 1998) and the epistemological foundations of modern planning that privileged scientific rationality have rendered modern planning problematic (Dear 1986, 1998; Sandercock 1995, 1998; Beauregard 1991, 1998; Milroy 1991).

1.2.1 Defining the scope of the problem

The study has one overall aim: to critique post apartheid modern planning in South Africa from 1994-1999 using insights from post-modern planning theories in general and post-modern urban planning thought in particular. The research employs case studies for a claim for space to practice the bi-annual tradition of initiation among African communities in the townships of Cape Town.

The **objectives** of the research are as follows:

1. To identify appropriate/useful concepts from postmodern theory in general and postmodern planning thought in particular to explain the apparent inadequacy of modernist planning to recognize the needs of different cultures in the South Africa.
2. To critically evaluate the post apartheid Reconstruction and Development (RDP) of the Government of National Unity (GNU) as a policy from a post-modern point of view;
3. To identify planning practice and policy implications relevant to the South African multicultural context;

4. To contribute to the growing literature on the restructuring of the South African city using post-modern planning theory.

1.3 Shifting World Paradigms

The planning, management and design of cities takes place in the context of global economic integration, rapid technological advances and massive trans-national, regional and international migrations, which have resulted in the transformation of predominantly culturally homogeneous societies and cities into multicultural and heterogeneous environments. What then of our means of intervention as planners in the context of these transformations given the limitation of modern planning theory and practice as already alluded to above?

In the United States Mier (1994:239) states that planners are 'facilitators of social exclusion and economic isolation' unless they consider race and diversity as the first way to frame planning problems.

Hoch (1993:459) observes that the 'professional protocol of the expert advice giver and dutiful public servant does not acknowledge the complexity of racial justice issues, and, in fact, seems to simplify the problem'.

In the United Kingdom, planning has been criticized for being 'insensitive to the systematically different needs and requirements of the population and, in particular some black and ethnic communities (Thomas and Krishnarayan 1994:1899).

Douglass (1999:79) points to the globalization of the economy that has given rise to 'advent of multicultural societies in Pacific Asia' that is 'challenging the common bundling of race and ethnicity with nation in state ideology and popular perceptions'.

In Australia, Sandercock (1998, 2000), Watson and McGillivray (1995) also

echo similar sentiments on the impact of economic globalization that has resulted in `cities and regions of extraordinary cultural diversity and the attendant problems of living together in one society for groups with diverse cultures and social practices `(Sandercock 1998:127). Qadeer (1997:482) observes the impact of multiculturalism on `the established professional conventions`, which `originate from the social patterns and cultural values of the dominant communities, namely the English or the French`.

Therefore the path that I am following is well trodden, and there is considerable literature on postmodern planning theory and in other fields that supports my position. This research taps into a rejuvenated theoretical space. Planning theory is in the process of transformation from being a narrow reflection on practice, to being synonymous with practical philosophy, -that is, thought crafted to guide action (Sandercock, 1995). In addition, both Boden (1989) and Brand's (1998) unpublished theses serve as sources of inspiration for this research. Brand's argument that urban design is concerned not only with the physical qualities of space, but also the cultural conditions within which such qualities are defined, the economic and the social processes pertaining to the production of space, and the meaning and values that are materialized within that space, aptly describes the point of departure for this research.

1.4 Methodology

It has been suggested that Derrida's deconstruction and Foucault's genealogy are methods for post-modernism (Dear 1986, Milroy 1991). These methods will be used to critically evaluate modern planning, particularly, the inability to address issues of difference and diversity.

In order to tackle the complexity of the issues involved, a multiple methodological approach is envisaged, the components of which fall under the rubric of post-modern theory (Chapter 6). These methods were chosen to respond to the central issue: given the inadequacy of modern rational planning methods, what kind of planning is appropriate in a multi-cultural context where

there is a plethora of meanings and values attached to the built environment? Where culture is an unknown quantity, nothing can be assumed, least of all the rationalist scientific planning methods that do not engage culture but which currently dominate modern planning theory. The purpose of this research is therefore to explore an alternative, specifically post-modern planning theory to address the context of multiculturalism in South Africa.

1.4.1 The approach adopted

As implied above, the research borrows from the view of post-modern enquiry concerning the social construction of reality, a theme that has stimulated a lively debate in planning literature. Within this conflict-ridden theoretical background, planning must be defined in broad content terms, and in procedural terms: drawing on international experiences and adapting them for the local contexts could derive theoretical stances. This provides an intellectual setting for the investigation of the second procedural facet – how to discover the range of meanings and values associated with the environs by that culture – as means for planning theory and practice.

The dominant components of the approach are as follows. Firstly, to review the existing theoretical base about the scope of local urban planning using post-modern concepts developed in the first stage of the research. Secondly, post-modern theory was chosen because it stressed the role of context and multiculturalism, making it very appropriate for explicating the role of culture. As Qadeer (1994:188) pointed out, 'multiculturalism is a symbol of post-modernism'. Thus multiculturalism is the founding fact of South Africa. Thirdly, from this the question arose of how to research this connection between culture (local) and planning practice. Two methods were found to be useful: Boden's (1992, 1998) method was found to be relevant because it sought to identify culturally relevant cues in the built environment (chapter 11), and the Afro-centric approach (Appendix 1) also provided some useful analytical insights into the African worldview that is central to the issue raised by the case studies.

The fourth point has to do with the case study approach that focussed on provincial level, instead of South Africa as a whole. Overarching national legislation notwithstanding, urban planning falls largely within the jurisdiction of provinces with each province having its own planning practices.

Also, the composition of the population varies considerably, resulting in varying levels of demand for culturally sensitive planning. The fifth point concerns both Comaroff's (1985) and Bloch's (1986) work that proved invaluable sources of complementary data on issues concerning case studies. This approach enabled the corroboration and clarification of information from interviewees on the nature of the practice. This is relevant because as Foucault (1978) pointed out, individuals never simply enact the culture but reinterpret and reappropriate it in their own ways. The sixth and final point has to do with Foucault's (1978) concept of power. The ideas of a 'microphysics' of power suggest its location in everyday practice and as part and parcel of all other relationships. Important as well for a concern with planning, is the particular form of power which Foucault terms 'government', through which the exercise of power is extended.

1.4.2 Some methodological difficulties

Two problems arose in trying to satisfy research ideals. These had to do with the political context during which research was conducted and the subject matter under investigation through case studies. Concerning the political context, the research was conducted during the period when local government was being restructured to form mega-cities. This made it difficult to locate public officials that were initially identified as key. However, during the data gathering process, it would soon emerge that these individuals were peripheral to the research, a process that proved costly in terms of time. However, this was compensated by the ease with which relevant key officials were located and interviewed.

The second problem concerned the subject matter being investigated through case studies, that is, the claim for space to practice the bi-annual tradition of the initiation of boys into manhood. The first challenge involved the lack of identifiable community organization(s) around initiation and the seasonal nature of the practice. The loosely organised structures become active only during the initiation season in June and December of each year. Locating knowledgeable and more importantly, willing informants proved to be time consuming and difficult.

As a substitute, the research relied upon anthropological data gathered by Comaroff (1985) and Bloch (1986) on the nature of initiation. This information could be related to the contemporary Xhosa situation in Cape Town through Boden's (1989) work among the Tswana. This information became a base against which to corroborate interviews/data from informants. In addition, since most of the interviews were conducted in a local language, there were problems with translation as there were no English equivalent words because some of the terms were couched in the special language of initiation to which outsiders are not privy. In this case even Boden's method or any other would not have worked. It also proved impossible to test the overall validity of the interpretations through a two-stage exercise in which the culturally attuned findings from discussions with informants and are then tested on a larger random sample. I tried unsuccessfully to rely on local people to set up the respondent groups with willing individuals. Conventional methods for choosing random pattern of respondents could not be applied because of the nature of the practice. In short, the problems encountered revolved around the secrecy of the practice. Not all men were therefore willing to participate and women for the most part are not allowed to participate in the initiation ceremony.

Despite agreement and commonalities with past studies on the nature of the practice and the significance of certain elements in it, it must be acknowledged that this study has produced an interpretation of the Xhosa practice as

conceived by the interpretant and those interviewed. However, due to the fact that this is the first piece of research on the claim for space to practice initiation from an urban planning point of view, the specific findings on the case studies could not be corroborated other than reference to broad aspects of a multicultural approach to planning, which emphasizes access and opportunities for participation in the urban planning decision-making processes.

However, at present access to planning decision-making processes falls somewhere between `therapy` and `placation` on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen-participation. The ideal of multiculturalism should lead to representation and power-sharing in planning decision-making (Qadeer 1994:191).

1.5 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized into two parts. The first part consists of a critical examination of modern urban planning in South Africa and an exploration of post-modern planning theory and practice as a possible alternative for addressing any problem identified. The second part presents the research findings and draws on the concepts developed in the first part for analysis and critical evaluation.

In Part I, the research situates modern planning to the wider shifts in the management, design and planning of cities over the last decades. **Chapter one** introduces the research and provides a broad overview, states the overall research aim, objectives and the organization of the thesis. In **Chapter two**, a review is undertaken of modern planning in South Africa, from the Colonial period through to the end of apartheid in 1994. The periodisation employed is fairly common in literature and follows three broad and distinct periods of Colonial, post-colonial and the apartheid and post-apartheid period.

Chapter three explores the relevance of post-modern theory to the South

African situation, and discusses one of the challenges facing post-modern planning in South Africa. It critically examines post-apartheid legislations and planning frameworks.

Chapter four develops some conclusions. It states the set of questions to be explored through empirical work, and sets out the methodology for undertaking that work through a case study of the need for space to accommodate the Xhosa culture of Initiation in the City of Cape Town.

Chapter five focuses on some of the major post-apartheid urban planning initiatives. Although the debates on urban planning approaches in South Africa take place in academic circles, they also tap into people's daily lives because of the everyday experiences of planning decisions that affect them. The challenges facing modern planning in South Africa are historically coincident with the condition of post-modernity. Yet the methods adopted to reconstruct South Africa's cities are predominantly modernist.

This chapter argues that modern planning has become an issue, which, although characterized by diverse and often conflicting opinions, constituted a viable arena for the discussion and partial resolution of other urban problems, and an important reference for visualizing an alternative urban future.

Chapter Six provides an historical account of the initiation process using primary (interviews) and secondary sources. The chapter begins to highlight the issues involved with the initiation process as well as the various arguments around the initiation practice as expressed by the community.

Chapter Seven provides the elements involved in the initiation process emanating from the case studies, which for planning intervention/practice must take into consideration when designing the facility/site.

Chapter Eight is a discussion with officials involved, that is, local authority officials and Community Councilors. **Chapter Nine** tries to bring these

seemingly different strands of arguments together in terms main themes presented. **Chapter Ten** presents a in-depth analysis of the Drift-sands Initiation Village Proposal as an the first instance of official acknowledgement of the claim for space to practice initiation. **Chapter Eleven** presents and analyses the response of planning professionals, that is, academics and consultants in an attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Chapter Twelve discusses the broader implication of planning for difference especially in the context of a nascent democracy like South Africa. **Chapter Thirteen** provides an overview of the arguments presented in each chapter, and draws a final conclusion in terms of research findings and directions for future research.

Chapter 2

From 'Planned Oppression to Planned Emancipation'. The history of Town and Regional Planning in South Africa: A brief overview

'Times change. So do people's collective projects, priorities, and paradigms. But the same is true for the broader processes and structures that determine shifting patterns of hegemony and incorporation, and the search for autonomy and a decent existence they invariably engender. As patterns of domination reshape themselves in the wake of changing priorities and justifications, so do the foci and strategies of emancipatory movements or indeed all social action seeking to define liberation, equality, social justice'.

Doornbos, 'Foreword' 1992.

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical outline of the development of town planning practice in South Africa, from the beginning of the 19-century to the present. The process of critical recovery of the history (ies) of planning in South Africa is still at its infancy. This means among other things that the literature is relatively scarce. This discussion is therefore far from being exhaustive or comprehensive. Planning history is an important part of our intellectual arsenal (Thomas 1994), to 'produce a usable past' (Mabin 1991) to inform debates on current rebuilding initiatives. As planners wrestle with the problems facing cities, it is important to understand how this situation came to be and how it affects planning efforts (Thomas 1994).

The history (ies) of town and regional planning in South Africa has not yielded much scholarly scrutiny until recently¹. The nascent interest in the history of planning results both from the fact that planners are going through a process of change currently affecting the rest of South African society following the final demise of the apartheid political system, and the fact that urban planning

¹ The Southern African Planning History Study Group was formed in the early 1990's.

is regarded as indispensable during the current rebuilding process.²

Excavating the past is essential in order 'to produce a usable past which can inform current debates on urban planning as an instrument of reconstruction in the post-apartheid city' (Mabin 1991:8). The high esteem that the planning profession enjoys among the government in the current rebuilding process in South Africa is fascinating in as much as it is contradictory, because the profession does not cut a progressive profile in South Africa. Together with the security forces and the law, it served to undermine the ability of South African's cities to offer a decent urban life to the majority of their citizens (Mabin and Smit 1997:193).³

The existing spatial form of South African cities has been shaped by many forces but state intervention to ensure a strict racial segregation through planning has been an especially significant factor (McCarthy 1991:259). South African urban planning as a conscious attempt to use state power to influence, direct and control the course of urban development dates back to two major sources during the 19-century – to restrict and dictate the pattern of mainly Black settlement in urban environments, and the regulation of subdivision of land for urban uses – stemming largely from the economic boom after 1880's and 1990's (Mabin and Smit 1997:194).⁴ This form of planned oppression⁵ remained part and parcel of the inchoate planning profession in the 19-century (Mabin 1991:191), from the colonial through to the postcolonial periods, culminating finally with apartheid in 1948. Mabin (1991:191) notes the following about planning in South Africa:

² Muller (1995) makes a distinction between change and transition. The former being superficial and hence the ambivalence by planners to fully embrace the process of change; the latter describes a much in-depth process that leads to the adoption of new values appropriate in a new context. For him therefore, planners have undergone a superficial process of change. The crucial step is transformation.

³ The authors note interestingly that planning has always been central in the history of reconstructing South African cities, from the 19-century to the present. This narrow view of planning as an instrument of the state has not gone unchallenged by those who emphasize the redistributive powers of planning.

⁴ Black refers to Indian, Colored and African groups and preferential treatment by the white government was meted out in the same order. The economic boom follows the discovery of diamonds and subsequently gold and coal mines in the 1800's.

'The South Africa's cities have been shapedby modernist conceptions of planning. Opposition to apartheid planning based itself, of course, on an alternative but very much a modernist conception of planning – planning intended to redistribute power and comfort Thus conflict over the shape of the cities was essentially a conflict ... between two rationalist movements and planning approaches.... Both the rationalist views of urban South Africa sought to do just that, one through planned oppression, the other through planned emancipation`.

Modern planning methods are still regarded as relevant by some members of the planning profession in the post-apartheid South Africa. This persistence of the rational model of planning has been discussed elsewhere⁶. The Reconstruction and Development Programme unveiled in 1994 to inform state planning after the first more democratic elections in 1994 in South Africa bore the hallmarks of modern state planning. This is largely because, as Mabin (1995) noted above, opposition to apartheid planning based itself on an alternative but very much modernist conception of planning. This discussion on post-apartheid planning initiatives forms the subject of chapter 5, which completes the discussion in this chapter. It should also be stated from the outset that term `post-apartheid` may be misleading since much of what passes as post-apartheid urban planning is in fact a continuation from the past as the title of this chapter suggests. Both apartheid and post-apartheid urban planning share the same similar roots in modern urban planning theory and practice.

The discussion is organized around four relatively distinct periods: colonial, post-colonial, apartheid and finally post-apartheid. This periodisation corresponds to major political reforms in light of the changing alliances and coalitions. For example, when South Africa gained her independence in 1910, political power was given exclusively to the white population (Afrikaners). It was this appropriation of the organs of central state power

⁵Mabin 1995:191

⁶ See Baum (1996) in particular and post-modern planning literature in general, and Mabin (1995) with specific reference to South Africa.

that made it possible for the Afrikaner as an ethnic group to deal with the poor white problem at the turn of the century, which was threatening the racist political system upon which capitalism in South Africa was being built.

The post-colonial period marks the accession of political power by Afrikaners and its aftermath. The following discussion will focus on distinct periods that are based on a common periodisation in the planning literature.

2.2 Colonial Phase – from 1652 to 1909

The cities that were established by colonial powers from Europe have much in common among them. South African cities, as a product of this colonial cities development, are therefore no exception. Parnell (1993:472) describes the situation in the following manner:

‘South Africa’s pre-industrial pattern of urban race segregation, with separate location for the indigenous population, was common to many colonial settlements. As in other colonial settings early town planning in South Africa began as an attempt to encourage European settlement’.

The pattern of residential settlement for example, was directly shaped by the prevailing value systems and the resulting political and social relationships among the respective communities since the establishment of the first ‘temporary’ European settlement in 1652 on what later became known as the Cape Town beach front (Cloete 1991:91). However, the origin of racial segregation in colonies, in particular South Africa, has been subjected to different interpretations. One school of thought puts emphasis on colonialism, as McCarthy (1991:259) noted:

‘Essentially, this school of thought has argued that, whenever colonialism developed, the master-servant format of colonial social relations has required “spatial distancing” of the residential settlement patterns of the colonizer and colonized. Residential segregation, in this view, became a necessary symbolic demonstration in urban space of “otherness”: an otherness that is central to colonial systems of political domination’.

Other scholars⁷ have located the origins of segregation in the economic sphere; specifically the relations of production that developed with the establishment of the first industrial capitalist enterprises in South Africa (McCarthy 1991:260)⁸. These divergent interpretations at best highlight the difficulty and inadequacy of privileging one view. Indeed the complex relationship between the political, and the socio-economic developments from the 1880's until 1909 cannot be reduced to one single explanation.

The development of the economy in South Africa, and the resultant need for land use management on the one hand, and on the other hand the need for controlling and dictating African urban settlement patterns lies at the core of the segregated urban settlement. According to Wolpe (1988), the economy is characterized as governed by 'rationality' as opposed to the 'irrational' political system of racism. In this case, the political control of Africans (irrationality) guaranteed a cheap supply of labor for mining magnates (Parnell 1993, Mabin 191, Davenport 1991, Mabin and Smit 1997). The drive for profits lay at the heart of the emergence of intra-urban segregation legislation ushered under the guise of modern town planning principles (Parnell 1993:472).

While racial segregation was a common feature to all colonies, unique socio-economic developments in South Africa perpetuated racial segregation. The emergence of the 'poor white problem' threatened the social order on which South African capitalism was being built (Parnell 1993:473). Following the growth of capitalist agriculture associated with the mineral boom and later the economic depression in 1906 to 1909, an unemployed class of unskilled whites, mainly Afrikaners, were forced out of their position as tenant farmers.

⁷See Mabin 1991, and Parnell 1993.

⁸The mining industry in the 1880's and 1890's.

This produced a political crisis, especially for capital, which feared the possibility of a racially united working-class organization and communism (Parnell 1993:475). Furthermore, economic considerations militated against the employment of whites whose wages were between three and eight times those of African migrant laborers.

This economic plight of Afrikaners exacerbated the political tension arising from the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War towards the end of the 19-century. Unskilled Afrikaner as `scab` labor was used to break an English miners strike of 1907. This also marked the beginning of job reservation and state welfare as the government assumed responsibility for offering welfare employment when it failed to force the mines to employ Afrikaner labor. This measure was undermined by the depression of 1906 to 1909. The clash between economic rationality and political irrationality, as Wolpe would have it, was to characterize the strenuous relationship between big business and the state until the first more democratic government 1994.

The first "native location" was established at Klipspruit in 1904 by moving Africans following the outbreak of the plague in overcrowded inner city neighborhoods (Mabin 1991:10). The view that towns were conceived as primarily white places (1991:9). and that colonial city planning standards were not intended to apply to Africans at all (Parnell 1993:472), informed the spatial marginalization of Africans. Housing programmes in the form of segregated single-sex compounds⁹, and later locations on the periphery served as models for segregation for an increasingly urbanizing African population.

South Africa became independent in 1910 following the passage of the South Africa Act by the British Parliament in 1909. It is noteworthy that The African

⁹Most were initially built by mine houses as cheap accommodation.

Native Congress¹⁰ was formed not long after the union government in 1912, among other things, to protest the exclusion of Africans in the then new political dispensation. By 1910, territorial separation of races was the norm.

In short, urban segregation was not a uniquely South African phenomenon (Parnell, 1993 Mabin1999, McCarthy 1991). A complex relationship existed between economic (rational) and the political (irrational) objectives of racism (Wolpe 1988, Parnell 1993), neither one sufficient as justification for segregation. Town planning legislation played a central role in segregation very early on as early as the 1850's (Mabin 1995, Parnell 1993, Davenport 1991). Situations unique to South Africa perpetuated racism, accession to political power by Afrikaners to better their lot, the fear of communism and a united labor force (Parnell 1993), and marginalisation of Africans both spatially and politically.

2.3 Post Colonial Phases – from 1910 to 1947

Decolonisation of South Africa followed the Australian and Canadian patterns where the colonial power gave political power exclusively to the white population. New governments were formed in this way (Shubane 1991:65). The nature of this independence led to South Africa being characterized as a 'colonialism of a special type' or 'an internal colonialism.' According to Wolpe (1988:29), this defines the co-existence and articulation of a colonial relation between black and white people and a developed capitalist economy within the confines of a single national state.

This period is characterized by a number of related factors. Town-planning practice took on the growing concerns of segregation as part of its 'normal' modus operandi (Mabin 1991:12). Provincial governments were given more powers over land-use allocation in 1913 (Mabin and Smit 1997:196, 200). Various provinces prepared Town Planning Ordinances (modeled closely to

¹⁰ Forerunner to the African National Congress.

the British Town Planning Act of 1905), in 1927 in Cape Province, and the Transvaal being the first to adopt a Town Planning Ordinance 1931, which required municipalities to plan.

The significance of this development is that for the first time, a demand for the services of planners emerged (ibid.10) to prepare municipal zoning schemes. Lastly, key pieces of legislation were also passed during this period to facilitate segregation, control, and marginalization of the African population (Mabin and Smit, 1997, Mabin 1991)¹¹.

Secondly, underlying these developments was the ascendancy of white working class politics¹² in general, and Afrikaner 'nationalism' whose interests were articulated initially at local government level¹³. This marks the beginning of local class alliances between business and white working class organization that received political expression through the local state.

The third factor was the increasingly significant influence of British town planning practice in South Africa¹⁴. British expertise inspired the nature and form of urban development, largely initially to encourage colonial settlement in South Africa (Parnell, op cit.: 483), and to ameliorate white working class conditions.

Lastly, following the union of South Africa in 1910, major moves were made to consolidate state power through the passage of various acts of parliament. Accordingly, a National Department of Lands was established. The latter proposed to standardize the handling of land by various authorities. But the bureaucratic designs of the Lands Department came adrift among the

¹¹ See end of document for a list of key pieces of legislation

¹²The white Labor Party won the 1919 municipal elections in Johannesburg and emerged later to be a major player in the following national elections.

¹³ Municipalities clamored for urban racial segregation and powers to deal with local land use matters, and this was to mark to the beginning of tensions between national and local government.

complexities of regional politics (Mabin and Smit 1997:196). By 1913, powers to establish and administer townships were decentralized to provincial governments.

The same year saw the passage of one in the line of successive, notorious pieces of legislation, the 1913 Native Land Act. This act allocated 13% of the landmass to the African majority with devastating consequences. It is also noteworthy that the African Native Congress (forerunner to the ANC) was formed during this period in 1912 to protest the exclusion of Africans from political power after the Union in 1910.

The growth of 'slums' following the shortage of housing during and after the first World War spurred the South African government towards a more interventionist approach. Members of professions called for town planning as a means of accomplishing radical social improvements after the war (ibid.197). Following the influenza epidemic that killed 150 000 (Parnell op cit.: 482), the Public Health Act and Housing Act were passed in 1919 and 1920 respectively.

The provisions of both acts were narrowly interpreted to apply only to working class whites. Government loans were made available for the construction of low income housing for the white working class following the recommendations to the Housing Commission¹⁵. The sanitation of South African cities was thus accomplished as undesirable uses of land – including black residences¹⁶ - were moved out of the city. Town planning was therefore instrumental in uplifting the living standards of the white working class, partly as a result of upsurge in white working class politics around the early 1920's.

¹⁴One of the developments of this influence was the establishment of South Africa's first Garden City in Cape Town, Pinelands.

¹⁵This commission was formed to seek municipal advice on urban planning clauses as part of the Health Act.

The living conditions of Africans continued to deteriorate after the union. Starting with the 1913 Native Land Act that, as noted above, allocated 13% of the land mass to the African majority, and culminating with the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act that confined most Africans to compounds and townships (Mabin 1991:10), overcrowding and deteriorating health conditions were inevitable. This discrepancy in living standards of black and whites further promoted segregation and the sanitation of cities. Sick Africans were repatriated to rural areas because local authorities were discouraged from treating them (Parnell op cit. 482). From this period onwards, planning for Africans was separated from the rest of urban South Africa as a result of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923.¹⁷ Indeed, it was a common view during this period that town planning was not meant for the benefit of Africans. The main concern was the alleviation of the poor white problem, encouragement of colonial settlement in South African cities, and the common view that the Housing and Health Acts would not apply to Africans for whom separate legislation was being created (Parnell op.cit.pp.483, 487).

The continued marginalization of Africans through segregation and the advancement of white working class interest continued until the economic depression of 1929. Following the decentralization of land use control to the provinces, the latter passed ordinances, which, through their municipalities, provided for the drafting of town planning schemes by various municipalities throughout the country. The reformism of the early period soon gave way to narrow concerns with zoning schemes and the like.

The impact of the depression was soon felt with urban deterioration. This led to the passage of the 1934 Slums Act that brought reformism back on the agenda. Through this Act local governments were given more powers to destroy and replan existing areas in line with racial segregation, funds from central government permitting given the impact of the depression (Mabin

¹⁶Black includes Indians and Coloreds.

1991:11, Mabin and Smit 1997:202). Inner city 'slums' were destroyed throughout South Africa and occupants moved to new segregated, highly ordered public housing estates, with Africans located farthest from the city.

As in other countries, the disruption of the global war unleashed a modernist-planning fervor in South Africa¹⁸. Planning was characterized by the twin themes of the need to create new planning apparatuses informed by long-term visions, and the continuing clamor for racial zoning. Industrialization, high rates of urbanward movements, automobile growth and every imaginable challenge of accumulating wealth and poverty affected cities (Mabin and Smit 1997:202-203). Much of intellectual input continued to come from Britain due to limited experience of local planners to deal with the complexity of urban issues. This acceleration of urbanization and industrialization resulted, among other things, in cities and towns rapidly losing their white majorities and becoming predominantly black places (ibid.205, Mabin op cit.: 13), an observation that did not sit well with white administrators¹⁹.

The shortage of housing resulted in a phenomenon of 'irregular' settlement on the fringes of municipal areas. The Thornton Committee, which was set up in 1939 to investigate 'irregular' settlement recommended the prevention of the establishment of uncontrolled areas through new powers and the strict application of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 for Africans²⁰. The government also appointed the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC) to advise the cabinet. In its Fifth Report on 'Regional and Town Planning that was published in 1944, the Council presented the following, which is worth quoting in full from Mabin and Smit (1997:204);

¹⁷Whether this marks the division of planning as a technical exercise from its social reformist vision remains a moot point in South Africa.

¹⁸ The ideas of Le Corbusier and the CIAM also reached South Africa through a student conference in Johannesburg in 1938.

¹⁹This follows the census of 1946.

'The Union has a large and growing permanently urbanized non-European population. The Council.....therefore, urges that in the lay-out of new townships, the re-planning of existing ones and the erection of state-subsidized schemes, full use should be made of the principle of planned neighborhoods, protected from other neighborhoods by 'green belts' of cultivated and park land and at the same time reasonably close to work places'.

The fifth report charged planning with the responsibility of creating racially separated residential areas through a national policy. The major cities of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town busied themselves with reports and plans that were inspired by racial segregation. By the time the National Party came to power on platform of apartheid in 1948, as radical as their programs were, the mandate was given for racially divided cities and towns.

2.4 Apartheid Phase - from 1948 to 1994

The development of apartheid was shaped by ad hoc responses to the unintended consequences of particular policies as much as by foresight and control of its leading architects (Posel, 1991:20). What emerged was an urban form that was more structured and quartered than anything that had preceded it in either colonial or early industrial times (McCarthy 1991:260). This urban form is commonly known as the Apartheid City. This unique urban form followed the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which resulted in a massive social upheaval whose major characteristic was the relocation of Africans to the townships. The term township acquired its second and better-known meaning during this period: the large, segregated public housing estate, usually on or beyond the urban periphery. Thousands of people were moved in order to 'tidy up' cities that were already highly segregated (Mabin and Smit 1997:207). Compulsory segregation was the cornerstone of apartheid planning.

²⁰This meant confining Africans controlling the urbanization process of Africans by confining them in their 'own' areas.

In addition to the political climate that was conducive to racial segregation, high rates of economic growth provided the material base for the not so insubstantial investment which was required to realize the implementation of 'grand apartheid' (ibid.207). In addition to the building of townships on the periphery of the cities, there were also massive deportations to 'independent homelands', and influx control laws to stem the African urbanization into 'white' South Africa.

The result of apartheid planning is that South African cities are characterized by, among other things, very low densities/less compact development, poor public transport system, sprawl, separation, long commuting distances and a fragmented form of development, all of which were biased against the disadvantaged majority²¹.

The world infamous Apartheid City continues to be subjected to a lot of scrutiny and criticism, both local and international, by a diversity of interest groups, including planning academics and practitioners.

A lot has been written about the apartheid system in general and apartheid planning in particular. Various interpretations abound. As McCarthy (1991) has noted, the development and application of the Group Areas Act (a cornerstone of apartheid planning), has been subjected to various interpretations. On the one hand there are those who argue that apartheid was a centrally imposed system of racial segregation and oppression by an ethnically based political elite. On the other hand are those who point to local class alliances between business groups, local government officials and white working class organizations whose interests were at variance with black traders and the working class in general (ibid. 263). Whilst it is true that apartheid planning was characterized by top-down approaches to achieve its

²¹ See Dewar 1992, Muller 1982, 1995; Behrens and Watson 1996, and Behrens 1995, the MSDf technical report 1996 among others for a fuller discussion.

aims and objectives, this was preceded by a bottom-up approach of local, citywide coalitions along class and racial lines.

Forced removals during the 1950's and throughout the 1960's resulted in racially divided residential areas. Low density, sprawling suburban and township developments that were sponsored by the private sector and the government respectively were the hallmark of the period. Planning facilitated apartheid first by adapting the cellular nature of the Neighborhood Unit concept to suit racial segregation, each racial group confined into a 'self-sufficient' cell in terms of schools and other public services, and the building of an extensive road network to knit this exaggerated form of land use separation.

It is during this period that two most profound developments occurred, which in no small measure contributed to the nature of planning theory and practice in South Africa. The first was the creation of seven university schools of planning (mainly postgraduate) in 1965 as the demand for planning work increased²². The initial route into Town Planning in South Africa was primarily via a postgraduate diploma held in either Land Surveying, Architecture, or Engineering. Although a majority of urban planners (90.5%) received their qualification in this way, by 1967 the numbers started to drop significantly after a decade in favor of Bachelor and Masters degree qualifications, which accounted for a combined figure of 80% and 90% by the mid 1980s and 1990s respectively²³. The majority was under 34 years (47.5%), Afrikaans speaking (53%) and predominantly employed by the public sector that accounted for 86.9%, with 50% in local government in the middle of the 1960's. By the middle of the 1970's, the number of those in private practice had jumped from almost 9% to approximately 38% and by

²²Four of these schools were legally closed to African students, and the remaining three were open to African students under a permit system from the Minister of Education. The Bachelor degree was also introduced around this period.

beginning of the 1990 the figure stood at 47.7%. Interestingly enough, the number of women increased steadily from 30% out of a total of 1264 in 1977 to as high as 200 out of a total of 400 university graduates. The figure for Blacks (Africans, Indians, and Coloreds) stood at approximately 17% by 1994.

The significance of these figures can best be understood in conjunction with the second development, suffice to say that the majority was employed by the state to basically implement apartheid policies. The economic boom during this period afforded the state the means to finance mass removals and township building. This economic boom also spawned a vigorous land and property market in the cities, resulting among other things, from the suburbanization of the white middle class.

The second development was the division of the profession into two fairly hostile camps. Those who regarded themselves as technicist-built-environment professionals (Mabin and Smit 1997:208) worked in the private sector or for white local authorities, dealing with 'apolitical' issues including office park and retail developments, the introduction of free-ways, and density control measures.

The second group of planners also worked for the government at national and regional level, and a few worked in private practice either for NGO's or as self-employed consultants. A major concern of planning at those scales dealt with planning for 'Africans areas'.

Although white local authorities were initially responsible for African townships within their municipal boundaries, the central government transferred this responsibility to the 'Bantu Administration Boards' in the early

²³These and following figures come from an analysis of figures and tables in Badenhorst,'s (1994).

seventies as planning became more centralized. Since planning for Africans was a euphemism for control and oppression, state planners either inadvertently or by choice, facilitated the political motives of apartheid planning. The remaining minority worked with disadvantaged, mainly African communities as advocacy planners by creating alternative plans in an attempt to fight forced removals and relocations, which were couched along technical, and apolitical lines by state planners.

Bent Flyvbjerg's (1998:229) argues that his study of Aalborg illustrates, among other things the limitations of 'the force of argument' or rationality in contexts of power. He quotes from Machiavelli who argued that 'we must distinguish between.....those who to achieve their purpose can force the issue and those who must use persuasion. In the second case, they always come to grief'. To paraphrase Machiavelli, advocacy planners in South Africa, relying solely on the force of the argument, more often than not also came to grief. It is an uncomfortable fact that the key policy instruments of Apartheid were the law, the security forces, and the planning system (Talbot 2000:330).

This division of planning as a political and technical exercise was also strengthened by the emergence of predominantly white Technikon-based undergraduate planning education²⁴. Their location within the natural science faculties emphasized the prevailing idea of urban planning as a technical exercise. The syllabus emphasized the technical aspects of planning i.e. land use management and elementary design. Graduates from these institutions were regarded as planning technicians, a description that conferred less status within the planning fraternity. Graduates from these institutions worked mostly for local 'white' authorities as planning technicians.

²⁴ The equivalent of Polytechnics in the UK

The rigid central planning orientation of the 1960's soon became entangled in economic contradictions and inefficiencies that substantial 'reforms' were required in the 1970's and 1980's (McCarthy 1991:266).

The period was marked by massive civil unrest from all sectors of society²⁵, and more state repression.

By the latter part of the 1970's, the Urban Foundation was formed, a major lobby for policy which intended to facilitate private sector involvement in urban reconstruction (Mabin and Smit 1997:210). This paved the way for the involvement of the private sector in the provision of housing for the better-paid employees in the townships. The government reforms that followed were inspired by this initiative. The reforms marked a shift not only in the substance of planning policy, but also changes in the kinds of issues planners addressed, the locales within which they attempted to do so, and the theory in terms of which they pursued their changing practices (Mabin and Smit 1997:210). The importance of reforms and the central role of urban planning were marked by the relocation of the Department of Planning into the Prime Minister's office.

Reforms were introduced from national to local level. At national level, the tri-cameral parliament was introduced mainly for the co-optation of Indian and Colored people. Each of the racially divided houses of parliament was given a responsibility for planning and housing matters for their particular constituencies. At regional level, a new set of development regions was introduced (nine in all) that cut across the boundaries of the homelands, which had proven not to be economically viable on their own. Finally, at the local level, autonomous 'Black Local Authorities' (BLA's) were established in 1983 with some urban planning functions entrusted to them through the passage of the Black Communities Development Act.

The BLA's, like the homeland system, had a meager tax base due to an inadequate commercial and industrial base. Their areas of jurisdiction, the African townships, were predominantly residential. The problem was partially addressed by the introduction of the Regional Services Council (RSC) that had the power to raise taxes in `whites` areas and to spend it in African ones (ibid. 213). As McCarthy (1991) noted, the reforms operated more as guarded post hoc responses to changes that had already emerged on the ground.

These reforms were rejected by opponents of apartheid, especially the BLA's in the townships, which were regarded as part of apartheid planning²⁶. Furthermore, the accelerated pace of urbanization put more pressure on state resources to provide more housing and to upgrade informal settlements that had began to mushroom on the outskirts of the cities. This, coupled with the groundswell of opposition to apartheid, both local and international, and the tightening economic sanctions during the middle of the 1980's, forced the government to introduce more reforms. The new reforms marked a paradigm shift away from `grand apartheid`, which was characterized by a tightly ordered city, a city in which Africans were temporary sojourners who were renting township houses provided by the state. As part of the reforms, the government passed the White Paper on Urbanization in 1986 whose significance lay in reversing years of anti-urbanization policy against Africans. Urbanization was now regarded as positive and inevitable, the influx control laws were abolished and `orderly urbanization` adopted as policy. Accordingly, new politically and economically autonomous satellite towns were established on the urban fringes to accommodate the growing urban population.

²⁵This included trade union strikes, consumer boycotts, student protests, municipal bus strikes, mass rallies and demonstrations, the formation of street committees etc. Some rightfully regard this period as the birth of the civic movement in South Africa.

²⁶In addition, corruption and rent increase also led to revolts against BLA's.

The abolishing of the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation, and the adoption of a positive urbanization strategy greatly altered the map of the urban areas. A smaller numbers of middle and upper income Blacks²⁷ were absorbed into existing white areas, a majority moved into the new orderly satellite towns on the urban fringes, and others moved into the new, privately built, township extensions. Broad racial land allocation continued, along with newly emerging class distinction, to be the central vision of these reforms from above. The attempt at privatized and (still) segregated urban reconstruction had changed the cities, but failed to deliver political stability (Mabin and Smit op cit. 213).

Two major political developments occurred in the Southern African region that had enormous implications for the struggle against apartheid, and the survival of white minority rule in that region.

The first concerned the independence of Mozambique in 1975 following the communist aligned victory of Frelimo. In June 16,1976, student uprisings began in Soweto. The immediate issues at stake were educational, but the wider context of rejection of oppressive rule, deteriorating social and economical conditions and nascent political organization lay beneath the spreading uprising (Mabin and Smit op cit. 209). The second development was the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. South Africa was under even more pressure from the international community through economic sanctions, and internally as the dynamics of the struggle started to change. The middle of the 1980's saw a rise in civic organizations, what Manuel Castells (1977) regarded as urban social movements. The civics mobilized mainly around the so-called 'bread and butter' issues (rent and transport), but gradually encompassing other issues by joining ranks with the trade union movement, and urban planning related issues. In their struggles against the state, they

²⁷The term Black refers to African, Indian and Coloreds.

often needed some form of technical support and began interacting with urban planning students and academics through university based non-government organizations, which were established for the purpose of assisting civics²⁸.

The significance of this development was that perhaps for the first time in South Africa, some urban planners tried actively to support the most disadvantaged segments of the South African society. However, it was also clear that the vast majority of South African planners were slow to adopt the same approach. A volatile South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP) conference in 1985 served as a platform for planners to debate political issues openly. The conference revealed that planning under apartheid increasingly created disillusionment amongst a sizeable proportion of practicing planning professionals (Mabin and Smit op cit. 213). It is also worth noting that the number of planners in private practice had started to decline from 37.8% in 1977, to 33.9% by 1983, mainly due to international economic sanctions.

As the 1980's drew to a close, South Africa was in a pall of gloom. The reforms from above were increasingly becoming the center of conflict and resistance in the middle of the 1980's. Although the state initially responded by using the military to restore order, economic stagnation, international isolation, growing dissatisfaction of the business community, war weariness (Mabin and Smit op cit. 214), and the continued resistance against the last structures that represented white rule in South Africa, all contributed towards the political changes.

The beginning of the 1990's saw South Africa moving into a period of transition towards a negotiated political democracy.

²⁸These groups included the Built Environment Support Group in Durban, Plannact in Johannesburg, and Development Action Group in Cape Town.

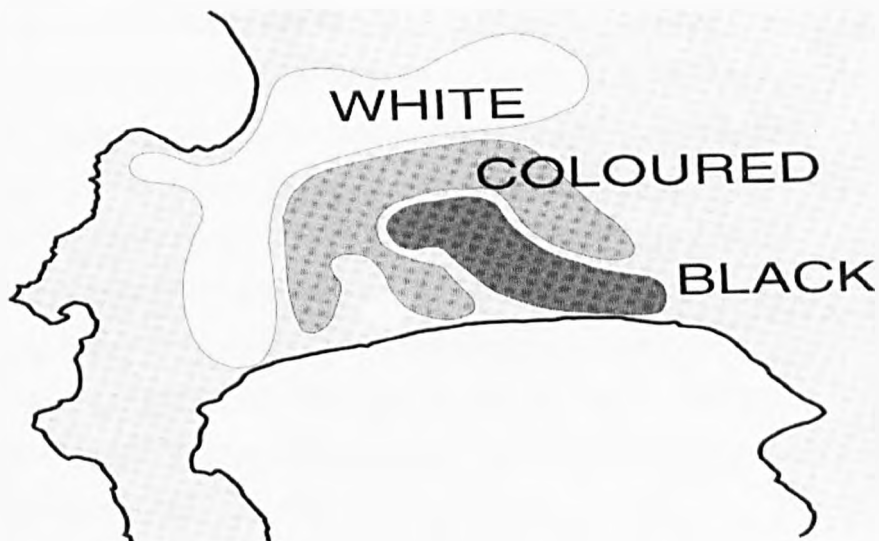
All political parties and organizations were unbanned, and a range of remaining apartheid apparatuses, many of which had relevance to urban planning were abolished. Notable among these was the Department of Development Aid, which handled all the affairs of Africans, including town planning and housing was abolished in 1990. For the first time urban planning freed from its commitment to racially divided space. Negotiation, discussion and community participation formed the basis of the new planning approach. In addition, the Less Formal Township Development Act of 1991 was passed to speed up the development of land for housing shortage (Claassen 1993:3, Mabin and Smit op cit. 214). The Independent Development Trust was also formed which devoted its resources to the delivery of services to 100 000 sites limited to those on the lowest incomes, roughly half through upgrading existing informal settlements and half in 'green fields' projects (Mabin and Smit op cit. 214).

The thawing of the political environment in the 1990s also unleashed a series of documents and academic papers that were highly critical of apartheid urban planning. South African cities were criticized among other things for being inefficient due to low densities and sprawl; poor public transportation, and mono-functional land uses that rely mainly on private car usage; lack of a unique character, poor public spaces. The majority of the calls made were for higher densities and a more compact urban development through in-filling. Other argued for an emphasis on urban quality.²⁹

Although there was a consensus on the need for some form of urban reconstruction, the direction of this reconstruction tended to reinforce the existing spatial pattern of sprawl and segregation. The calls for functionally efficient and compact cities were undermined by an emphasis on shallow subsidies to boost housing supply that implied a sea of site-and-service schemes on the urban periphery.

²⁹See Behrens 1996, Behrens and Watson 1996; Dewar 1992; Dewar et al 1992 among others.

Figure 3: Racial residential segregation according to apartheid planning in Cape Town.



Source: Metropolitan Special Development Framework, 1996.

Unlike in the 1980's, more urban planners had also started showing an interest in post-apartheid planning, illustrated by a series of four conferences that were held by the SAITRP on such topics. The pace of the political changes, especially between 1985 and 1995 caught the planning profession on the wrong foot. The slowness of the SAITRP's responses to these changes sparked a move, mostly by Black planners who were by now constituting 17.7% of the profession, to create a new planning organization called Development Planning Association (DPA) in 1993. Negotiations between the two bodies resulted in both voting to merge in a new South African Planning Institution (SAPI) in 1996.

Whether one of the most lasting legacies of urban Apartheid planning in South Africa will prove to be the racially segregated nature of its towns and cities (Cloete 1991:91), still remains to be seen.

2.5 Post-Apartheid Phase – from 1994 to the present

The African National Congress (ANC) and its alliance produced a manifesto for the 1994 more democratic elections titled the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It comprised a major programme of reinvestment in South African infrastructure and social development. The Government of National Unity (GNU) turned this programme into policy, and a powerful ministry of RDP was also established to lead the process of reconstructing the country. Every government department project was subjected to the approval of the RDP Ministry for funding³⁰. But the responsibility for implementing these projects and programmes lay with the departments themselves.

Presidential Lead Projects were also established in several areas funded from the national RDP budget (R2,5bn) sought for various projects including rebuilding houses, sanitation projects, community facilities, targeted free health services, and school feeding schemes³¹. In addition, enabling pieces of legislation like the Development Facilitation Act, was passed in 1995 to speed the development process. This act required local authorities to set land development objectives, and provided for a Commission to lead further change in planning. To paraphrase Mabin (1995), a program of planned oppression was being replaced by yet another equally planned program of emancipation.

³⁰ The Minister of Finance cut funds which might otherwise go to the departments, and then allocates it to the RPD fund.

³¹ Presidential Lead projects were priority projects with the special presidential stamp. The President had promised to show tangible RDP results with 100 days.

By early 1996 the RDP office was closed and scaled back to a small Development Planning branch of the President's Office. Speculations abound as to the main reasons why the ministry folded. These range from the inherent problems of central government projects (bureaucratic red tape, incapacity to implement and monitor, power struggles), and the limited capacities of governments to effect development in a different world environment. Despite these problems, in the run-up to South Africa's second more democratic elections in 1999, which the ANC won by 66%, the new President reaffirmed the relevancy of the RDP as broad policy to his government. The next chapter will critically examine the 'relevancy' of the RDP in light of its debatable success.

In other words, can modern planning succeed in an environment that bears the characteristics of a post-modern condition? What are the possibilities of modern planning in a post-modern environment?

2.6 Conclusion

The above discussion has served to highlight McCarthy's (1991) observation that the existing spatial forms of South African cities have been shaped by many forces. The colonial systems of political domination that required spatial distancing of the residential settlement patterns of the colonizer and colonized resulted in official urban segregation. The need for a cheap and divided labor force in the diamond mines in the middle of 1800's led to the development of single sex labor compounds that were provided by employers. The development of African townships from 1904 onwards, was also informed by the need for reservoirs of cheap labor. The seeds for urban segregation were sowed.

Following the emergence of the poor white problem in the 1900 that threatened the racial political order on which South African capitalism was built.

Job reservation and welfare programmes were introduced to alleviate this crisis. Direct state intervention to ensure a strict racial segregation became more significant.

The prevailing attitude among officials was that cities were for whites, and that Africans were temporary sojourners whose 'tribal ways left them ill equipped to deal with the health and social hazards of the city' (Parnell 1993). A plethora of legislation buttressed this view. The early, most significant of these legislation included the Land Act of 1913, Public Health Act of 1919, the Housing Act of 1920, and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923. The latter restricted Africans to compounds and townships, and the former two enhanced the urban living conditions of the white working class. This direct state intervention to enforce urban segregation was at its peak from 1950 until 1990, the infamous apartheid era.

The emergence of the white mainly Afrikaner working-class as a constituency in local government politics did not go unnoticed. Local coalitions among the white working class, politicians and business were also instrumental in shaping urban racial segregation. As McCarthy (1991) noted, this remarkable congruence of local state designs with ultimate land use and segregation outcomes serves as a reminder that it was not simply a coalition forged at the level of the nation state that realized patterns of urban apartheid.

The Political reforms were indispensable for the survival of the system since its inception. Attempts at controlling the urbanization of Africans were not succeeding, the struggle against apartheid was intensifying, and the economy was beleaguered as a result of international economic sanctions, and economic inefficiencies of apartheid planning.

Planned oppression officially ended in 1993, and the era of planned emancipation began in 1994 with the first more democratic elections. A new coalition was forged among business, government and community organization around a new vision (RDP) for the purpose of rebuilding the country. Local political interests, sometimes at variance with national government have proved once again proved, as they did in the 1920 and 1930's, to be decisive in shaping national policy. If this history is anything to go by, it is likely that much will depend upon local urban development initiatives taken at specific cities, and upon the role played by various class and political groupings in relation to the local state (McCarthy op cit.: 267). In addition, the limited ability of the nation state to effect development in the context of powerful global market forces that eschews government involvement in favor of deregulation poses a major obstacle, especially for developing countries like South Africa.

Did the emancipatory movements forged in the modernist era (like the ANC) find themselves able to move towards (some) power precisely because the old patterns of accumulation had cracked and even crumbled as Mabin (1995) suggests? Is the narrative of contemporary change in South African cities partly about the problems of finding a means to handle, politically, waking up in a postmodern era while equipped only with the politics and planning practices of a modernist past as Mabin (1995) stated?

Chapter 5 tries to answer these questions by critically evaluating the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the post-apartheid Government of the National Unity (GNU) in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

Post-modern or Late Modern Planning Thought: Relevance to South African urban planning context

‘The most satisfying story about postmodern urban forms is a story about real people and power’.

(Zukin, 1995)

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is broadly, to explore the relevance of post-modern planning theory in a post-apartheid South African planning context. Sandercock (1998:104) points out, ‘the need for different kinds of theories as societies change. Theoretical restructuring is a necessary accompaniment to economic and demographic restructuring’.

South African society is going through a process of unprecedented social change, from an oppressive to a more democratic social system. The relevance of post-modernism may lie in that it has given voice to many previously silent peoples of multiple persuasions (Dear 1999:149).

The previous chapter has tried to demonstrate, among other things, how modern state planning in South Africa was instrumental in the attempts at dictating the structure of South African cities. In both cases apartheid and post-apartheid planning, the outcome resembled anything but that which was intended. The idea of an impartial expert was never tenable (given partial outcomes) in the absence of adequate state sanctioned regulations and the will to enforce them.

Muller (1995, 1998) argued that planning in South Africa needs a ‘paradigm of enablement’ to inform planning theory and practice because the notion of a single paradigm for planning was longer supportable.

This follows the dismantling of the apartheid regime that informed both planning theory and practice. The view expressed in this research echoes these and Allmendinger's (2001:5) sentiments, which are worth quoting in full:

`.....society is shifting to new or postmodern times which both favour and require different conceptions of planning not founded in eighteenth century ideals. Economic, cultural and political globalizations, as well as their manifestations, have led to changed sensibilities, outlooks and expectations. In such a world the plurality of positions and values means that it is difficult to impose one particular view and justify it over others. This fragmentation has had a significant impact upon social theory and planning`.

Both apartheid and post-apartheid modern planning were undermined by these shifts that Allmendinger talks about and the response of planning theory and practice has been the kind of adaptations that Sandercock also mentions below. It has indeed been argued by numerous postmodern thinkers that planning had to adapt to these changes in order to remain relevant as a social practice.

In the following section, the basic tenets of post-modern planning thought will be discussed. Can post-modern planning provide the `paradigm of enablement` that Muller talks about? To answer this question, it is first necessary to turn the discussion to the basic tenets of modern planning theory, which renders them problematic. This will then be followed by a discussion on the basic tenets of post-modern theory and their relevance to post apartheid South Africa, and urban planning in particular.

3.2 Some tenets of modern rational planning

Given the long history of discussions regarding the rational model, there is no claim for an exhaustive description and critique of this model. The goal is to point to the common problematic issues identified in literature.

The intellectual roots of the rational model stem from four well intentioned

but internal contradictory foundation movement, which represented a reaction against the church-state monopoly on power and knowledge (Dear 1999:146)'. The rational model is characterized by the following attributes that are common in the literature:

- Scientism: science and its methods is the only source of knowledge
- Foundationalism: absolute foundations for universal truth can be established through rational means
- Positivism: only empirical knowledge is valid
- Rationalism: reason as the only basis for knowledge
- Dualism: privileging rational discourse that posits reason and emotion as mutually exclusive
- Objectivity: there is rational structure to reality amenable through reason, the rigor dominated reductionist model of enquiry with an abiding faith in the power of logical analysis and discrimination
- Universalism: derives from the combination of scientific methods and an impartial and psychologically unbounded actor, which are independent of any context/tradition and hence universally applicable.

In Town Planning, this meant that it was only possible to solve urban (social) problems by means of a rational process of comprehensive city planning (Bourassa 1989:293, Sandercock 1998). This model was transported to the colonies, including South Africa, where it was later combined with apartheid planning in the 1950s. The Second World War was the great catalyst that brought the state to adopt the modern planning and set up a rational comprehensive planning system at national level (Harrison 1996:31). The institutionalized profession was co-opted by the South African state to promote white colonial settlement (Parnell 1993) and from the early 1950's onwards, to further the aims of apartheid planning (Chapter 2).

South African cities are therefore a product of both modern and apartheid planning (Dewar 2000). However, post-apartheid planning contains elements of both modern and post-modern. Watson (1998) contends that early post-apartheid planning initiatives came closer to collaborative planning. For Mabin (1995) however, both apartheid and post-apartheid planning are based on modern rational planning whose aim is to bring order to South African cities, one through planned oppression and the other through planned emancipation (Chapter 2).

3.3 Working Definition of Post-modernism

Post-modernism is defined here as an integration of aspects of both modernism and post-modernism, recognizing that planning does not have a single method independent of context. As Allmendinger (1998:246) puts it:

‘It is not only the breakdown of over-arching meta-theories (as these can and still do exist), but also could be more accurately portrayed as an existence, search and desirability of difference that does not preclude sameness’.

For Sandercock (1995:78), it is a multiplicity of critical, deconstructive, and oppositional voices telling us what is wrong with our cities a way of being, knowing, acting, and loving.....(p. 79). The purpose of planning then becomes the empowerment of those who have been systematically disempowered by structural inequalities of class, race and gender (Sandercock 1998:65). Planning theory then becomes thought crafted to guide practice Sandercock (1995:79).

Harvey (1993:63) proposes a multi-dimensional conception of social justice, which implicitly is universal but must be construed in a dialectical relation to particularity and context and open to negotiation. This speaks to the sameness that Allmendinger (1998) mentioned and empowerment in Sandercock (1995).

Therefore the definition of post-modernism adopted here represents a synthesis of ideas from a diversity of writers who are concerned about issues of social justice, empowerment and cultural diversity/difference.

3.4 Some basic tenets of post-modernism

Starting from early dents in the rational comprehensive model of planning in the sixties and seventies, for over two decades planning theory has seen a steadily increasing assault against the modern rational planning paradigm (Verma 1996). The assault emanates from a variety of sources both within the planning profession and outside, largely from those affected, yet marginalized and excluded through the established culture of planning. The former argues that planning needs to adapt to the world around it that is characterized more and more by a diverse and multi-cultural public that both questions and render past planning theory and practice irrelevant. It is this epistemological `sin` of putting a high premium on positivism/scientific rationality that the latter was found not only dis-empowering, but also marginalizing of other equally legitimate forms of knowledge. Put differently, a single paradigm for planning is no longer legitimate in the context of the current social transformation. How these valid concerns should inform planning practice is still not yet clear.

The distance between planning theory and practice is still as great as ever (Dear 1986, Allmendinger 1998). Planning theory continues to focus on normative concerns while planning practice is characterized as a fusion or hybrid that encompasses modernisms' universalization of totality and post-modernisms' universalization of difference (Allmendinger, 1998:228) or what Verma (1996) regards as a "pragmatic rationality" that practitioners employ. Planning practice has, as result turned into an 'isolated Babel of languages' that are 'incommensurable' and 'pastiche of practice' (Dear 1986).

There is no claim for an exhaustive description of this model. The goal is to

point to the most common problematic issues identified in most of the literature on the subject.

Postmodernism is broadly described as anything along a continuum from revision of modernism, to a displacement of major modernist tenets, to a successor of modernism (Milroy 1991). However, the ranging debate about what does or does not constitute postmodernism is not a mere disagreement about the use or misuse of the phrase. It highlights how we interpret the current cultural crisis in our society and best muster the resources from the past and present to alleviate this crisis (West 1993).

As Dear (1999) has suggested, there are many ways in which the problematic of modernity can be demonstrated. However, following Milroy (1991) and other postmodern writers, there are five common and interrelated characteristics that comprise the post-modern critique of modern rational planning. Anti-foundationalist (dispensing with universals as a basis for truth); deconstructive (questions and establishes a skeptical distance from conventional beliefs), non-dualist (rejects fact/value separation and other dualisms); encouraging of plurality and 'difference' (due to demographic restructuring of cities coupled with the rise in identity-based social movements, issues of difference, multiculturalism), and the economic shift (post-fordism and flexible forms of accumulation). The following is a more elaborate discussion of each of these tenets.

(i) Anti-foundationalism

One of the main thrusts of the postmodern critique of the rational model is that there are no universal bedrock truths, no brute data amenable only through objective and scientific enquiry, and that other modes of knowing have equal legitimacy (Milroy 1991, Sandercock 1995, 1998; Verma 1996).

It dispenses with universals as basis for truth in favor of subjective, localized

forms of knowledge. That knowledge is a social construct (Beauregard 1991, Milroy 1991, Verma 1996), and as such, elevates the understanding and validity of different contexts in which knowledge is generated and shared. This has been interpreted in certain quarters as resulting in incommensurability, and a babel of irreconcilable and ambiguous languages. Not only does this sort of theoretical abstraction fly in the face of the reality of coalition building as demonstrated in the previous chapters, it also suffers from if/then dualism of modernism and results in calls for a new meta-narrative. As Milroy points out, it is not a replacement; it is a case of both/and (1991:185). In short, the absence of meta-narrative does not necessarily have to lead to incommensurability. But claims of the modernist project, namely, positivism, scientism, objectivism, rationalism, all of which leads to some universal prospectus on the rational society of the future (Harvey 1993:593) must still be rejected. Postmodernism is a rejection of totality (Goodchild 1990) or totalizing discourse that leads to master-narratives. Such a view of planning attributes vast cognitive powers to the human mind and presents a simplified picture of the complexities of planning. This calls for an anti-foundationalist epistemology that accommodates difference and diversity in our cities whilst at the same time not wallowing in wishy-washy pluralism and debilitating political correctness (Dear 1999: 149).

Most critics of the rational model have formulated alternative models that give a nod to certain realities while seeking to preserve the virtues of the rational model (Milroy 1991, Baum 1996). Disjointed incrementalism (Lindblom 1963), mixed scanning (Etzioni 1968), critical pragmatism (Forester 1989), the neo-pragmatic approach of Harper and Stein, (1995) and pragmatic rationalism (Verma 1996) are familiar examples. The last three reflect the rise in American pragmatism following the uncovering of class, race and gender cleavages that made distributional solutions, absent re-distributional moves, suspect (Beauregard 1998:99). Central to these

approaches is a call for a broader pragmatic sense of rationality as opposed to the strict and narrow one espoused by the rational model.

The call for multiple rationalities (Harvey 1993:594), and various forms of participatory planning (transactive, advocacy etc.) albeit laudable, smack of opportunism to help planning operate in a highly combative environment (Filion 1999: 422). The very popular paradigms of planning, communicative action and collaborative planning by Forester and Healey respectively are based upon the revised modernist notion of consensus (Allmendinger 2001:5). Emphasis is on communication as the pivotal element of practice. Through communicative action, progressive planning resists the power relations that are embedded in capitalist democracies (Beauregard 1998:97). Social competencies are also important. Planners will be effective to the degree that they are professionally able, organizationally astute, and politically literate.

(ii) The economic shift

Over the past two decades the public policy debate has moved the market onto center stage and displaced the use of social policy to deliver maintenance of social cohesion (Cox, 1999). This represents the widespread political pressure to reduce the social roles as well as the economic powers of governments, with proponents claiming that the institutional structure of the 'welfare state' has failed to alleviate poverty or social problems. The effects of such influence are seen in moves towards the contracting out of many public sector services under the claim that these can be offered more efficiently when driven by the profit motif (Cox 1999:76).

Postmodernism is regarded as a new stage/displacement (Milroy 1991:183) of the political economy of modernity with its Fordist methods of mass production and consumption, welfare state policies, and economic growth

(Beauregard 1991). Instead, a new epoch (Dear 1986:174) characterized by post-Fordist methods of flexible accumulation and highly segmented consumption lifestyles, shifts to financial services, conservative state policies, and increasing socioeconomic inequalities has emerged (Beauregard 1998:190). This has resulted, among other things, in the unprecedented impact of market forces on everyday life that constitutes one of the major determinants of the postmodern condition. This penetration of multinational capitalism into all spaces creates a new dominant culture (Jameson 1984) resulting from the cultural logic associated with late capitalism. Since market forces revolve around the buying and selling of commodities (commodification), including human bodies, this commodity culture is institutionally recognized, and thereby effectively colonized. As society and culture evolves around the buying and selling of commodities for stimulatory pleasures, people find counsel, consolation and captivity in mobs. Fashionable ideas, fashionable clothes and fashionable xenophobias easily seduce mobs (West, 1993:41). This according to West turns Lyotard's conception of postmodern culture on its head. There is not incredulity towards master narratives. 'Instead, the fashionable narratives are nationalistic, usually xenophobic with strong religious, racial, patriarchal and homophobic tones'. In short, one of the major culprits of our time is the extent to which market forces have penetrated society in general.

This has a tremendous impact on the planning profession, both in theory and practice. For example, Bourassa (1989) and Sandercock (1995) identified two types of postmodernism. For Bourassa (1989:296), reactionary postmodernism is characterized by the lack of social ideals:

'..... an inability to plan the form of the city, an abdication to market forces of control over urban form. Instead of a reformist concern with improving the quality of life in the city, there is a passive accommodation of the market. Planning is a matter of managing programs and reacting to market demands rather than a matter of imagining the future of the city'.

For him postmodernism of resistance is analogous to critical regionalism,

which 'goes beyond the vernacular and the universal in a creative synthesis to enhance the identities of place, to intensify their cultural significance. It seeks to increase the cultural density of the built environment':

'It recognizes the importance of context, but this recognition is not limited to the acknowledgement of existing architectural forms. It also appreciates the significance of local culture, social institutions, techniques, climate, and topography. The critical regionalist is aware of the universal techniques, but does not apply them arbitrarily, without respect to local conditions. At the same time, the critical regionalist does not resort to a sentimental vernacular or a reactionary historicism (Bourassa 1989)'.

For Sandercock there are radical/oppositional as well as conservative/acquiescent tendencies (1995:78). Bourassa's postmodernism of resistance therefore corresponds to Sandercock's radical/oppositional postmodernism, and conservative/acquiescent tendencies correspond to reactionary postmodernism. Implicit in the latter two is Dear's (1999) issue of relevance/commitment. By this he meant that postmodernism has given voice to many previously silent peoples of multiple persuasions (ibid. 149). In other words the relevance of postmodernism lies in the fact that it speaks to the unique qualities of places, precisely those areas that were marginalized by the modern age; what Sandercock (1995) regards as the 'voices from the borderlands', the marginalized groups.

(iii) Plurality and Difference

Modern planning has been criticized for marginalizing and oppressing different and diverse points of view. This stems from privileging the rational scientific model that subscribes to positivism (only empirical knowledge is valid), foundationalism (absolute foundation for universal truth can be established), and scientism (science and its method is the only source of knowledge). Even the most popular Habermasian communicative action has been criticized for tolerating difference as opposed to 'celebrating' it as being the essence of identity (Hillier 1998). Other forms of knowledge that

are not based on reason and its derivative, science, are relegated to the private as opposed to the public realm. This separation of facts from values is based on the ideal of impartiality that is imposed on anyone who enters the public arena (Beauregard 1998). Self-regarding behavior (values/subjectivity) is deemed to be inappropriate in public affairs. Thus any form of identity or reference to self, emotions/values is regarded as irrational, unscientific and therefore unacceptable.

The obsession of western philosophy with grand abstractions like truth/knowledge and rationality reverberates throughout Flyvbjerg's writings (1998,2001, 2002). He regards his writings as following Nietzsche's work who supplanted the concept of truth by that of power, claiming that the truth is indistinguishable from the will to power. Foucault (1972) also embraced the notion of truth as a form of power.

Others (Milroy 1991, Verma 1996, Beauregard 1998) have argued that reality (including truth and knowledge) is socially constructed, and as such renders the separation of facts from values problematic because it marginalizes, disempowers and stifles dialogue. Most important is that the universal claim of the rational model is nothing but the universalizing of the particular concerns of white, male European culture (Beauregard 1998:94). The relativity of knowledge/truth contextualises planning theory, practice and meaning thereby making it relevant and more responsive to local issues. In a nutshell, this is the position of the thesis, the implications of which are explored in depth in Chapter 8.

The marginalisation of diversity has led to a call for an epistemology of multiplicity (Sandercock 1995, 1998), a discourse of others (Foster 1985) that deconstructs the rational model on the one hand, while 'celebrating' multiculturalism on the other.

(iv) Non-Dualism

Non-dualism displaces major modernist tenets like separation of facts from values or subject from object, and promotes pluralism and diversity.

According to Milroy, one of postmodernism's compelling features is the cultivation of both/and a logic of supplementarity to challenge the monarchy of binary oppositions (1991:185). Verma (1996) argues that Dualism drains legitimacy from the many alternative ways of 'knowing', whilst pluralism, which is instead proposed as a substitute for dualism, is a model where many modes of knowing have legitimacy and where the dominance of a single tradition can be countered by other equally compelling traditions.

The resulting ambiguities provide spaces where opportunities for creative engagement lie (Milroy 1991), instead of hopeless and irreconcilable differences that seem to characterize some post-modern writers. A different set of skills, of which communication is pivotal, is called for to create dialogues for unraveling shared meanings as opposed to a narrow positivist epistemology of the rational paradigm. In short, no single voice of reason can exist against, or in service of, a multi-vocal democracy (Beauregard 1991).

(v) Deconstruction

Deconstruction is at the core of postmodernism. It does not only question and establish a skeptical distance from conventional beliefs but also endeavors both to ascertain who derives value from upholding their authority and to displace them (Dear 1986, Milroy 1991). In this sense it is anti-foundationalist, non-dualist, and encouraging of plurality and difference.

Baum's (1996) work is therefore at the core of deconstruction. It seeks to explain the persistence of rational model despite the criticism leveled against it. He identified reasons such as bureaucratic pressure, psychological comfort of avoiding a messy reality in favor of a predictable

world, and the professional status attached to the scientific approach of problem solving.

Deconstruction has been suggested as a method for postmodernism (Dear 1986) to open up problematics in modernism (Milroy 1991:185). The act of problematising modernism through deconstruction suggests opposition/resisting the status quo and ultimately the fashioning of an alternative, more democratic view, what Sandercock (1995) regards as an epistemology of multiplicity.

Let us return to the earlier challenge posed by Muller's (1995) call for a 'paradigm of enablement' to inform planning theory and practice in a post-apartheid South Africa. The answer to this question depends on one's interpretation of this crisis of a profession in a state of flux. His view seems to lie in the need for planning as a profession to return to its roots in reform and a concern for the less privileged members of society. Muller (1998) is even more explicit in his later work by rejecting the notion of a single paradigm as unsupportable, and instead advocating for a plurality of models that can be used 'a la carte depending on the context. The implicit notion of empowerment in both Muller's works establishes some parallels with the work of most post-modern writers sighted above. Following Sandercock (1998) and others, the view expressed here is that there is a 'multitude of voices' that were previously marginalized by the dominance of the rational paradigm in planning. The relevance of post-modernism lies in acknowledging this marginalization. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

But as Allmendinger rightfully noted (2001:5), simply acknowledging the plurality of models is not enough:

'In a world where powerful interests can choose from a selection of competing paradigms for planning there is a danger, if not inevitability, that public

intervention in land will continue to favor such interests. What is needed is an approach that is flexible enough to allow different paradigms to exist that can challenge dominant thinking and the protectionist interests that currently prop planning up`.

In South Africa, new planning practices appropriate to the specific postmodern circumstances of fragmentation, segregation and exclusion have already begun to emerge. During apartheid, planners, developers and the government agreed what the ideal city should look like, and were very effective in creating it because their goals overlapped, albeit for different reasons (Schoonraad 2000). Procedurally, planning was characterized by a top-down, blueprint approach, resulting in what Flyvbjerg (1998) regarded as `social engineering`. Schoonraad (Op cit.:225) puts it as follows:

`The character of planning has changed dramatically since then largely in reaction to apartheid planning and in line with the emerging international trends, such as increased competition between regions (Brotchie et al., 1995), communicative planning (Healey, 1992) and urban governance (World Bank, 1999)`.

Both substance and procedural planning has been transformed significantly. Procedurally, planning has shifted towards a strategic development process and an emphasis on public participation and consensus seeking. Substantive changes have to do with various strategies for promoting integration.

For example, the popular idea of compact development is aimed at integrating what has been fragmented spatially and socially. In local negotiations, thus, definitely postmodernist conceptions begin unconsciously to inform the shaping of how to move forward (Mabin, 1995).

The relevance of post-modern planning theory to South African Post-Apartheid planning urban planning

‘Planning should be with rather than for (sic) people, acknowledging and respecting the differences between them’.

J. Hillier, 1998.

The relevance of post-modernism planning to the South African situation has to do with historical reasons, the relatively recent social transformation, and issues raised by the case study. The historical reasons have to do with the fact that South African society is already multi-ethnic long before the advent of colonialism, and multi-national and therefore multi-cultural after colonial conquest (Chapter 1 and 2). Cultural diversity is therefore constitutive of the South African society. Modern and apartheid planning exploited this diversity to impose racial segregation and oppression, and what Yiftachel (2001) regards as economic retardation. To the extent that post-modernism speaks to these issues by repudiating top-down homogeneity, centralization and uniformity and instead promotes heterogeneity, plurality and diversity (Muller 1998), is regarded as more relevant to South African planning.

The social transformation has to with the ‘shifts’ (Mabin 1995) taking place in South African society over the last decade and a half. It has been mentioned in the previous Chapters that South African society is going through an unprecedented process of social transformation. The planning profession is also at the forefront of the endeavor not only to understand this transformation process, but also to use that understanding in order to inform a new planning theory and practice. For example, Mabin (1995:192) talks about what he regards as ‘shifts’ in South Africa, which introduces a new set of realities to which planning practice and theory must respond. Notable among these are:

`.... the freeway shift involving massive public investment in infrastructure, that has transformed metropolitan areas in the direction of suburbanization of various economic activities; the built environment shift marked `greater investment in office building, luxury housing and waterfront development and less on manufacturing plant, affordable housing and public open space`; classes have polarized – wealth, poverty, the rise of homelessness, abandoned ghettos and luxury enclaves ... A new form of fragmentation and segregation of space emerges; and a negotiation shift – ... neither existing authorities nor emancipatory movements believe that they possess the sole franchise on urban management any longer; there has been a diversity shift – cultural and linguistic... which is (becoming more pronounced now).....`.

The undoubtedly familiar characteristics outlined above mark the `new times` that characterize post-modernism in South Africa. The combinations of these factors have, no doubt, transformed planning practice into anything but rational and planning theory into a state of disarray in South Africa. Confusion and uncertainty abound on the meanings and implications of post-modern shift for planners. On the one hand is an emerging orthodoxy, emanating largely from academics and researchers on the compact city approach (Dewar, 2000, Todes et al, 2000) to overcome segregation and spatial fragmentation. On the other hand are those who caution against such approaches (Mabin, 1995, Schoonraad, 2000) of integration in the face of the new emerging powerful forces of fragmentation.

Another, which also matches such a prescriptive approach, is a call for a `paradigm of enablement` and a return to reform and concern for those less fortunate (Muller 1995)¹, a nostalgic harking back to tradition. Equally, negotiations, community-wide participation schemes, mediations and consensus seeking are also part of the emerging planning initiatives (Watson 1998).

The claims for space to practice initiation present another challenge to modern planning methods. Modern planning techniques alone are not adequate to address the range of issues presented by the case study

(Chapter 6). The anti-foundationalism and anti-positivism in post-modern planning theory is much more inclusive. Post-modern planning theory enables planning theory and practice to respond to what Sandercock (1998) regards as 'other ways of doing and knowing'.

It is these 'other ways of knowing' that the claim for space to practice initiation demands of planners in South Africa.

In short, there continues to be significant substantive and procedural changes in the practice of planning as a result of the combination of the above factors. Planning continues to shift from blueprint or master planning towards a strategic development planning process (Schoonraad, 2000:225), negotiation and consensus seeking (Watson op cit). Substantive issues have increasingly to do with environmental concerns and the ephemeral ones of consumption like shopping malls, office parks, entertainment districts, and more recently, the boom in gated communities (Gnad et al 2002). Research on the effects of these 'shifts' on planning as Mabin (1995) pointed out, is still at its infancy.

However, the changes discussed above mask some of the continuities of the past like marginalisation of certain groups whose issues are still yet to make it to the public agenda for debate and discussion²; the unequal distribution of power in society with the power of land rent, as opposed to the state as before, now determine the urban footprint; and the persistence of the rational model. The prevailing macro economic climate of neo-economic liberalism informs planning practice and as such confirms the view that planning exists to help the market and support capitalism, and not to supplant it (Allmendinger 2001).

¹Although he later (1998) welcomed the plurality of models to be applied a la carte depending on situations and circumstances.

²For example spaces for ceremonial traditional practices such as rites of passage.

Dear (1999) argued that the relevance of postmodernism is based on commitment to a cause, dealing with pertinent issues, and application of relevant principles. Pertinent issues in post-apartheid South Africa have to do with resisting oppression and marginalisation, and bringing criticism to bear on the dominance of modern rational planning that perpetuates the status quo. The final section on the relevance of post-modernism to South Africa is therefore the oppositional aspects of post-modernism and some of the criticism leveled against post-modern planning.

3.5 Lift Every Voice: The post-modernism of Resistance

Zukin (1995) states that the most satisfying story about postmodern urban form is the story about real people and power. Postmodernism has given voice to many previously silent people of multiple persuasions (Dear 1999). It is a multiplicity of critical, deconstructive and oppositional voices (Sandercock, 1995). Postmodernism emphasizes the benefits of diversity (Goodchild 1990), as Sandercock (1995:79) explains:

‘We are being challenged in the city and in the academy by frontiers of difference. We must listen to these voices, for they are not only telling us what is wrong with our cities, but also what is wrong with our way of looking at the world, and providing clues as to what might be better ways of dealing with both’.

In the words of an African-American spiritual, post-modernism is more democratic because it ‘lifts every voice’ in order to be heard. It opens up the planning process in a way which is typically denied by an emphasis on technical rationality (Goodchild, 1990:119), affording people the right to have a say in planning matters that have a bearing in their immediate environment. However, this extends beyond mere participation in planning as emphasized by the liberal approach. It embraces different ways of knowing, acting and being in the world. Planning theory would become much more than a reflection on planning practice, but instead more akin to

`thought crafted to guide action` (Sandercock 1995), opening it up to other influences and insights from other fields.

The issue of empowerment is at the core of post-modern planning. It emanates from the act of validating non-scientific, subjective ways of knowing derived from local experiences. It embraces the notion that truth is socially constructed and culturally bound, as opposed to being amenable only to reason. Yet it is precisely these qualities for which it has been criticized, what Allmendinger (2001) calls its penchant for relativism. The following section examines some of the criticism leveled at post-modernism. It also deals with responses to some of these criticisms.

3.6 Post-modernism of reaction

The post-modernism of reaction corresponds to what Sandercock (1995) regards as the conservative/acquiescent tendencies that are very critical of the challenge to modernism, and modern planning in particular. Post-modern planning is characterized as a `pastiche of practice` and planning theory an `isolated babel of languages` which are not commensurable (Dear 1986). It has been criticized for its penchant for relativism (Allmendinger 2001) or its anti-foundationalism, anything goes mentality, a wishy-washy pluralism and debilitating political correctness (Dear 1999) that leads to action-paralysis. As a result, modernist planning is arguably in the grip of helplessness (Beauregard 1989).

The assertion of context is regarded as problematic because it suggests floating without being anchored in bedrock truths (Milroy 1991), which are amenable through objective scientific enquiry and are therefore universally applicable. The basic view expressed is that post-modernism is thick on description and criticism, and very thin when it comes to prescription or suggesting a way out of the impasse. Fragmentation and difference renders any form of meaningful dialogue and reaching consensus

impossible. These and similar views have been rejected as extreme or crude postmodernist who are bent on turning the clock back.

Most writers, including the view expressed here, think that it is too much to paint planning as modern or post-modern because planning practice embraces elements of both approaches. Berg 's (1993) 'objective partial knowledge', Krueckeberg's (1995) integration of reason and passion and Allmendinger's (1998) suggestion of a 'fusion' of modern and post-modern approaches represent some of these views. Others have put emphasis on communication, dialogue, consensus building, and negotiations as a way forward to avoid domination by powerful groups (Forester, 1989, 1996; Healy, 1997 to name a few). The necessary institutionalization of procedures in legislation and institution development as proposed by Harbermas in his various writings complement this view. This approach has also come under criticism for being too idealistic. Its critics argue that it suffers from an inadequate conception of power and emphasis on consensus in a society marked by increasing difference (Flyvbjerg 1998a, Allmendinger 1998). That communication without power is meaningless because 'power is always present', and that power no longer has a center, it is decentered 'a la Foucault (1984).

The view expressed here is that post-modernism has opened spaces and opportunities for meaningful planning practice. Literally, this derives from the elevation of the context in which planning is taking place, which in turn determines the content and the skills necessary. In less precise terms, these spaces represent opportunities for growth and understanding, which can only enrich planning theory and practice.

3.7 Discussion and Reflection

The purpose of this chapter was broadly, to explore the relevance of post-modern planning theory in a post-apartheid South African planning context.

Sandercock (1998:104) points out, 'the need for different kinds of theories shifts as societies change. Theoretical restructuring is a necessary accompaniment to economic and demographic restructuring'. South Africa society is going to a process of unprecedented social change, from an oppressive to a more democratic social system. The relevance of post-modernism may lie in that it has given voice to many previously silent peoples of multiple persuasions (Dear 1999:149).

The preceding sections and chapter highlighted two themes. The first theme concerns the limited capacities of a modern state to effect 'development' in the context of diversity as expressed in various local coalitions, and powerful global economic forces. The former found political expression initially in local government officials and subsequently, at national level where relevant political parties articulated their interests in parliament, while the latter eschew government spending which undermines social programs deemed relevant. The second related theme concerns the distribution of power in society. Both cases in the first theme provide an illustration of the workings of the uneven distribution of power in society, which according to Thomas (1999:27) determine planning outcomes:

'...the scope, content and direction of planning are shaped by political struggles, at various spatial scales, in which the protagonists (and lines of cleavages) arise from the conflicts of interests endemic in capitalist society'

The division here is not between civil society and the state but between those with power and those without power, as Flyvbjerg (1998:191) explains:

'The most powerful part of civil society –the local business community collaborates with the most powerful politicians and administrators..... in order to shape the city to their own interests.....The rest of civil society.....have marginal influence on planning and policy decisions, and these parties are actively kept on the margins'.

This was confirmed in Chapter 2 for example, where the role of local class coalitions in influencing planning outcomes in their favor was highlighted. But the idea of a profession is founded on some form of elitist and privileged knowledge that serves a public interest (Allmendinger, 2000:3) instead of political interests:

‘ in planning, the assertion that the purpose of planners and the planning process is to provide a future which will be of benefit to us all is a belief which is integral to the practice of the activity of planning’.³

Decades after the inception of current urban/town planning whose major purpose is to improve the lives of people in cities (Hall 1989), the condition of cities and some of its inhabitants should indeed elicit deep concern in South Africa. While planners may not be the only ones to blame, some of the responsibility rests on their shoulders.

It is for these reasons, among others, that modern planning has been subjected to criticism for failing to deal effectively with urban problems. It may be too much to paint planning as either modern or post-modern because planning practice in South Africa, both apartheid and post-apartheid, involved what Allmendinger (1998) describes as hybrid or fusion that encompasses modernism’s universalization of totality and post-modernisms’ universalization of difference.

South African society is increasingly shifting to new times/epoch with a distinctive style and methods⁴, which calls for different conceptions of planning, whether they are described as post-modern or late modernism is immaterial. Allmendinger (2000:5) describes the result of the ‘new times’ as follows:

³ Evans, B (1995:55) in Allmendinger 2000:2

⁴ See Dear 1988 and Allmendinger 1998.

`One outcome has been the emergence and re-emergence of a multitude of post-empirical theoretical perspectives that include collaborative planning, neo-pragmatism and postmodern interpretations, all of which, to a greater or lesser degrees, perceive planners as fallible advisors who operate like everybody else, in a complex world where there are no `answers` only diverse and indeterminate options`.

The notion of a single paradigm for planning based on neutrality of observation/ideal of impartiality/objectivity, and the universality of conditions of knowledge is increasingly becoming unsupportable. Instead, recognition of indeterminacy, incommensurability, variance, diversity, and complexity emerges in its place⁵. In short, the `new times` or `shifts` (Mabin 1995) have served to undermine the traditional view or claim and assumption that planning is and can be based on scientific knowledge born of modernity. Having said this, it is also necessary to remember that there are important continuities that underscore any change we are experiencing; the world is still dominated by power relations of race, class, sexuality and gender. These concerns do not necessarily dismiss the idea of post-modernism or late modernism, (`shifts`, `new times`, whatever the term), but merely add a note of caution⁶.

The discussion also reinforces the view that focusing on a narrow (mainly academic) perspective ignores the diversity and richness of practice as well as the diversity of space that undermines `grand narratives` or histories (Allmendinger, 1998:232), what Verma (1996:6) regards as a `sophisticated model of rationality - pragmatic rationality`. The discussion attempts to navigate the narrow channel between what Foucault refers to as `totalizing history` (cited in Philo, 1992) and the notion of `new times`.

However, post-modern urban planning has been criticized for what Allmendinger (2001) regards as its `penchant for relativism`, which paralyzes action due to lack of consensus. Criticism notwithstanding, there is a lot of

⁵ See Dear, M. 1988, 1999; Milroy, B.M. (1991); Bourassa, S. (19989) among others.

cynicism and nihilism (Sandercock, 1995:78) among some post-modern planning writers⁷. In light of this criticism, the above-mentioned continuities that underscore the `new times` or changes we are experiencing, and the pitfalls of adopting a narrow academic perspective, the path followed in this chapter is a well-trodden one. There is a considerable and recent body of literature in planning theory and in other fields that support my position. Some examples are Donald Krueckeberg's (1995) essay on the integration of reason and passion; Niraj Verma's (1996) call for a pragmatic rationality that planning practitioners employ; and Gomez-Pena's (1993) "epistemology of multiplicity", and Roger Boden's (1989, 1993) call for a culturally responsive approach to physical planning and urban design based on his case study of Mmabatho in South Africa. Briefly stated, the argument presented in this section is that the significance of the social transformation processes in South Africa has rendered modern planning theory and practice inadequate. This calls for an exploration of new approaches to inform planning theory and practices that are sensitive/relevant to these unique circumstances, a `paradigm of enablement` as Muller (1995) preferred to call it.

3.8 Conclusion

In Chapter 2 an attempt was made to locate planning theory and practice in South Africa within modernism. But both apartheid and post-apartheid planning sought as their basic objective, to radically reconstruct South Africa's cities, albeit for different reasons. Both represented the de jure aspirations of the electorate at a particular point in time, and both employed bottom-up initiatives that relied on the central state apparatuses to achieve their ideals. Whilst Apartheid urban planning resulted among other things in a sprawling, low density and fragmented urban settlement, post apartheid urban planning is mainly preoccupied with trying to integrate the spatial

⁶ Hebdigde, 1989 in Allmendinger 1998. Also see Baum (1996).

fragmentation through Compact City approaches. Procedurally there is a move away from top-down, blueprint or master planning of the past planning towards an emphasis on participation, negotiation, mediation and consensus building.

The political and social transformation of South African society to a more democratic system of government, the influence of international trends in planning thought and economic globalization have all contributed to affect the context in which planning is being practiced. Modern planning has increasingly been subjected to criticism for failing to deal adequately with these transformations.

Instead, post-modernism is deemed more relevant in post-Fordist, multicultural settings. The response from planners has been a mixture of anxiety and uncertainty, and an embracing of the new context and its challenges. From the academic point of view, the research is still at its infancy regarding the impact of these changes on planning theory and practice.

⁷ See for example Beauregard's (1989 and 1991) 'postmodern helplessness', and 'postmodern abyss' respectively, and Milroy's (1991) 'postmodern weightlessness'.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHOD

4.1 Introduction

The presentation of the research so far has involved a historical description of planning in Chapter Two; and the theoretical appraisal of post-modern planning theory and its relevance South African planning theory and practice in Chapter Three; a critical evaluation of some of the key post-Apartheid planning initiatives, Chapter Four; Chapter Six provides an in-depth discussion of case studies; Chapter eight discusses the official response to the claim for space to practice initiation; the academic and consultant's response forms the core of Chapter Nine; Chapter Ten deals with the discourse on the claim for space to practice initiation, and the final chapter discusses an alternative Afro-centric view on the claim for space to practice initiation. Each chapter has sought to subject planning in South Africa under different angles of analysis from a variety of authors with differing epistemological backgrounds.

At this stage an examination of the conceptual development of the initial proposition will be undertaken in light of the initial premise and proposition, which inform the research as a whole. This will be undertaken with the purpose of:

1. Identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the initial premise by summarizing the conceptual findings of the first part of the research.
2. Specifying, in precise propositions, how the overall research can be developed in terms of appropriate methodological strategy
3. Formulating a set of specific questions and methods for the research.

4.2 The Research Premise and the Initial Proposition

This research is concerned with the seeming inability of modern planning to accommodate multicultural issues owing to its epistemological foundation in

scientific rationality, which has tended to result in marginalisation¹ of other groups. The latter is explored through the debate on post-modernism. From this wide-ranging field of cultural critique, the thesis makes use of the conceptual insights and interpretations of the post-modern experience of urban phenomena. The notion of a postmodern condition provides useful conceptual resources with which to understand why multiculturalism has emerged as a general theme, through the analysis of such notions as marginality, diversity and culture. The planning dimensions of these issues of post-modernity have received attention mainly from a host of feminist writers, in the field of cultural studies and recently planning literature.

This bias in favor of post-modernism represents a conscious rejection of the positivist logic behind modern rational planning. The underlying issue addressed is not whether a post-modern approach is enough to explain and inform intervention, but how it relates to other social and spatial issues affecting South African cities², Cape Town in particular. It is worth recalling the initial premise that *the practical consequences of the process of modern and apartheid urban planning as a social practice in South Africa have proved it to be inadequate to deal with the challenges of a post-apartheid, multiracial and multicultural society.*

In this sense, the object of the research is multiculturalism understood as consciousness about the differing cultural needs of people for the purposes of planning. Since planning involves the social rationing of resources, multiculturalism was conceived as a way of thinking about and representing (staking) a claim on these urban resources, in this case land for space to practice initiation. From this perspective, multiculturalism can be seen as a particular conceptualization and mediation of the contest for urban resources, and planning as the operationalisation of that concept.

The testing of this proposition through the formulation of sub-sets of concepts is necessary for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is no ready-made methodology in South African planning from a multicultural point of view.

¹ For definition of terms used in this research, refer to glossary.

² For example South African cities are characterized by fragmentation, sprawl, and racial segregated

However, there is a growing body of literature that is highly critical of modern planning, but none seem to have addressed the spatial dimensions from the angle of multiculturalism. The emphasis is on restructuring the South African cities along the compact city approach, to endeavor to bring together that which apartheid planning fragmented.

Secondly, issues of marginalization have been defined solely in terms of poor access to urban facilities, and the perceived need for the affected public (s) to participate in the decision making process. The former has resulted among other things, in the emergence of an expert driven orthodoxy around the compact city approach.

Thirdly, public participation in South Africa is regarded as panacea for the shortcomings of modern rational planning. The combination of these three factors has resulted in the persistence of the rational model that Baum (1996) has written about. Watson (1998) argues that the planning approaches of the early 1990's in South Africa came close to collaborative planning. But collaborative planning has been criticized because it suppresses what Young (1990:108) refers to as the 'heterogeneity of the urban public'. Although it is concerned with empowering civil society through consensus, the lack of engagement with power creates barriers to democratic decision-making. The basic question being raised is whether one can meaningfully distinguish rationality and power from each other in communication and whether rationality can be viewed in isolation from power. Flyvberg (1998), in a study of his native Aalborg provides compelling reasons why this is not possible. Furthermore, the need to achieve consensus in decision-making, and for universalism in order to avoid relativism and contextualism are almost an impossibility in deeply divided societies like South Africa where 'planning has been converted from a progressive tool of reform to an instrument of control and repression (Yiftachel, 1995:125).

The consolidation of the initial premise in Part I of the thesis, based on the examination of planning within the limits of this premise and proposition is summarized in the first section of the chapter.

4.3 The Refinement of Method

The first part of the thesis allows the initial premise to be restated in more precise terms: that modern urban planning practice and theory marginalizes 'other' groups³, and is therefore not appropriate in multicultural South Africa. Oranje (2001) talks about the 'schizophrenic' endeavor in planning which, on the one hand loathes the reality it finds itself and seeks to change it, and on the other hand having to "situate" itself in that reality so as to gain societal acceptance and institutional endorsement that it requires to carry out the desired changes. Planning during apartheid South Africa was more focused on the former, while post-apartheid planning seems to be moving in the direction of the latter, in line with the post-modern sensibilities.

This concretization of the research premise i.e.; modern urban planning marginalizes⁴, allows the formulation of more specific set of propositions derived from the concept of marginality explored by Young (1990) and Sandercock (1995), the insights into the nature of multiculturalism as defined in this research, and Baum's (1996) discussion on the persistence of the rational model. These propositions may be stated as follows:

(i) Multiculturalism represents a form of framing claims to urban resources. As such, it ameliorates conflict that accompanies the social rationing of resources (planning) in a racial divided society. Fundamental to the popular concept of the "rainbow nation" in South Africa, is the elevation and promotion of groups that were marginalized under apartheid.

(ii) Multiculturalism substantiates the expressed view that many aspects of what were regarded as traditional "just never went away" (Oranje 2001), and instead were (still) marginalized by the combination of modern planning, apartheid and post-apartheid policies.

³ These groups are marked by cultural values, which are different to the dominant, mainly white middle and upper class values reflected in planning.

⁴ Marginalization is here defined as ignoring the legitimate needs of a certain group/community marked by racial and cultural difference to the dominant culture of the white middle and upper that dominate planning

(iii) Cultural identity continues to determine and correspond both to people's practical experience of access to urban resources and the political nature of the planning process as means for allocating these resources.

(iv) The process of the social rationing of resources (planning) has embraced, more than before, elements of a post-modern, multicultural approach such as community involvement in allocating urban resources, negotiating and mediating of conflict arising from this process.

So far the research has borrowed from a wide range of authors and disciplines in order to clarify the research problem. This is not to say the research method has no foundation in post-modern theory. The writers who have so far provided most guidance for the research process, concepts orienting this research, the premise upon which questions and propositions were formulated, are situated within the post-modern approach to urban studies. This wide-ranging and polemic field is a broad approach rather than a methodological blueprint, and as such requires adaptation to specific cases.

For the purposes of this brief discussion on method, it may be stated that post-modernism in its broadest sense, takes as a starting point the need to understand the relative and subjective nature of our view of the world. This is not to deny a certain element of universalism, nor to argue for a narrow particularism. This negates any claims of universality and objectivity in the process of the social rationing of resources. By negating some of the elements of the positivist tradition, post-modernism politicizes the process of rationing resources by introducing conflict and contradictions of social life. In this sense, post-modernism consists of a broad and general approach and a set of generative concepts with which to construct a 'vantage point' to observe and understand urban change. This general perspective, rather than a pre-established theoretical position form the basis for this research.

The research draws insights in particular from the work of Baum (1996), Young (1990), Sandercock (1998), Harvey (1996), Foucault (1978) and Boden's work on the relevance of an Afro-centric approach. Baum's insight on the persistence of the rational model is relevant for this research. He

argued that planners espouse the rational model even if they do not believe in it because 'it supports claims to professional status' (p. 134). But more importantly, the rational model was practiced precisely because planners wished 'to defend themselves against seeming wrong, imperfect, or uncertain' in the world of practice, and 'because of the psychological benefits of being — really, trying to be — a model rational planner'.

The process of social transformation in South Africa continues to pose a challenge for planners in terms of searching for an appropriate theory and practice. The relevance of Baum's work lies in its focus on individual planners in terms of how they perceive their role in a context of contested meanings and values.

In her quest for social justice, Young (1990) has identified what she calls the 'five faces' of oppression i.e., exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. She explains these as:

- (i) Exploitation of labor in the living place as opposed to the work place.
- (ii) Marginalization 'of people the system of labor cannot or will not use' who are marked by some sort of difference to the dominant culture.
- (iii) Powerlessness refers to the lack of ability to express political power as well as engage in politics of self-expression.
- (iv) Cultural imperialism relates to the ways in which 'the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as Other'.
- (v) Violence against persons and property owing largely to social conditions as one of the features of (post-modern) urban living.

The significance of the above seems to lie in its recognition of the multifaceted and complex nature of the context within which not only planning occurs.

Both Sandercock's (1998) 'epistemology of multiplicities', and Harvey's search for foundational beliefs (social justice) are at the forefront of the endeavor at transforming planning theory and practice so as to remain relevant as a social

practice. Harvey's concept of social justice that permeates throughout most of his writings is, as Castree (1997:2079) points out:

'borne out of his deep and genuine desire to change the world through the formulation of a reflexive theoretical framework with which one can elucidate concrete processes of political-economic change and guide political action directed toward fashioning socially just societies — and indeed'.

This quest for some form of universal social justice derives from his argument that the 'concepts such as justice and rationality have not disappeared', instead 'their definitions and use have changed' (Harvey, 1993:5 89). By this he meant that what was just and rational was now determined by market mechanisms. His revived notion of social justice incorporates Young's (1990) definition that moves away from a redistributive mode by focusing on what she calls the 'five faces' of oppression. This 'makes (universal) interpretation and political action meaningful, creative and possible' (Harvey, 1996:2).

Foucault's concept of power has value in terms of its diffuse form, operating in a capillary fashion from below. The ideas of a 'microphysics' of power suggest its location in everyday practices and as part and parcel of all other relationships. It is not a property or possession, held by some and not others, nor is it imposed from the apex of a hierarchy. Power is exercised as the effect of one action on the other, rather than one individual over the another, but not deterministically so: the exercise of power on the part of the individual may lead to a certain kind of action on the part of another, but this is not inevitable. This in turn leaves room for opposition and potential change. Also important is the insistence that power can be both positive and productive as well as negative and repressive.

Important as well for a concern with planning, is the particular form of power which Foucault terms 'government', through which the exercise of power is extended. His analysis of the changing forms of government led him to distinguishing between its sovereign role (preservation of territory and maintaining rule of law) and its increasingly dominant pastoral 'concern' with the welfare of its population. New tactics and techniques of power have arisen, dependent on new forms of knowledge – the disciplines – with the population both as subject and object of government. A number of authors

(Flyvbjerg 1988 and Escobar 1993) have cast planning and the science of development generally, as one of these disciplines.

Boden's (1992, 1998) method for reconnecting planning proposals with their cultural context echoes Sandercock's (1995) notion of borrowing insights from other disciplines in order to enrich both planning theory and practice. An important methodological consequence arising from the foregoing is that it provides space for an Afro-centric world-view (chapter 11), which enables an exploration of an alternative, different approach to planning practice. Finally, Flyvbjerg (1990, 2001) and Peattie (2001) discussed and proposed the adoption of Aristotle's distinction of three forms of knowing namely:

1. Episteme, which has its derivative on epistemology, refers to science or knowledge that is fixed and universal (Peattie 2001:260). Episteme is aimed at uncovering how things are that cannot be otherwise (Flyvbjerg 1990:14). It concerns universal knowledge, what we ordinarily mean by science. It is based on general analytical rationality (Flyvbjerg 2001:57).

2. Techne or Technique/Technology involves what is distinguished as art and craft, knowing what to do. It involves bringing something new that was not, concerns what is variable, not fixed, pragmatics, and not universals Flyvbjerg (1990:13-14). It is oriented towards production and based on practical instrumental rationality and is context-dependent (Flyvbjerg 2001:57).

3. Phronesis/Ethics involves an analysis of values and their implication for action, and is the type of knowledge and reasoning that forms the basis for praxis (Flyvbjerg 1999:14, 2001:57). It focuses attention on that which is variable and particular, requires experience, deliberation and judgment. It involves knowing what to do in particular circumstances, not generalizable but context-dependent (Peattie 2001:260). It is based on practical value-rationality. Phronesis is identified as the appropriate mode of knowledge for planning.

These distinctions are relevant to the post-modern point of view that informs this research. The emphasis on value-rationality, as opposed to instrumental

rationality dovetails with a post-modern perspective, which also embraces values and feelings. The distinction will form part of the analytical framework of interview data, which will partly focus on the question of skills.

4.4 Method and Research Questions for Empirical Analysis

The first part of the research developed concepts for understanding the general nature of planning in South Africa. A number of concepts emerged and it is important to locate them within the wider context within which planning processes are embedded. However, when faced with the task of selecting relevant data, there remains a vast and considerable amount of choice.

4.4.1 The Case Studies

The purpose of the case studies is to attempt to generate an understanding, through analysis and interpretation, of the process of negotiation and conflict in Cape Town over land use between — on the one hand — previously marginalised communities and their claim for space to practice initiation (Chapters 6,7 and 11) — and on the other hand — the planning system as represented by the city council/local government (Chapter 8), and the views of planning academics and consultants (Chapter 10).

This study focuses on three cases from different African Townships within Cape Town, that is, Langa (6.2.1) as a main case study, Gugulethu (6.2.2) and Khayelitsha (6.2.3) as secondary cases. The fourth case consists of a proposed Initiation Village to be located within a nature reserve in Delft (6.2.4). It is still not yet clear what provisions have been made by the newly created Unicity structure, according to which all local authorities will merge to form one single structure. Suffice to say that planning in South Africa, especially apartheid planning, failed to provide/accommodate for this practice when these townships were established. Post-apartheid planning initiatives have so far not demonstrated enough evidence to alter the status quo. This has resulted in the continued use of any vacant spaces that are located on the outskirts of these communities, most of which were used as buffer strips for apartheid residential race segregation. However, these spaces are fast

dwindling, as more land is needed for housing and other essential urban amenities.

4.4.1.1 The role of the case study

In the context of this research, the role of the case study is to provide in-depth knowledge of the phenomena under investigation. According to Saunders et al (2000), case study can also be a very worthwhile way of exploring and challenging existing theory, in the context of this research, the seemingly inappropriate modern in post-apartheid urban planning in South Africa. The case study is not concerned with the refutation or testing of a hypothesis in the positivist tradition, instead, the case study as methodology assist in the process of theory building by contributing towards a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Such a theory of planning would have to be rooted in the specific context of a multiracial and multicultural society.

Brand (1998) also noted the following about case studies which is worth quoting in full:

‘Case studies in general cannot provide systematic verification of established propositions. What they can do is provide evidence to support the general validity of an argument, as well provide indications of errors, simplifications and distorting effects. In other words, they can make an important contribution to theory building’.

Case studies are about particularization, not generalizations: generalization happens in the mind of the reader to the extent that it is useful in understanding a new situation (Watson 2002). The singularity of the case study is therefore enriching given the purpose of developing an understanding of planning from the bottom-up.

4.4.1.2 Selection of the Case Studies

The selection of the case study for the purposes of this research was based on a combination of two factors. First, it is the place where this intriguing, yet interesting and challenging problem for planning was first noticed, the lack of designated space for the traditional practice of initiation and the subsequent claim for space by affected African communities in Cape Town. It would soon

emerge later that the extent of the phenomenon was not widespread within Cape Town and South Africa alone.

Most of the literature on initiation consists of historical monographs written by anthropologists up to the early 1970's. Notwithstanding the differences in contexts and some elements of the procedures involved, two separate studies proved invaluable as additional sources of information for the historical section in Chapter Six: Jean Comaroff's (1985) work on the Tswana initiation, and Maurice Bloch's (1986) study on initiation of boys among the Merino of Madagascar. Therefore although this is a widespread urban phenomenon, its spatial implications has yet to be investigated adequately from a planning point of view, a fact which is made no less easier by the lack of available material. But the pervasive nature of the practice was sufficient to justify the method, as Brand (1998) noted:

`. . . . the question of selection criteria (for the case study) is determined not by abstract methodological principles, but by the nature of the phenomenon itself, it is not universality which is the major concern, but the existence of that phenomena itself, as informed by theoretical reflection, which is the decisive factor in determining whether the selection of a case study is adequate or not`.

However in contrast to Brand, the anti-positivist orientation of the research does not entail a wholesale rejection of modernity, as stated by Harvey (1996:2) in the following quotation:

`.The task of critical analysis is not, surely, to prove the impossibility of foundational beliefs (truths), but to find a more plausible and adequate basis for the foundational beliefs that make interpretation and political action meaningful, creative and possible`.

In order to avoid a narrow particularism, the research embraces some form of universalism, which permits drawing parallels and the making of human connection possible, as evidenced by the parallels with the Merino and Tswana. Therefore, the particular (unique) nature of the case study, sufficient enough to justify detailed investigation was the basis that informed its selection.

Secondly, the case study involved a familiar place, having worked and lived there for six years. This facilitated the data gathering stage of the research in

terms of time spent traveling. It is not envisaged that familiarity with the area and some of the individuals to be interviewed will have a negative bearing on the research. The sensitive nature of the issues involved in the study lend themselves perfectly well to discussion with some of my former colleagues and acquaintances without the need to reframe and rephrase questions in an effort to be politically correct. Also, the diverse nature of individuals to be interviewed (stakeholders) was designed to solicit input from a fairly wide range of ideas and opinions, which also insures against any biases in the study. However this does not serve as mitigation against any unforeseen problems that may arise as a result of being familiar with the setting.

4.4.1.3 Rationale for Case Studies

It is worth noting that the Western Cape region represents the only region (out of a total of 9 regions) that was won by a coalition of traditionally white political parties⁵ during the two recent national democratic elections of 1994 and 1998.

While Africans constitute a majority in the whole of South Africa, they remain a minority in the Western Cape region. The particular nature of the case study offers an opportunity to relate issues of marginality in local politics and multiculturalism to the broader issues affecting the management of the city of Cape Town. One of the objectives of the study is to review policy documents pertaining to local planning policy, from national to local government, to analyze the extent to which any links had been made between the espousal of multicultural goals and the impact of the planning system on conflicts around cultural diversity (Chapter 5).

4.4.2 Case Study Research Questions and Techniques

The general research question to be addressed through the case study can be formulated as follows: *How have post-apartheid planning initiatives in South Africa contributed towards dealing with the historical legacy of apartheid planning, particularly in relation to diversity and multi-culturalism, and what are*

⁵ The Democratic Alliance is made up of the predominantly English Democratic Party (DP) and mostly Afrikaans speaking New National Party (NNP). In the 1994 elections, the NNP won the Western Cape region, and in 1998 they formed a coalition with the DP to get the necessary majority and have since combined to form the DA.

the practical issues involved? This question can be disaggregated in the following terms:

1. What is the difference between apartheid and post-apartheid planning and how does this relate to the general overview and analysis of planning in Chapter One?

The first task is to provide a substantive account of incremental changes in town planning in South Africa: the thematic content, concepts and problems over the study period. Chapter Two provides a description and analysis of planning in South Africa, and one of the principles established is that planning should be adapted to the context within which it is embedded so that the substantive issues are to a large extent determined by the context. It therefore provides a framework for the identification of the differing characteristics of town planning during these two broad periods. Chapters Three and Five highlighted this relational character of town planning, an aspect that is methodologically formalized in this chapter. Consequently, post-apartheid planning in Cape Town will be identified through its insertion in city development plans and programmes, where both the specific planning themes and their relation to city development issues can be analyzed. This will serve among other things, to highlight the perceived key characteristics of post-apartheid planning in South Africa, with particular reference to Cape Town.

2. To what degree has post-apartheid planning dealt with the historical legacy of past planning practices, and what has been the experience of the marginalized in terms of the post-apartheid planning initiatives?

This question addresses the ways in which formal planning discourse structures the understanding of post-apartheid planning: how it privileges certain aspects, rationalizes actions, provides certain explanations and so on. This is compared with the experience of the recipients of planning practice as exemplified by the case study. Methodologically, secondary documentary sources used to identify the substantive content of post-apartheid planning in South Africa were subjected to analysis in Chapter Five. Primary investigation will be undertaken through semi-structured interviews with all stakeholders. The aim of the interviews is to investigate the extent to which issues of

diversity and multiculturalism permeate the general discussion and understanding of urban development issues, and more importantly how these are translated into planning practice. In addition, documents from the relatively newly established planning organization called South African Planning Institute (SAPI) will also be analyzed for evidence of substantive changes.

Both question one and two above inform the overall investigation of this research. Their findings have a strong bearing on the type of conclusion to be reached. Interviewees shall consist of academics, private practitioners, local planning officials, and community members and leaders.

3. What accounts for the lack of response or where is the gap between practice and need and how can this gap be breached?

This question addresses the relationship between institutionalized production of knowledge about town planning and the demands of planning practice, both of which have a strong bearing on the substance of planning. It also begins to address the conclusions of the research as a whole in terms of suggestions for a way forward. This question also allows issues emanating from case studies (community views) to be compared with those of professional, thereby shedding more light on the problem of lack of facilities for initiation.

The research is concerned with the seeming inability of modern rational planning to deal adequately with the challenges of a post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, the most significant aspect of planning, for the purposes of empirical investigation, is the way in which planning knowledge informs practice.

Methodologically, interviews shall be conducted with both academic staff and private practitioners/consultants in order to determine the appropriateness of planning education to the demands of planning practice in general. It is anticipated that there should be a qualitative difference between the needs of public sector and private sector planners in terms of skill requirements/expectations from students as a result of different clientele base each is servicing. It is also expected that there should be a strong correlation

between planning school's curricula and the dictates of the market in terms of the dominant sector as far as employment is concerned.

4. How important are issues of diversity and multi-culturalism in planning in terms of people affected? Is this a relevant question in the context of limited resources?

This question addresses the relationship between the context within which planning takes place and the substance of planning. It was established earlier that planning in South Africa is beginning to reflect the context within which it is embedded, something that has been characterized as a cultural turn. In short, 1990's produced a degree of political consensus in relation to more democratic planning processes, allowing a positive framework of planning regulations to be formulated. There are two graphic illustrations of cultural diversity. One is the range of languages spoken.

The other is the increasing racial diversity of the local population. There are eleven official languages in South Africa, four of which are spoken in Cape Town.

Secondary documentary sources were referred to and contained direct reference to the changing procedural and substantive issues in planning as a result of the social transformation process. The secondary sources also pointed to the changing material conditions of life, in particular, the impact of the globalization of the economy on local planning agendas. Therefore, the most significant aspect of social change, for the purposes of empirical investigation, is the way in which the organization of capital affects local planning. In this way power in its various guises could be initially postulated as a key factor for further analysis.

To the degree that documentary sources contained direct reference to the changing material conditions and political transformation, then such references could be interpreted as confirming the significance of these factors for local planning initiatives, as well as providing evidence of their relevance, in terms of local understanding, to the question of marginalization and a sense of powerlessness.

4.5 Analysis and Interpretation

It was envisaged that three different sets of data would be collected: latest official strategies as contained in documentary sources, individual conceptions of diversity and multiculturalism and their significance through interviews, and data related to the case studies in Cape Town, which will be complemented by secondary sources on initiation practice both national and internationally.

The interpretative strategy can thus be summarized as follows:

- The structuring of documentary information according to the major themes contained in them, and their interpretation in relation to content or substantive issues (how they relate to local planning problems) and the general context (in terms of shaping and prioritizing the planning agenda).
- The structuring of interview and other data sources according to ideological strategies (rationality, status/legality, ambiguity), and their interpretation using postmodern concepts and Foucault.
- The structuring of data on case studies according to their social impact (powerlessness, violence, marginalization), and their interpretation according to the characteristics of urban development (efficiency concerns, fragmentation, sprawl, isolation).

The resulting strategy of interpretation involves an interweaving of empirical and theoretical work where data collection proceeds in tandem with analysis (see preface). In a wider sense, this method adopted should be understood within the general approach in postmodern enquiry adopted in this research. The real measure of its adequacy will lie in its ability to increase the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

4.6 Selection of Interviewees

The aim of the interviews was to identify and describe the ways in which issues of practice and implementation were understood by a wide variety of actors involved in the urban development process, particularly in the city of

Cape Town. The selection of the interviewees was based on the following criteria:

- (a) Their active involvement in determining the local urban agenda
- (b) Their representation of a particular sector of social life in local urban politics
- (c) Willingness and availability of individuals to participate in interviews and the practical time constraints of this stage of the research.

The interviews are deliberately wide in scope in order to facilitate the exploration of a range of perspectives. Therefore, there was no intention of defining a representative sample of public opinion.

The 'wicked problems' alluded to in the Preface of this research were to manifest themselves again in two further ways. It was originally envisaged that in addition to interviews for the case studies being conducted with academics, (main stream) public sector planners and the communities affected, private sector planners would also be included. Accordingly, letters were sent out in advance and where requested, some interview questions. It would soon emerge during fieldwork that private sector planners (consultants) did not regard initiation as an issue concerning them, but instead a public sector/government issue. It also became apparent that the major players regarding initiation practice among the planning fraternity were those involved with tourism, environment and local economic development. All these findings are discussed in detail between chapter seven and ten. The interviewees consisted of the following persons and groups:

A. Senior Public Sector Officials

- (i) Senior Planner: Spatial Planning: Tygerberg Municipality
- (ii) Mr. Gcobani Vika: Deputy Director: Biodiversity Management, Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Sport
- (iii) Nombulelo Mkefa: Development Manager, Cape Metropolitan Tourism

- (iv) Mr. Shahid Solomon: Interim Manager; Economic Development and Tourism, City of Cape Town
- (v) Mr. Donovan (not his real name): Parks and Bathing, City of Cape Town.

B. Academics and Consultants

The selection was based on recommendations from initial contacts, availability and willingness to be interviewed in their terms. All the names used are fictitious according to the expressed wishes of the informants to remain anonymous.

The distinction between public and private sector proved to be invalid because some individuals were part-time lecturers while others were part-time consultants. The following is a list of planners that were interviewed:

- (i) Mary Omerod, Consultant
- (ii) Peter von Bronkhorst, Land use planner
- (iii) Mr. Lonwabo Ndumo, Public sector
- (iv) James Dephino, Environmental and Transportation planner
- (v) Jonathan Sherlocks, Public Open Space Management
- (vi) Todd Turner, Public sector
- (vii) Phathinkosi Dlamini, Public Sector Environmental Planner
- (viii) S'bongile Mngoma, Consultant
- (ix) Malcolm Pillay, Consultant and part-time lecturer
- (x) Sandra Mellons, Consultant

C. Community Members

Interviews were held with the following groups:

- (i) A community elder to whom I was constantly referred to about the history and struggle of the initiation site in Langa.
- (ii) Two groups of men (Langa Township)
- (iii) A group of women (Langa Township)

D. Community Councilors

- (i) Councilor Mr. Mgxekekeni, Subcouncil 14
- (ii) Councilor Mr. Ntamo, Subcouncil 14

- (iii) Councilor Chief Ntothoviyane, Subcouncil 11
- (vi) Councilor Mr. Matshikiza Subcouncil 14
- (v) Councilor Mr. W. Mxolose, Subcouncil 5
- (vi) Councilor Mr. W. Sidina Subcouncil 11
- (vii) Councilor Mr. N. Sidinana, Sub-council 13

4.7 Research Strategy

There are three broad data sources that have so far been identified for the research: latest official strategies as contained in documentary sources, individual conceptions of diversity and multiculturalism and their significance through interviews, and data related to the case studies in Cape Town. It was envisaged that the research strategy adopted would be determined largely by the conditions on the ground. This includes the dynamics of the research process as it unfolds, which may open certain leads for further probing that may not have been foreseen. This may also include the practical time constraints determining the availability of the interviewees as discussed in the previous section. The overall strategy of the research will therefore be reflexive, grounded on the reality of the research itself.

The research itself deals with two related issues that warrant different strategies whilst bearing in mind the need for reflexivity. The first issue deals with the case study, and the second issue has to do with multiculturalism and planning in South Africa, what is referred to in this research as the context. Bearing all of the above in mind, it was envisaged that the research strategy would proceed as follows:

- In order to get a clear understanding of issues involved, developing concepts with which to interrogate planning documents, and to formulate questions for planning officials, academics etc., the first issue having to do with case study will be dealt with first. Community leaders/groups and various agencies working with them will be approached first.
- Having interviewed the community leaders, planning official (s) dealing with the case study will then be approached. After these initial interviews and access to relevant documentation (case files), a second round of interviews

with all the stakeholders in relation to the case study is proposed, which will take the form of a dialogue/workshop. It is anticipated that the outcome of these interviews and possible workshop should, at the least, be a climate of appreciation/understanding of each party's circumstances and a commitment in terms of practical steps to be taken towards resolving the matter.

- The findings of the above interviews related to the case study should raise questions that are relevant for the broader issues of this research, i.e., the extent to which multiculturalism has been accommodated in South African planning. This set of interviews will be held with academics, private practitioners and government officials in general. These interviews will go in tandem with the interrogation of planning documents.
- With specific reference to academics, the interviews will also incorporate a discussion of the syllabus not only in terms of how its contents relate to multiculturalism. Questions will focus on how decisions are made in terms of content and what sorts of skills are emphasized and why.
- This sets the stage for the interviews with private practitioners. Questions here have to do with the relationship between theory and practice, and how perceived gaps between the two could be breached. The process will be reiterative, involving data gathering, interpretation and analysis.

Chapter 5

Post Apartheid Planning in South Africa: A Critical evaluation of the planning initiatives.

‘The opposition to apartheid planning based itself, of course, on an alternative but very much modernist conception of planning – planning intended to redistribute power and comfort in a comprehensive and rationalist way, predicated on the notion of continued change in what seemed to be the relatively uni-linear process of economic development. Thus the conflict over the shape of cities was essentially a conflict, heightened in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, between two rationalist movements and planning approaches, despite their basis in conflicting rationalisms’.

(Mabin, 1995:191)

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a critical analysis of the state sponsored post-Apartheid planning initiatives and the debates around some of the proposed restructuring approaches to the legacy of Apartheid City using insights from postmodern thought and Flyvbjerg’s (1998) analysis of the relationship between power and rationality. The main thrust of the critique centers around three questions. To what extent is modernist state planning able to effect meaningful development in an environment that exhibits characteristics of post-modernism? Secondly, what are the lessons from South Africa’s past in terms of informing present urban planning or, what is the relevance of a South African historical perspective in the current attempts towards the restructuring of her cities? The discussion now turns to these issues. This serves to draw together the arguments made in chapter 2 regarding the persistence of modern urban planning theory and practice in post-apartheid urban planning.

If we determine that a major purpose for urban planning is to improve the lives of people in cities and urban areas, a theme that has driven urban planning and its predecessor movements for the last century (Hall 1989),

then the history of South African planning and cities should elicit deep concern.

It has been ten years after the first more democratic elections in 1994. During this period South Africans have witnessed a commitment by the ruling party, the ANC and its allies in the Government of National Unity (GNU), to transform South African society in general, with particular emphasis on the urban environment, which was, and is still regarded as vital for the process of social and economic advancement with particular emphasis on the disadvantaged.

If the planning system was one of the principal policy instruments of Apartheid, planning must now be an instrument of its reversal (Talbot: 2000:331). Urban planners are indeed at the forefront of the attempts at both restructuring the South African cities, and attempting to use that understanding to inform practice. As a result of this endeavor, post apartheid/urban restructuring literatures abound in South Africa. But a significant proportion of this literature is concerned mainly with redressing what has been characterized as the unsustainable/inefficiencies of the Apartheid City including sprawl, lack of mixed development as a result of excessive separation of land uses, and racial segregation. A Compact City development is proposed as one of the main the solution to these problems¹.

There is also a renewed interest, especially among academics, in planning history as an important part of our intellectual arsenal (Thomas 1994) to produce a usable past (Mabin 1991) in order to inform present and future practice. However, the relative infancy of this interest in planning history means that it has not yielded much scholarly scrutiny (Mabin 1991) to produce any meaningful results. The ANC government also introduced a number key pieces of legislation and policies including the Less Formal

¹ See Dewar (2000) in particular.

Township Establishment Act of 1991, Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Act of 1995, the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995, and the Development Planning Commission of 1996, all aimed at transforming South African cities and society in general. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in particular amounted to what Mabin (1995) referred to as 'planned emancipation' to redress the negative effects of apartheid, or 'planned oppression'.

This rebuilding process of South African cities, in particular, is taking place within a context that is increasingly post-modern. This includes among others a fragmented urban form, increasing polarization between the rich and poor, rapid urbanization, globalization of the economy which restructures cities and regions in ways that often seem beyond local control (Sandercock 2000), resurgence of cultural and linguistic diversity/multiculturalism, declining inner cities, and a flexible urban form whose purposes are more and more the ephemeral ones of consumption (Beauregard 1989). It is ironic that the legacy of modern urban planning is an urban landscape that exhibits some of the characteristics that have been associated with a post-modern city, and that the tools for reconstructing such a landscape should be perceived to emanate from the same tool box, modern rational state planning. There is a sense in which it could be argued therefore, that apartheid planning was a form of state sanctioned de-construction that gave rise to a landscape bearing the hallmarks of a post-modern condition characterized mainly by fragmentation, segregation and the increasing role of the market in suburbanization of residential and economic activities. It is within this context that a critical analysis of the state led reconstruction initiative, as a state response will be undertaken. In order to appreciate this discussion, it is necessary to provide a brief history of the RDP, to be followed by other pieces of legislation.

5.2A Brief History of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP was launched in 1994 with "great fanfare"² and in an atmosphere that has been described as "festive socialism", with its own budgeted basket of treats for all³. It had a minister, a department and a parliamentary monitoring committee. The latter was established to act as 'watch-dog' for the implementation of the RDP by various government ministries. This policy framework is described as follows:

'The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilize all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future'.⁴

It comprised a major programme of reinvestment in South African infrastructure and social development, and is the single most important large-scale development initiative in sub-Saharan Africa, accessing billions of Rands in state and international development aid⁵. The ANC committed itself to narrowing the country's social wealth through the RDP⁶. The subsequent Government of National Unity (GNU), led by the ANC, turned this programme into policy as a series of White Papers, a powerful agency in the Office of the President, and a discourse to which almost every actor in the urban planning environment claimed to subscribe⁷. The policy document was prepared by the ANC and its allies⁸ as a platform around which to campaign for the first more democratic elections in 1994.

² Barry Streek, *Mail and Guardian* 20 August, 1999

³ Gavin Lewis, *Finance Week*, 27 August 1999

⁴ 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme, A Policy Framework' March 1994, Umanyano Publications, Johannesburg.

⁵ Out of R217bn national budget, R104bn was allocated to RDP related expenditure. R2.5bn was allocated for the year 1994-1995.

⁶ South Africa's gini-co-efficient is one of the highest in the world at 6.5.

⁷ Mabin and Smit, 1997:215

⁸ The South African Communist Party, Trade Unions, NGO's and Civics.

In the middle of 1994, there were concerns emanating from various quarters that the delivery process was slow, that the RDP fund was snarled in red tape resulting in only 55% of 1994/5 funds allocated. A series of Presidential Lead Projects⁹ were established as priority to speed the delivery process as the President had promised to show tangible results within 100 days in 1994. At the same time, plans were afoot to radically revise the RDP amid concerns that the original RDP was a “pie-in-the-sky” and doubts about the ability of the RDP office to coordinate the implementation of the RDP¹⁰, that the RDP needed to be grounded in practical projects in a context of national economic growth, that a better way of coordinating the RDP was needed so that it amounted to more than a fistful of Presidential Lead Projects¹¹, that a ‘new bureaucracy’ was hindering the delivery process¹², concerns about budgetary obfuscation and short-termism in planning¹³.

At a conference of senior RDP officials and government leaders held in Cape Town in 1995, the Minister of Trade and Industry was quoted as saying that the time had arrived for the government to move away from a needs-driven approach to the country’s problems, and to put the country on a new high growth path (Edmonds 1995). This marked the beginning of RDP “Mark 2” in which the option of redistribution through growth rather than growth through redistribution was sought as the ultimate goal (Lewis 1999). It was not long before GEAR (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution) was adopted as a government programme to reintegrate South Africa into the world economy as a market-based economy. Early 1996 brought the announcement a presidential decision to close the RDP office and to revise its programme amid concerns about the lack of consultation within the ANC alliance that drafted the original document, especially the left leaning groups within the

⁹ These involved the rebuilding of houses and community facilities destroyed by violence in the African townships or to redevelop large areas for low income groups from which people were forcibly removed in the fifties and sixties.

¹⁰ Marion Edmonds, Weekly Mail September 29, 1995

¹¹ Gaye Davis, Weekly Mail, April 04, 1996.

¹² Greg Rumney, Weekly Mail June 09, 1995

alliance. In addition to lack of consultation, another concern was that the new move could see the development and social aspects of the RDP getting lost and fiscal and economic growth concerns, while important, becoming dominant (Davis op cit.). Despite these concerns, the RDP office was scaled back to a small Development Planning Branch in the President's office and its projects, programmes and staff re-allocated to various line ministries.

5.2.1 A Critical Review the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

Discussions and debates abound regarding the successes or failures of the RDP and why it was eventually scaled down. The government points to a slew of successfully implemented projects¹⁴ and its commitment to a more pragmatic RDP¹⁵, while the critics focused on missed targets, slow delivery process and the watering down of the original RDP by the elevation of a conservative macro-economic strategy (GEAR). Some even argued that South Africa's revolution was betrayed.¹⁶, while others conceded that the RDP was indeed alive, but in an incarnation that few of its original architects could have anticipated.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned 'achievements' in spite of the difficulties with implementation, it remained to be explained why the original vision of a people centered transition based on participation was jettisoned in favor of a neo-liberal, conservative macro-economic strategy in the form of GEAR.

¹³ Gavin Lewis, Finance Week, August 27, 1999.

¹⁴ Over half a million low-cost housing units, 600 hundred new clinics, mass immunization campaigns,, free health care for pregnant woman and children under six, 480 new electric connections a year to name a few.

¹⁵Lewis op cit.; that it is a public-private sector partnership than some sort of soviet five-year plan, and is built into line department budgets as an integral part of the whole.

¹⁶John Pilger, 'The betrayal of South Africa's revolution' Weekly Mail, April 17-23, 1998, Dale T. Mckinley The ANC and the Liberation Struggle, Pluto Press. 1997.

The notion of pragmatism suggests the lack of an alternative(s) and smacks of rationalization for GEAR. Perhaps part of the explanation lies in McKinley's (1997) observation that in the liberation struggle the ANC's own base constituency have ultimately had to be fellow travelers with a whole host of powerful social forces whose fundamental interests are inimical to revolutionary transformation. Indeed McKinley's argument is that a major contradiction that has permeated the ANC politics is the unwillingness and/or inability to recognize that the revolutionary struggle cannot be advanced by attempting to reconcile the priorities of the people with the priorities of business. While there is an element of truism in this as evidenced by the recent spate of tensions between the trade union movement and the government, the ANC is too astute to be guilty of such an oversight. As Habib¹⁷ has pointed out, a more useful explanation of the ANC's abandonment of the RDP lies in an understanding of the relations of power in the national and global setting, and Flyvebjerg's analysis of power and rationality. Habib makes the familiar point that the globalization of the economy, which has served to enhance the power of multinational corporations, and the ascendancy of international institutions like the IMF and World Bank that eschew government spending, have seriously limited and undermined necessary social programs by governments.

A social development programme like the RDP is therefore bound to encounter difficulties if it is appended to a macro-economic strategy characterized by privatization, deregulation, fiscal austerity, trade liberalization and the predominance of the financial sector over production and commerce. This glaring contradiction therefore calls for what Hein Marais (1997) calls a 'stabilizing agent.' The new function of the RDP is therefore that of a stabilizer, an ideology/rationalization, to signify unity and continuity, an axis around which the principles of inclusion, conciliation and stability can be promoted in tangible form to mask this inherent contradiction.

¹⁷ Adam Habib 'South Africa Needs a left opposition' The Weekly Mail, June 12, 1998

More telling is Habib's second observation that the pressures on the ANC in Parliament emerge from the right, which results in the ANC government responding to the pressures subjected on it by big business and political parties representing those interests. The problems with the implementation; lack of capacity within the RDP ministry, bureaucratic red tape, while real, amounts to mere rationalization in the face of power to which the ANC was subjected both at international and national levels. Flyvbjerg (1998:228) has this to say about rationality and rationalization, which is worth quoting in full:

'The relationship between rationality and rationalization is often what Erving Goffman calls a "front-back" relationship. "Up-front" rationality dominates, frequently as rationalization presented as rationality. The front is open to public scrutiny, but it is not the whole story and, typically, not even its most important part. Backstage, hidden from public view, it is power and rationalization which dominates. A rationalized front does not necessarily imply dishonesty. It is not unusual to find individuals, organization, and whole societies actually believing their own rationalizations. Nietzsche.....claims this delusion to be part of will to power.....necessary for survival'.

The presidential decision to close the RDP office in 1996 amid concerns about the lack of consultation by members of the alliance, for example, could be understood in terms of the uneven distribution of power among members of the alliance that is dominated by the ANC. In this sense a more pragmatic RDP is one that is based on the reality of these uneven power relations that Foucault noted exists everywhere. In anticipation of the confrontation from members of the alliance about its decision to close the RDP office without consultation, the ANC also resorted to the use of power instead of rationality/reason. Flyvbjerg (1998:232) notes the following about this:

'In an open confrontation, actions are dictated by what works most effectively to defeat the adversary..... In such confrontations, use of naked power tends to be more effective than any appeal to objectivity, facts, knowledge, or rationality, even though feigned versions of the latter, that is, rationalizations, may be used to legitimate naked power'.

Faced with this realization, the trade union movement has also threatened on numerous occasions to pull out of the alliance and to ground the country into

a halt by organizing nationwide strikes and demonstrations to force the government to reconsider GEAR. The privatization process that forms part of GEAR has also met fierce resistance from the trade union movement concerned with job losses. Flyvbjerg (1998) noted in his study of Aalborg that where power relations take the form of open, antagonistic confrontations, power-to-power relations dominate over knowledge-power and rationality-power relations; that is, knowledge and rationality carry little or no weight in these instances. These power relations duplicated themselves everywhere. In the provinces, for example, one of the pieces of legislation that was passed to speed up the development process, the Development Facilitation Act 1995, has been challenged among other things for being insensitive to regional diversity.

However, in spite of this opportunistic claim for regional diversity, the idea of the compact city¹⁸ was emerging as an orthodoxy concerning the necessity to reconstruct South African cities to match the necessities of the post-modern, post-fordist phase, (Mabin 1995:194). The main characteristics of an apartheid city form alluded to earlier include fragmentation and segregation of races and land-uses. The call for Compact City development is undermined by a couple of factors having to do with the power of land-rent.

Firstly, the state subsidy for low-income housing encourages sprawl by favoring the development of cheap land on the periphery. Secondly, the decentralization of high and middle income groups into well-connected suburban economic activities and nodes (Schoonraad 200:222, Mabin 1995:194) also serve to undermine compact development by perpetuating sprawl. The means to overcome the problem is not yet to hand, though the elaboration of what is necessary to achieve worthwhile compactness

¹⁸This term is easier to describe than to define since there is a lack of consensus. It generally refers to increased densities through in-filling for example, and encourages a mixture of land uses.

proceeds apace (Mabin 1995:194)¹⁹. In short, the increasing role of the private sector in the re-development process, the emphasis on public participation and consensus that resulted in the neglect of strong control measures of physical planning that are necessary for the creation and reconstruction of compact cities (Shoonraad 2000:225), are some of the formidable challenges to this approach. As Mabin (1995) has noted, the vision is indeed difficult to fault with its basis on the post-modernist critique of a fragmented city.

The narrative of 'planned emancipation' in South Africa is about the limitation of modernist state to effect development in the context of powerful local, class-based political and economic forces bent on maintaining the status quo. The history of South African planning seems to indicate that some credence should be given to this view. Mabin and Smit (1997:217) noted the following regarding the power of local interests versus central government:

'Like the regimes which preceded it, the implementers of apartheid found that the complexities of government and the complexity of interest configurations at local levels threatened to subvert their visions. However, they stuck to the task in a way that their predecessors had not. In order to do so they were forced to resort to increasingly authoritarian measures (as reflected in the tendency throughout the period to the centralization of decision making).'

McCarthy (1991) noted that the history of planning seem to suggest that local initiatives taken at specific cities by various class and political groupings in relation to the local state determined the future of urban South Africa. The initial vision of the RDP that put emphasis on community participation and consensus in the development process represented both an act of empowerment for previously marginalized groups, and a critique and radical departure from apartheid top-down planning. But the configuration of class-based, powerful political and economic interests served to undermine this vision.

¹⁹ See Schoonraad (2000) for an elaborate discussion on obstacles to compact city

5.3 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) 1996

The MSDF originated in 1991 from the need for coordinated responses to planning and development in the Cape Metropolitan Region (CMR). It is a product of a new form of policy making whose primary institutional vehicle is the stakeholder-based forum. The MSDF is therefore a product of a participatory process involving key metropolitan stakeholders from government, community, civic organizations, business, labor and the public. The main purpose of the MSDF is `to guide the form and location of physical development in the CMR on a metropolitan scale` (Technical Report 1996:IX). One of its development principles has to do with social justice defined in terms of `redressing the imbalances generated by past political and planning policies` by means of `maximizing the benefits to the least advantaged groups in the community` (1996:28). The relevance of the MSDF here lies in the following:

- The claim to be an inter-active and participatory process involving all stakeholders.
- The commitment to developing quality urban environments as one of the spatial guidelines
- Focusing public investment on identified priority areas as one of the non-spatial guidelines.
- And concern for social justice as outlined above.

There is little doubt therefore that the preconditions for a successful and inclusive plan making process are indeed present, in the form of wider participation than before, a politically appropriate planning vision, and an enabling institutional context. As a result the plan enjoyed a relatively large amount of support and popularity across the political divide and the general public, partly as a result of the sleek and persuasive manner in which the presentation were packaged and delivered in different venues across the city.

However, this relative success of the plan belied the depth and meaningfulness of the consensus upon which claims for citywide support were based. Close scrutiny reveals that the `smooth process` that the plan enjoyed rested on four factors, some of which have already been alluded to above:

- Marginalized communities were overstretched in terms of capacity and as a result had minimum presence on other levels of the forum. The lower the level of committee, the more limited was the range of grouping represented. Ironically, it was here that most of the significant decisions were carried out. These were then presented as summaries at the highest level of the forum where most groups were represented. No doubt only the initiated could understand planning jargon presented at breakneck speed.
- Hierarchical structure of the forum was highly demanding in terms of person power and resources. Only the larger and better-resourced organizations could maintain presence at all levels. This meant that planning consultants, government officials and some NGO's dominated proceedings.
- Consultants were in the most powerful position as they were paid to formulate proposals and documents presented for discussion. These were well-packaged verbal and visual presentations that were well demanding in terms of intellectual understanding planning jargon. Only a confident and informed voice could make itself heard.
- The desire on the government structures on the forum representatives to be seen to be politically legitimate by being accommodating and achieving consensus whenever possible.

Innes (1996) suggested criteria for successful group processes. The first of these is that all relevant stakeholders must be included in the process. As we have seen, most development related organizations were involved. But

capacity and resources, ability to transmit views of their sectors differed. Moreover, the players with the most impact on the spatial development of Cape Town were not represented i.e., national and international economic interests had no presence in the forum.

The requirement that all members should have equal voice and that no single voice should dominate was undermined by the hierarchical structure of the forum, which dissipated representation as organization with less resources were overstretched. It is possible that some voices were present but not 'heard', or present at all in the plan writing and discussion processes.

The criterion that all members should have equal access to information has two aspects. The first asks if members of a group process receive the same documentation. Most groups were involved at the highest level of the forum where wide ranges of issues were discussed. But these documents were in the form of summaries that were already framed and compiled by well-resourced organizations to support a certain view, making difficult to challenge.

The second aspect of this criterion asks if all participants understand information in the same way. Healey (1992:152) points out that parties may be within different 'systems of meaning', that 'we see things differently because words, phrases, expressions, objects, are interpreted differently according to our frame of reference'. Watson (1998) cites an example of a misunderstanding between city council transport planners and other planners within the forum on the nature of 'corridors' that were being proposed.

The point being that if misunderstandings can arise among members of the same profession, how much room for misunderstandings is there among people with different cultural backgrounds? Innes' final criterion was that

group participants should have to hold to agreements made. This was not possible for members of the forum because it had a non-statutory status.

At this point we are in a position to see that Cape Town's major post-apartheid initiative in the form of MSDF was not in a position to deal specifically with the issue of claim for space to practice initiation. Furthermore, the issues about the uneven distribution of power, marginalization, community participation were not addressed adequately. What emerges is a situation tantamount to the maintenance of the status quo of continued marginalization in planning decision coupled with a realignment of power in favor of national and international economic interests who have a strong influence on citywide politic structures, including planning.

For example the private-sector investment in Cape Town has occurred in locations entirely different to those desired by the plan, reflecting what Mabin (1995:194) has referred to as 'new and powerful forces of fragmentation, represented by the suburbanisation of forms of economic activity'. This situation cannot arise without the collusion of local planning officials who are in charge of cash-strapped local authorities and as a result tend to view any development as good. If local authorities have a primary eye on promoting economic growth and accommodating foreign investment (Watson1998, Dewar 2001), marginalized communities will continue to have no impact on development and planning agendas. Healey's (1997) argument that societies which are multicultural, fragmented, conflictual and complex demand different ways of thinking about decision making and planning underscores the need to reflect on the limitations of current initiatives aimed at transforming planning in South Africa. At the moment, it seems that those who were marginalized by apartheid are now being marginalized by post-apartheid neo-liberalism.

5.4 Development Facilitation Act (DFA) 1995

The DFA was the first major post-apartheid piece of legislation. It emanated from the concerns about democratic transformation and restructuring of South African society and the role of the state in securing more equitable living environments. It was promulgated as an interim measure to bridge the gap between the old apartheid era planning laws and a new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of the democratic South Africa²⁰.

According to Muller (1977:4)²¹:

‘It deviates from previous planning legislation in its concern with such substantive and procedural issues as informal settlement, historically distorted physical spatial patterns, environmental sustainability, community participation, disadvantaged sector capacity building, and decision-making/conflict resolution through consultation, mediation and appeal process’.

The DFA was focused mainly on providing mechanisms for the rapid delivery of land for housing. Although the focus of this act was specifically on securing land for housing, its relevance to this discussion lies in demonstrating the challenges of implementing uniform, nationally sponsored policies and legislations in a context that exhibits post-modern characteristics of fragmentation, diversity and difference.

The key features of the DFA were:

- General principles for land development: The principles embrace the concept of compact, integrated and mixed-use settlements as opposed to low density, segregated, fragmented and mono-functional developments. All development of land was to take into account these three principles.
- Land Development Objectives (LDO's): Every local government is required to establish LDOs, which are effectively local land use plans that

²⁰ Du Toit, D.C. ‘Draft White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management’. Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs, March 2001.

take into account the need to plan for land use in an integrated and strategic manner. The LDOs override any plans drawn up in terms of pre-1994 legislation.

- **Development Tribunals:** They are to provide a speedy route for the consideration of land use change and land development applications in each region. They consist of experts drawn from the public and the private sector. They are to ensure that 'any obstructions to sustainable and equitable development are eradicated' (du Toit 2001:11).

The DFA also provided for the establishment of the Development and Planning Commission, which was instrumental in formulating key post-apartheid legislations and policies. According to Harrison (2001) the DFA acts a compromise between the ideas of integrated development planning supported by progressive planning agencies and academics, and the focus on performance management by mainly business-linked agencies and individuals.

The act was received with caution in various regions for two main reasons. The first had to do with the perception that national government was encroaching and overriding local land use planning. In the Western Cape region, politicians made reference to the local Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO) as sufficient to deal with such matters. The second reason had to do with the lack of funds to purchase well located, and by definition more expensive land, which seriously undermined the endeavor at integrating the apartheid city.

However, a more significant and insightful observation comes from du Toit (2001:17) who makes the following observation worth quoting in full:

²¹ Muller, J.G. (1977) Planning and progress in South Africa, Opening address: Town and Country Planning Summer School, University of Warwick, 10 September 1997.

`A key limitation of the DFA principles was that they attempted to achieve important outcomes through an indirect means. That is, they attempted to influence the way in which existing laws were interpreted by requiring the application of principles. The idea was that the principles alone would have the necessary effect, that they would be `self-executing`This may have been too idealistic. It is clear that it must be incumbent on authorities concerned with spatial planning and land-use management to apply the principles and norms effectively. Structures, institutions and processes must be designed to ensure that the principles and norms are actualized. The best way to do this, taking into account the specific South Africa situation, is to establish land use regulators within the purview of municipal, provincial and national government to apply the principles in specific planning and land-use situations`.

This insight lies at the core of the argument being presented here, namely, that modern planning methods, which mostly still characterize South African planning practice are problematic. Mabin (1995:196) characterizes this state of affairs as more akin to `waking up in the postmodern era while equipped with the politics and planning practices of a modernist past. Foucault (1984)²² and later Flyvbjerg²³ have also commented and found this commitment to "first principles" problematic, that this "will to knowledge" is based on a "leap of faith" that has blinded our understanding of the actual functioning of power in society. This also highlights the `unintended consequences` or the `dark side of planning`, much of which has been written about recently in planning literature.

5.5 Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 1996

The shift towards integrated development planning (IDP) in South Africa has multiple and diffuse origins²⁴, but the story of integrated development planning post-1994 is closely associated with attempts to set in place a national system of development planning, and with the frustration of these attempts (Harrison 2001).

²² In Rabinow, P. (ed) `The Foucault Reader`, Penguin books, 1984.

²³ Flyvbjerg, B. `Empowering Civil Society: Habermas, Foucault and the question of conflict`, in Douglass, M et al (ed) `Cities for Citizens: Planning and the rise of civil society in a global age` John Wiley & Son, 1998 and Flyvbjerg, B. `Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice` 1998.

²⁴ See mainly Harrison, P, 2001, but also Orange, M 2001, and van Hyssteen, E. et al 1998.

The Municipal Systems Act, promulgated in 2000, developed the key concept of the IDP. It was introduced in the Local Government Transition Act but it was only given substantial meaning in the Municipal Systems Act chapter on IDPs. In the Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD), the IDP was defined as:

‘A participatory approach to integrate economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalized’ (FEPD, 1995, Volume 1).

It could be seen as an instrument to bring local authorities in line with the positions and requirements of the RDP, but also to give local actors direct input into the RDP process (Harrison 2001). The IDP is therefore to a large extent the brainchild of officials within the RDP office to set up an ambitious concept of integrated development planning at national level. Between 1998 and 2000, new legislation on local government was introduced, local authority boundaries were redrawn and new metropolitan authorities were constructed.

In the period between 1994 to early 1996, the focus of attention for the then government of National Unity (GNU) was on setting up new structures of government in the national and provincial spheres of government, and on developing policies for these structures (Harrison 2001:187). The 1996 constitution therefore cleared the way for necessary fundamental transformation of South Africa away from raced based planning to a more democratic form of planning. The Integrated Development Plans (IDP) was introduced in 1996 as an instrument to assist local government in transformation and in fulfilling the objectives of the nationally sponsored Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that was ironically abandoned also in 1996 in favor of the neo-liberal economic policy of Growth, Equity and Redistribution (GEAR).

The relevance of the IDP in post-apartheid planning lay in the fact that apartheid planning resulted in, among other things, spatial and institutional fragmentation that emanated mainly from planning based on race. This enforced fragmentation has resulted in local government to suffer from problems of legitimacy and finance. The role of the IDP was therefore partly to serve as an instrument to support more efficient financial and resource allocations, although it clearly had broader developmental objectives (Harrison 2001). In addition, opponents of apartheid planning have long articulated some idea of spatial and institutional integration to counteract the effects of separation and fragmentation that characterized much of apartheid planning. It is for reasons having to do with this state-sanctioned fragmentation and separation that the ideas of integration contained in RDP and IDP were embraced with relative ease in South Africa.

5.5.1 Tensions and Contradictions

However, reconciling the developmental objectives and the business concerns for fiscal discipline (reduction in government spending) within the same policy of the IDP proved more illusive for the ANC-led government in the context of the ascendancy of neo-liberal economic policies and the configuration of national politics as Mabin (1995) notes:

‘... even at the moment of taking power the possibilities for achieving this agenda (development) were severely circumscribed by the limits imposed by a negotiated settlement, the lack of real control over key levers of power (e.g. bureaucracy, economy and security forces) and by global markets’.

The fate of the RDP was, sooner than later, repeated with the IDP as the state was forced to reconsider again any semblance of national planning in a changing context that eschews anything resembling Keynesian economics. Failure to reconcile the developmental/integration aspects of the policy with the business requirements resulted in the following related factors:

(i) The concerns with transformation and equity were being eclipsed by concerns with businesslike efficiency and fiscal responsibility.

Increasingly, the pressure to pacify global capital became too great. By the same token fiscal responsibility makes a lot of sense in the context of scarce resources.

(ii) The emphasis shifted from integration to business planning.

Orange (2001:10) noted the following in connection with this point, which is worth quoting in full:

‘... the IDP, which every municipality has to prepare, and which could potentially provide for a postcolonial plurality of different and smaller plans, but which in the world of “bank-ability” and the new managerial ethos were relegated to a comprehensive quasi-business plan. With communities finding that an IDP becomes the vehicle for accessing funds, it loses some of its promise as an arena for debate and for collectively shaping joint futures. Getting the plan done within a certain timeframe becomes more important than the process or the plan itself.’

Furthermore, the rapid outflow of foreign capital and the fall in the value of the South African currency (Rand) prompted the government to review national policies including the IDP.

These problems were further compounded by the conceptions of the role of the state that was also shifting to that of providing a framework for development within which other actors would take responsibility. The IDP therefore ‘arrived at the time when the government was shifting its emphasis from a progressive, state driven development path to the economic orthodoxy of the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)’ (Harrison 2001).

(iii) Conflicting perception of the role of the IDP

The role of the IDP was subject to the different and shifting emphasis within the broad government of coalition. For some, the IDP is a tool to drive a needs-based approach in which equity, institutional transformation and participatory governance were paramount, while others saw its main role as that of supporting more efficient financial and resource allocations (Harrison 2001:177). It became more apparent that the latter view was prevailing as the 'prospect of using the IDP-process as a public arena in which interaction and debate can take place between people of a village, town or city and the other spheres of government was lost' (Oranje 2001:11).

(iv) The configuration of national political scene

The configuration of the national politics provided another major source of tension and contradiction. The establishment of South Africa's nine provinces was as a result of compromise during the negotiation process. Provinces were given concurrent responsibility with national government to oversee the establishment of a new planning system for the country. The potential for nine different planning systems emerging was imminent, but in reality only in two provinces that were not under the ruling party – Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal that a different system began to emerge.

There was also the contradiction between an autonomous sphere of government operating within a system of cooperative governance on the one hand, and a delegation to local government of a mainly technical function in the implementation of the policies and programmes of national government (Harrison 2001:177).

It is still early days to judge the complete effectiveness of IDPs in terms of their stated objectives of integration and resource allocation. The new Land Use Management Bill provides for the preparation of IDPs by local governments in order to access state funds. Clearly, they are here to stay, at

least in the short term. In the meantime there are still fundamental issues to be resolved, chief among which include the tension between the progressive goals of participatory governances and social equity on the one hand, and business planning on the other hand.

5.6 White paper for Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001)

The white paper for Spatial Planning and Land Use Management sets basic principles that will guide spatial planning, land use management and land development in the Republic and to provide, among other things, for the uniform regulation of land use management in the South Africa.

Following a nationwide study of planning laws that revealed an `extraordinary complex and inefficient legal framework`, which `compounds the already difficult task of planning for sustainable, integrated and equitable land use and development in South Africa. The need to rationalize this situation, through overarching national legislation` (du Toit 2001:6) provided a rationale for this legislation.

Consequently, the white paper is aimed at repealing a host of planning legislations preceding 1994 and after, including the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Act 67 of 1995), which was discussed above. Like the DFA, it is also driven by a set of principles (equity, efficiency, integration, environmental sustainability, and fair and good governance) from which the norms are derived. Du Toit (2001:13) explains the purpose of the norms as follows:

`The purpose of a normative approach is to ensure wise land use.....Wise land use is premised on the consideration that by rational planning of all land uses in an integrated manner, it is possible to link social and economic development with environmental protection and enhancement...`

It is still early days to try and predict its impact on the practice of land use planning in South Africa. But as Mabin (1995) noted in relation to what he regarded as the emerging orthodoxy around the compact city approach in

South Africa, it is hard to fault preoccupation with the stated principles contained in the white paper.

After the long trauma of state-sanctioned separation and fragmentation in South Africa, concepts of integration have a clear and compelling resonance (Harrison 2001:182). But planning literature is littered with instances of good intentions that never see the light of day, as the experience around the RDP and DFA have illustrated.

However, perhaps with the benefit of hindsight around the difficulties encountered with the implementation of the DFA and the RDP, du Toit (2001:13) states the following:

‘It is important, however to emphasize that the interpretation and application of the principles and norms is context specific as conditions upon which the principles and norms have to be applied are not uniform throughout the country’.

This ‘post-modern turn’ on the part of a senior government official perhaps suggests the realization that a pragmatic attitude is a realistic prerequisite, more especially in a context characterized by diverse social and economical conditions. This means that the bill, which is very much written in a modernist discourse as a plan to be implemented, is therefore to be understood as a text to be interpreted and reinterpreted according to varying contexts. This ambiguous message may explain the manner in which the bill has been received in the academic community, as yet another modernist document that is out of touch with the reality of the South African context as the above comments on the bill suggests. At this stage we are in a position to make the following preliminary conclusion in connection with the foregoing:

- A pragmatic approach suggests that planning legislation, and by implication planning practice needs to be more flexible to the dictates of context and different localities.

- The insidious power of those who seek to 'do good' lies in inadvertently perpetuating the status quo of marginalizing certain groups.
- The new forces of fragmentation that are perpetuated by the global economy undermine many progressive goals such as participatory governance, integration and social equity.
- More relevant to the overall argument being presented is that key post-apartheid legislations discussed here are silent on the claim for space for the practice of initiation. The closest they have come is vague references made to the need to redress the injustices of the past, including land use. This augurs well for the future, especially in cases where existing land uses rights are being infringed upon, but not in cases where recognition for a new type of land use category is being sought as illustrated by the claim for space to practice initiation.

So far the argument has consisted in interrogating key post-apartheid national and local pieces of legislation for evidence of acknowledgement for claims for space to practice initiation. Both were found wanting largely for reasons having to do with their roots in modern planning and political contexts. For example apartheid planning made no bones about its policies that resulted in segregation, marginalization of certain groups and fragmentation, whereas the rhetoric of post-apartheid planning consisted mainly in trying to redress the effects of past planning through integration and wider participation in planning decisions. The following section takes this investigation further by examining the responses from interviews that were conducted with a few planning academics in relation to the provision of spaces for the practice of initiation in particular, and the broad substantive changes.

5.7 Conclusion

The foregoing has served to highlight a number of critical issues. Firstly, Foucault, and later Flyvbjerg in his study of Aalborg tried to demonstrate the pervasive nature of power. In this case, the outcome of power struggles at various levels determines the nature and scope of urban form and development. Recent calls for a left opposition in Parliament to articulate the interests of the working class and the poor, for example, are based on this realization.

Secondly, the difficulty of a modernist state to effect development in an environment characterized by social, political and physical fragmentation has also been highlighted. Various interpretations abound on the role of planning and planners in South Africa. Some have characterized planning as less 'blueprint' or master planning and more 'disjointed incrementalism' (McCarthy 1991:267). For others, planning is a strategic development process, which integrates social, institutional, economic and physical factors (Schoonraad 2000:225). More critical is the view that planning lacks an 'enabling paradigm' to inform planning practice and as a way forward, the need to revisit the original founding principles of the profession based on reform (Muller 1995). These different interpretations are characteristic of post-modernism's penchant for subjectivity²⁵ for which it has received much criticism.

A positive legacy of the apartheid system has been a high level of what Robert Putnam (1993) called social capital, the significance of which lay in the crucial role they played towards the dismantling apartheid. This collection of huge groups of people is not a marginal phenomenon: it is central to the politics of the future (Mabin Op cit. 195).

²⁵ See Allmendinger, P. (2001) in particular.

The fact that urban reconstruction in post apartheid South Africa is still premised on far wider participation, largely in the form of self-help, augurs well for the future. But the persistence of older forms of social and physical structures, as this chapter also tried to illustrate, may continue to undermine these efforts.

CHAPTER 6

INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes three case studies in detail, to provide the background for evaluating the relevance for the need for new planning practices, and as a measure of how effective these new approaches are in dealing with issues of previously marginalized groups. The case studies examine claims for a need for spaces for the purpose of practicing initiation in three African townships of Langa, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, with the Langa site being the main focus of this study. They are particularly interesting in that they offer a practical context within which to situate the complex nature of post-modern planning practice in South Africa.

The fourth case that will also be described and later examined concerns the proposal for an initiation village by the Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Sport (DECAS) in Western Cape. The relevance of this proposal lies in that it represents, for the first time, an official acknowledgement of the claim by affected communities for the need for initiation space to be set aside as a legitimate land use in planning. The manner in which the claim for the need of space for initiation is framed in this proposal i.e., along environmental and health concerns, may also serve to highlight some of the dominant concerns now shaping the development of South African cities, particularly Cape Town. It is interesting to note that health concerns were used in the past to rationalize mass destruction and forced removals from areas that were declared as slums following the passage of the Health Act of 1919 (Mabin 1991, Parnell 1993). The realrationaliteit (Flyvbjerg 1998) though behind forced removals was in order to accommodate urban racial segregation.

Interestingly enough, town planning, which rationalizes the societal reproduction of space (Yiftachel 2001), does not feature in the report. This raises interesting questions about the role of planners in this context, and whether or not planners have a monopoly in dealing with such matters.

Through these case studies, the chapter begins to address the second research question of empirical investigation: *To what degree has post-apartheid planning dealt with the historical legacy of past planning practice, and what has been the experience of the marginalized in terms of the post-apartheid planning initiatives?* To undertake this task, written discourse of mainly historical texts on the initiation process is complemented by oral discourse arising from interviews with a variety of actors both affected by and instrumental in either/both the planning and initiation process.

The chapter begins by presenting historical overview of initiation practice. The subsections that follow describe the spatial needs for initiation in each township, which is followed by a description of what has been done from town planning point of view in each township to accommodate this need. This brief discussion forms part of the analysis to be continued in the conclusion of this chapter and pursued in-depth in Chapter Seven.

This historical overview is then followed by an annotated description of the initiation process, the significance of which lies in shedding a deeper understanding of the issues involved in the initiation process in order for any planning intervention to be meaningful. The historical overview and the annotated description both rely on oral as well as historical documents that were collected during fieldwork.

6.2 Historical overview

Southern African chiefdoms observed initiation practices to prepare the youth, male or female, for their future roles in adult society. At some unknown date

in the past, the Xhosa chiefdom adopted circumcision as the principal form of male initiation. In the course of time and largely as a result of Xhosa influence, circumcision was adopted by neighboring chiefdoms such as the Thembu, Mfengu, Xesibe, Mpondo to name a few (Magubane, 1998).

Undoubtedly, circumcision originally had a militaristic significance, as a worthy ordeal for the young men who were to serve as warriors before being eligible to marry. For example, when King Dingiswayo, King Shaka's predecessor, introduced the regimental system in Zululand, Zulu circumcision was discontinued. Also, in the past, every Xhosa initiate was presented with a spear and war clubs by his father and father's brothers at the coming out ceremony (umgidi) held to incorporate the initiates (abakhwetha) back into society from the bush where they had been secluded.

Traditional rituals (amasiko) in general such as initiation and slaughtering of domestic animals have symbolic significance among those Africans who practice them. They are performed at virtually every stage of the life cycle, from birth through puberty, marriage and menopause to death. Originally rural phenomena, these rituals continue to be practiced in considerably altered or attenuated form in urban areas.

However, it is important to note that when African townships were designed and built in the latter part of the 20th century, no consideration was given towards designating spaces for the sole purpose of initiation. This has resulted in a situation where any vacant spaces, regardless of location and size, both of which are crucial for the initiation process as will be demonstrated later, are utilized for the purpose of initiation. In 2001, largely as a result of the growing concern about problems associated with initiation process, three provinces – Eastern Cape, Northern Province and Free State – have adopted legislation aimed at maintaining health standards in circumcision. In the Eastern Cape, the Application of Health Standards in

Traditional Circumcision Act saw more than 300 medical officers designated to issue permits and assess circumcision application standards, and to provide surgical training and equipment to monitor the practice. Since the introduction of the act in 2001, botched circumcisions have cost the department R99-million and 4749 initiates have since been admitted to hospitals for treatment¹.

In the following sections the discussion focuses on individual case studies and the struggle to secure space for the practice of initiation. The approach adopted in order to present this material will again be descriptive, with the aid of photographic evidence.

6.2.1 Langa Township Site: The Main Case Study

Langa is the oldest African township in Cape Town, dating back to the 1920's. It is the smallest of the four townships in terms of population and physical size, with the population estimated at between 50 and 70 000. The township is approximately 300 hectares in extent and is situated about 6 miles away from the Cape Town central business district. Having been located on the (then) periphery of the city, as a dormitory township for African migrant workers, the growth of the city has since 'absorbed' Langa Township into the urban fabric and it is now strategically situated within the metropolitan area. Currently, Langa township has the largest single initiating site, approximately 8 hectares in extent. As a consequence of Township's age, the site also has a long history of initiation than the other Townships that were built much later.

The Langa initiation site is situated along the southeastern corner of the township, and is rectangular in shape. The N2 highway, which runs along the eastern border, provides an off-ramp along Bhunga drive, which in turn acts as a boundary along the northern border of the site. Bhunga drive is one of the two vehicular access routes into Langa. Along the southern boundary is

¹ Eastern Cape: Mail and Gurdian, August 27 to September 2, 2004, p2.

the old power station, and the football stadium runs along the western boundary.

However, due to problems with the lack of proper management structures of the site, it is partially polluted by waste dumping and general litter. The fact that initiation is a seasonal practice also exacerbates the situation as this means that the site is neglected during this period. Like in the other townships though, the site has shrunk considerably over the years as competition over urban space continue to intensify.

The space is charged with a lot of emotion associated with the struggle against police and local council, and against those wanting to erect informal housing or shacks, and the fact that the space is regarded as 'holy' by the community because of its long history of initiation that spans over generations. This is illustrated by two incidents that have served to further cement the bond between the community and the site.

Figure 1: Langa Initiation site at the southern entrance of the township

Source: Cape Metropolitan Map

In 1986, the Cape Metropolitan Council decided to upgrade a police station adjacent to the site by building a new one on the site. Word of mouth spread throughout the community, which, according to witnesses, quickly organized and literally chased the bulldozers out of the site and the township. The council finally backed down on the decision to build on the site but witnesses mentioned continued intimidation and harassment by the police in an attempt to discourage its use for initiation. Eventually the police also withdrew from the site.

The second incident concerns the blessing of the site by the community. In the middle of December 2001, the community held a prayer meeting on the site in order to `bless the space`. This follows the health scare in the Eastern Cape resulting from botched circumcisions that claimed a few lives and some of the boys needing hospitalization.

In a radical departure from the norm, women were also invited on a walk-about on the site as part of this community-wide blessing. According to the reverend that organized the prayer meeting, it was important for the entire community to express solidarity with the initiation process.

Throughout the meetings that were held during the research interviews, the community expressed a strong desire to keep the site for the purpose of initiation with some physical improvements made, including security of tenure. Some of the improvements suggested were provision of water taps, fencing, tree planting, and securing the site to prevent, among other things waste dumping, wood collecting, and people passing through the site.

There was no visible community structure or organization that anyone interested in this matter could liaise with. However, this state of affairs belies the strong sentiments around the initiation process in general and the initiation site. This will be discussed later in the relevant sections below.

6.2.2 The Gugulethu Township Sites

Gugulethu Township dates back in the 1950's. It was the product of the mass housing policy for an increasingly urbanizing and growing African population. Gugulethu has a number of smaller sites scattered throughout the township. It is the only Township that fares worse than the rest in terms of site availability (figures 2-4) for initiation.

As a result, some of the boys travel to other near-by townships, while others prefer to go back to the rural areas where their parents originate, for the initiation process. Locally, Langa Township is favored because of its proximity to Gugulethu. Another factor that tends to influence where an individual is circumcised is friends of the initiates and relatives for the parents. In this sense, the camaraderie and access coincide for boys and parents respectively in terms of choosing where to initiate.

Figure 2: 1st Gugulethu Site situated on the southern entrance. The three black objects behind the houses are some of the temporary huts built by initiates.



Source: By author

As in the Langa case, there was no community organization dealing with this issue. This made it difficult to find out exact information about the number of sites involved and what the local government was doing to address this issue. Furthermore, the current process of amalgamation of local authorities to form mega-cities or Unicitys made it rather difficult to locate relevant personnel.

The fewer sites that were identified have shrunk significantly over the years due to housing demand. The process is becoming more and more individualized or family based as mentioned above.

6.2.3 The Khayelitsha Township Initiation Sites

Khayelitsha (which means new home) was established in the 1980's. It is the biggest African Township with varying estimates of up to a million residents in formal as well as informal housing. It is the only Township where the local

authority has identified areas that are used by the community for the initiation process (figure 4).

Figure 3: 2nd Initiation site in Gugulethu Township with two temporary huts along the fence.



Source: By author

The local authority has gone as far as proposing more sites with the participation of local community representatives, some of which corresponded with the location of existing sites.

It is significant however to note that Khayelitsha has no shortage of vacant land as in Gugulethu. This is partly due to its peripheral location in relation to the city of Cape Town; approximately 30 minutes drive from the city center, and the fact that it is a relatively new settlement. Khayelitsha also has a much bigger local planning authority, which means more capacity to deal with

various issues, whereas Langa and Gugulethu offices were much smaller in capacity with most functions located at city council level in the city center.

These two factors could perhaps begin to partly explain the differences among these case studies, which underline the importance of the location and capacity of local planning authorities. This may have a potential to foster a closer working relationship with the local community and an intimate understanding of the local issues and dynamics.

Figure 4: 3rd Initiation site in Gugulethu Township in the middle of a residential area, a clear departure to the norm.

Source: Cape Metropolitan Council Map

6.2.4 The Proposal for the Delft Site: The Driftsands Initiation Village

6.2.4.1 Introduction

The Initiation Village is the brainchild of the Biodiversity component of the Chief Directorate: Environmental Affairs within the Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Sport in the Western Cape Region (DECAS). According to its report, this initiative emanated from the lack of

`proper facilities` that has resulted in the deaths and hospitalization of some of the initiates. In line with the objective of the department to `Protect, enhance, and promote the total environment for the optimal development of our people` (Vika, 2001:4), a pilot project was proposed for this village.

Figure 5: Initiation sites in Khayelitsha marked by 4 green circles

Source: Tygerberg Municipality

6.2.4.2 The Initiation Village

This pilot project is for an initiation village to be built in the Driftsands Nature Reserve, and the project's name is Driftsands Initiation Village. The site, 15 hectares in extent with capacity to accommodate approximately 210 boys, would be identified, together with the Driftsands Initiation Committee, inside the reserve. It would be fenced, with five permanent rondavels built. Clean tap water and ablution facilities are to be provided on the site because the

local river is polluted. It was anticipated that the estimated budget of R466 000 (approximately £40 000) was to be covered by the Cape Metropolitan Council. The facility was expected to operational by June 2002, however towards the end of 2004 there was still no evidence of construction on the designated site.

It was hard to understand the rationale behind the provision of this facility from the report. For example, the report notes the lack of space and resources (meaning materials for constructing temporary dwellings) by stating that the `use of plastics and other inappropriate materials such as cardboard do not only pose a serious threat to the natural environment, but they pose an ugly picture of the entire province` (Vika, 2001:3). The third paragraph on the same page also state the following which is worth quoting in full:

“The rationale behind this project is to discourage the invasion of open spaces by the initiates and the concomitant use of plastics when constructing amabhoma (meaning temporary shelter). Such practices pose serious threats to our already degraded environment. Again the intention is to draw the need for planners to regard the setting aside of land for initiation rites as a basic human right”.

On the following page the report also states that the proposed Initiation Village is in line with the department’s objective to “Protect, enhance, and promote the total environment for the optimal development of our people”. A two-phased workshop was held jointly by DECAS and the Medical Research Council (MRC) to test public opinion on feasibility of the project. Due to the `sensitivity of the matter, the workshop was to discuss about the container and not its contents` (Vika op cit), in reference to the need for secrecy about the details involved in the initiation process. According to the report, other issues that arose were the need for another workshop to discuss the health and safety of the initiates, the need to involve women and the health department.

6.3 Preliminary Observations

It has already been mentioned that when South African townships were designed and built from the second half of the 20th century onwards, no consideration was given to the provision of space for the practice of various traditional rituals in general, including in this case the initiation process. Traditional rituals like the initiation process are being performed on any vacant spaces in and around the townships with some communities faring well than others in terms of securing these spaces. Moreover, the ever-increasing need for housing and other essential urban amenities guarantees a situation of perpetual competition for the availability of space for initiation. Given this state of affairs, would for example, the setting aside of scarce, well located, valuable land for the initiation process represent an optimal decision in the context of the need for land with the similar characteristics for other uses such as housing?

This lack of designated space has resulted, together with the health scare, in each family getting involved with the initiation process more than before, instead of it being a community-wide affair. The only common denominators remaining are that it is still recognized and sanctioned by the community as an indispensable process towards attaining manhood, and that it takes place more or less around the same time during school holidays in June and December of every year.

The initiation process continues to go through a process of adaptation to suit urban living conditions and rhythms as discussed in the above paragraph. Does this state of affairs diminish the need to provide these spaces because the initiation practice could be overwhelmed by city-life and eventually disappear? Is it justifiable to allocate a scarce resource such as land to this use or are there other more deserving cases such as housing as discussed above?

The other issue relates to the Human Rights Act as one professional speaking as a mother puts it `what if the child refuses to go, they have a right to refuse to go for initiation`. Are planners being therefore asked to provide spaces for what some would regard as the equivalent of `genital mutilation` of boys? These are some of the challenges that arise out of this claim for space for initiation practice.

Recently, the initiation process seems to run against the emerging orthodoxy around the concept of the `compact city` approach (Mchunu 2001). The land that the community of Langa has identified for the initiation process is one of the well-located vacant plots in terms of access to the city center, making it a prime candidate for low-cost housing. It also abuts a disused power station whose fate is still undecided. These two plots combined represent a substantial piece of valuable real estate at the city's doorstep, the use of which is likely to be highly politicized (figure 1)

Given this state of affairs, it is hard to resist the temptation to raise the long-standing normative questions in planning `What should planners do?` or `How can planners intervene, thereby improving planning practice?` Although necessary, framing questions in this manner fails to yield a better understanding of how cities are shaped. In this case we may not be able to come to some understanding as to why the space for initiation has not been provided in the first place. The relevant question then becomes `what has been done by planners to address this need for space for the practice of initiation? Alternatively, `why has nothing been done?`, or `why have past and current practices not been successful if any?` This provides a sound `vista point` from which to explain the link between society, politics and the shaping of cities and region (Yiftachel 2001:252).

6.4 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to provide background information as a beginning of highlighting some of the issues involved in the initiation process. Some of the critical themes emerging from the foregoing are the following, arranged in no order of importance. Some of these issues are discussed in detail in the proceeding Chapters.

- The `use value` attached to a well located scarce resource such as urban land demands that it be put to its optimal use due to competing claims with other equally deserving needs for well located urban land such as low-cost housing. Is `use value` as perceived by community different from that of planner's conception?
- The seeming contradiction between the claim for initiation space and the reemerging orthodoxy around the concept of `compact-city` approach. The latter endeavors at redressing the fragmentation and division that characterized much of apartheid. The initiation process is land-extensive whereas compact-city approach abhors sprawl. In other words, does this contradiction represent the irreconcilable compact and extensive clash of urban cultures and values?
- The relative ascendancy of the forces of fragmentation compared to the forces of integration. The state sponsored fragmentation and social division that characterized much of apartheid planning has now been replaced by the logic of market forces. This does not augur well both for the compact-city approach which is strongly predicated on government intervention, and for new planning initiatives which eschew any form of domination, be it market or state driven.
- The sensitive issue on the role of women in the initiation process. Feminist critiques constitute the broader post-modern coalition against the

marginalization of those defined as `other` in planning decision making processes. By virtue of its tolerance for diversity, difference and heterogeneity, post-modern planning theory and practice was deemed more relevant. Yet one of the *raison de'tre* for the case studies revolves around the marginalization of woman. Although feminist critique of the initiation process is beyond the scope of the research, it does raise some interesting questions regarding the initiation process.

- Outsider's point of view. The initiation process is shrouded in secrecy and as such denies access to certain aspects of the process to `outsiders`. Even the initiates are forbidden to discuss some of these aspects. Social Anthropology methods designed to overcome some of these difficulties such as participant observation are rendered inadequate. Identification of key informants and a good rapport with community proved invaluable without the need to divulge clan secrets.
- Ownership of land for the initiation process. Is it necessary that the land belong to the community, as the sentiment seems to suggest, or does the local authority retains ownership but guarantees right to use the land? The suggested improvements to the site also call for some form of a management structure to safeguard these facilities, which before was not necessary, as the land was vacant.
- The lack of community structures/organizations in all three cases that articulate these claims for space. The emergence of social movements in the 1960's was crucial for planning practice as Friedman (2001) has demonstrated. What form of planning theory(ies) and practice(s) are appropriate for issues raised by these case study?
- Implicit in these issues is the important question of access to the local government decision-making processes concerning planning matters in

general. This is based on the assumption that there is an existing community structure to articulate their views, and an official forum where these views could be heard and discussed. The former did not exist at the time the research interviews were conducted. In general, community participation has tended to be characterized by situations where, according to Harrison (2001) 'the emotive voice of the people has been reduced by planners to an inaccessible and technical language'. For Oranje (2001), planning continues to speak in one tongue, a master discourse that entertains only those who will translate theirs to its narrow rational, technical discourse. This has been the experience of marginalized groups during colonial and apartheid periods in South Africa. In this context, concepts of integration such as compact city approaches, IDP's and collaborative planning in post apartheid South African planning have a clear and compelling resonance (Harrison 2001) and are hard to fault (Mabin 1995).

Is it too early to evaluate the effectiveness of these new integrative planning approaches as Mabin (1995) has suggested? More recent literature on South African planning (Oranje 1997, Watson 1998, Dewar 2001, Harrison 2001, Oranje 2001, Mchunu 2001) suggests otherwise. The advances that were made in the early 1990's in terms of redressing both physical and social fragmentation seem to have lost momentum. The following chapter explores this discussion through an analysis of the case study material presented in this chapter.

Chapter 7

Elements of the Initiation process: Implications for design of facilities

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an annotated pictographic description of some of the stages involved in the initiation process. This follows the discussion in the previous chapter concerning the historical background of the initiation practice and the resultant claim for space for these communities to practice it in an urban context. This chapter therefore begins the process of analysis in order to try and shed more light on the practice for the purpose of planning intervention. The presentation is aimed at highlighting those elements that may serve as a guide for site selection/improvement or more precisely, planning intervention. For the purpose of this discussion, these shall be referred to as 'design criteria'. Although the discussion may be germane to other sites, the focus is primarily on the Langa township site as the main case study. The design criteria are to assist with the proposed improvements to be made on the present site in Langa Township. The community expressed no desire on their part to move from the existing site.

7.2 Elements of Initiation Process

7.2.1 Security

(i) Foremost in the minds of the community is security in the form of tenure. This legitimizes the practice as an officially recognized land use. As it has already been discussed in the previous section, the city council has once tried to evict the community and change the use of the site to no avail. That incident is etched in the minds of community members who participated in the struggle against the city council. Since there are no sites available in and around Langa, there is a strong desire to keep the secure the existing site against future threats, be they from the City Council or squatters in search of land for informal settlements.

(ii) Security of the boys emanates from the general escalation of violence as a social problem, especially in the townships. The feeling, especially among

women, was that the boys are more vulnerable because they are out of the house in the bush. The threat is even more real if some boys have enemies in the township. Incidences were also reported of boys hiding stolen goods in their temporary shelters and a few getting in trouble with the police over similar offences.

(iii) Lastly, there was a concern for the need to secure the site by erecting a fence/wall or planting of trees in order to prevent people from passing through the site as a short-cut to other areas, to prevent people from collecting fire-wood which may be needed by the boys for the same purpose, and to prevent the site being used as a waste dump (figure 6).

Figure 6: Garbage next to the entrance of the Langa site



Source: By author

In general, the community feels that this site is more especially vulnerable from item 3 above during the off-season period when no one is on the site. Upon probing further for the solution to this, reference was made to the fence and the need for a management structure to oversee the security and other issues regarding the site.

Unfortunately, by the time of my departure, a community-wide meeting was being organized to discuss further some of the questions arising from this research.

Figure 7: Storm-water canal across the site in Langa



Source: By author

7.2.2 Element of Secrecy

The initiation process is shrouded in secrecy, and as such members of the community in general are strongly discouraged from visiting the site during the initiation season, more especially women. Boys are also not allowed to discuss what goes on in the bush. As part of the initiation, the boys are also expected to learn a special language that is used only among them throughout the initiation period. Again, they are forbidden from speaking it outside the confines of the initiation process. Such is the element of secrecy around initiation.

Concern was expressed by the women that the site is exposed to the off-ramp from the main highway into the township (Figure 1), as a result they are forced to look the other way so as not to see anything when they pass the area by bus or taxi. However, both men and women generally felt that a fence/wall or row of trees was necessary in order to ensure that an element of secrecy was maintained.

7.2.3 Proximity/Distance

The significance of this criterion derives solely from a practical point of view relating to the daily delivery of food, messages and laundry items between home and the bush. Most people prefer to walk, but internal commuting is also common in Langa. In Khayelitsha for example, the size of the township dictates some form of internal commuting for those farthest from the location of the chosen sites. No mention was made in terms of a distance beyond which a proposed site may be unsuitable, largely because reference was always made to the distance of the existing site as perfect for the residents of Langa, calculated at approximately 30 minutes walk from the farthest point to the site.

7.2.4 Access to clean water

They become man after going through that water, they must go through that water first' (first group interview with men).

Water relates to the practical aspects of the need for consumption for health reasons as well as for bathing. But there is also a symbolic aspect to water during the initiation process. In the rural areas, the river used to be the main source of water. In the urban areas these may be heavily polluted or non-existent. The symbolic aspect of the water derives from the practice of chasing the boys to the river and the act of bathing upon completing the initiation process. This marks the end of the initiation process in the bush and a return to the community.

Traditionally, an elder `chases` the boys with a stick to the river in jest. They are supposed to run to the water. The significance of the `chase` is uncertain. How this practice of `chasing` to the water has been adapted to suit urban

conditions remain unclear, as nobody was willing to discuss this element further, although the symbolic chasing of the boys is still practiced in some form. There was a general consensus in terms of providing clean water regardless of where it came from. Taps were therefore suggested as necessary. Shower facilities were also mentioned but the majority felt that a few taps would suffice.

Figure 8: Running to the river to bathe to mark the first phase of completing initiation

Source: Magubane (1998), *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*

After bathing in the river, the boys anoint each other with oil and then cover themselves with new blankets and walk home to mark the end of seclusion in the bush and integration into wider community.

(e) The significance of fire

Starting from the first day the boy enters his temporary shelter (ibhoma), he is expected to keep the fire burning for the duration of the initiation process, i.e. one month. The significance of fire in the rural areas may have laid in keeping wild animals at bay in as much as it provided warmth and provided a source of light in the evening.

Figure 9: Getting ready to be anointed with fat (ifutha)

Source: Magubane (1998), *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*

Note the youngster on the extreme right. Young boys like him spend the whole time in the bush to run errands like collecting firewood, food from home and conveying messages back and forth between the bush and home.

To a certain extent, some of these issues are still relevant although other means to provide for light and warmth are readily available in the form of candles and more blankets respectively. However, the fire was deemed as an indispensable element of the initiation process by all interviewees. This may stem from its symbolic aspect. For example, upon completing the initiation process and leaving the bush, his temporary shelter (ibhoma) is burned to the ground.

The boy is not aloud to look back because he is symbolically walking away from his past and looking forward to the future ahead of him as a new person. The fire symbolizes the `point of no return` attitude that begins with the boy being presented to the initiators for the commencement of the initiation process.

Figure 10: Smearing with oil after bathing in river

Afterward smearing with fat (ifutha), they then cover themselves with a blanket and carry a black stick (umqayi) with them. This stick must never be used for fighting and is kept forever. The significance of smearing with fat is symbolic.

The idea according to the informants is that their lives be blessed with success and prosperity.

Source: Magubane (1998), *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*

The physical act of burning and the symbolism inherent in erasing the past reinforce the message that 'there is nothing to go back to, only the future matters now'.

This need for fire also raises the need to secure firewood from the near-by forests. Here the interviewees suggested the planting of fast-growing trees during the off-season period, which could also be used for building temporary shelters. Others felt that there was no problem as firewood was plentiful in the forest.

Figure 11: Leaving the initiation site. Note the fire behind

Source: Magubane (1998), *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*

(At the termination of their period of seclusion, the initiates (abakhwetha), cover in blankets, set fire to their makeshift initiation shelter. They must walk away without looking back, thus symbolically turning their backs on their childhood.

This is no longer possible in the urban context because the art of stick fighting is started at early age. Instead the boys sit in their 'houses' (ibhoma) for the whole day. This is one of the major concerns with some of the parents because some of the boys have been implicated in misdemeanors in the community at night. Lack of adequate security and being idle has been identified as major problems.

Figure 12: The main pastime is a traditional game of stick fighting.

Source: Magubane(1998), Vanishing Cultures of South Africa

Boys from one area would meet another group of boys from a different area and compete.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has served to highlight five spatial elements necessary for the claim for space for initiation. It combines preliminary findings based on the information provided in the previous chapter on the origins of the initiation process in a rural context and the claim for space to practice it in urban areas.

Figure 13: Sitting outside one of initiation huts

Source: Magubane (1998), *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*

These two contradictory views on the claim for space to practice initiation are reminiscent of post-modernism's debilitating tendencies that some writers have pointed out. The manner in which the Drift-sands Initiation Village proposal was handled is analogous to Mabin's (1995) notion of South African planners waking up in a post-modern era while still equipped with methods and practices of a modernist past. A number of critical issues emerged during discussions with various stakeholders regarding the Drift-sands Initiation Village proposal. Whose idea was it anyway? Who stands to gain more from pursuing the status quo? Deconstructing this proposal means highlighting some of these underlying problematic issues.

According to the official responsible for the Drift-sands nature reserve proposal, a Mr. Vika, the initiative for this endeavour came from Provincial government `in response to the need for space and the increasing number of casualties from botched circumcisions¹. All the stakeholders were informed accordingly, i.e. local government and affected communities:

"Councillors (were) charged with organizing meetings in their wards in order to solicit feedback on draft plans and a model for the proposed village".

And

"Local government was being roped in as governing structure".

It soon became clear by the choice of his words that this was a top-down process with local government structures and communities as junior partners. What also soon became evident was what according to his view was at stake, that is, access to land, as suggested in `claim for space`.

Healey (1992:152) points out that different `systems of meaning` are possible because `we see things differently because words, phrases, expressions,

¹Since 1996 when the Eastern Cape Department of Health began keeping statistics, 272 initiates have died and 4749 admitted to hospital with a cost of R99-million. Mail and Guardian, August 27 – September 2 2004/Vol 20, No 35

objects, are interpreted according to our frame of reference`. The claim for space to practice initiation was therefore exclusively and literally interpreted to mean physical space by Provincial government, and according to their understanding, City Council was therefore experiencing difficulty securing appropriate land to accommodate the initiation practice. As a major landowner in the city, provincial government was able to step in and drive the process.

Framing the claim for space to practice initiation in this manner was as a result of misunderstanding this complex issue. It amounted to a deliberate strategy that afforded the department an opportunity to reinsert the discourse on the environment into the public arena by linking it with an issue that was already enjoying public spotlight as a result of local and national media attention. Gradually, the discussions shifted to focus on the environment in terms of how to avoid or minimise the impact of the initiation practice on the environment.

"The process must work within the limits of (nature) conservation` because `culture conservation and nature conservation go hand in hand".

Having established this relationship, the department emphasised the significance of environment as a natural resource, which is being threatened by, among other things, the practice of initiation.

"Natural resources of Cape Town are internationally recognised but are being destroyed by burning and using plastics` (for the construction of temporary shelters during initiation)".

As a fellow Xhosa who understood that the actual practice, i.e., what actually happens in the bush is shrouded in secrecy, he wanted to make it clear where the position of the department on this sensitive matter. The issue as he put it was therefore not about the `contents` (practice) inasmuch as it was about the `container` (environment/space). The public participation process was merely designed to solicit comments on the `container`, that is, the design for the facility.

Since the province is a major landowner, and was `not asking for land from Cape Town City Council`, it therefore became possible to then separate

It is ironic that the unfortunate incidents (botched circumcisions) around initiation practices, rather than the claim for space by affected communities, propelled it into the popular media and public debate. The initiation practice had 'succeeded' in 'capturing' popular attention as a public discourse. Distinct but related discourses ensued in an attempt to secure support for their definition of reality. The strategy by provincial government to form a discourse-coalition on environment and culture (initiation practice) provide an instance where a new discursive space was formed in an ongoing struggle for discursive hegemony between differing coalitions to espouse their own definition of reality. Certain versions of reality become more acceptable, gaining more status and permanence. Ideas of blame, responsibility and urgency are attributed while victims and perpetrators are also identified (Watson 2002:5).

For the affected communities however, there were still issues that needed to be resolved. Little attention was directed at ensuring that they were indeed adequately consulted or understood the nature of their involvement/participation. The matter was delegated to their representative Councillors to organise meetings in their wards. Furthermore, the 'container' and its 'contents' were inseparable and the community oftentimes referred to them interchangeably. For the province however, the 'contents' were subsumed under the 'container'. The following discussion analyses and interprets some of these outstanding issues.

8.2.1 Ideological Strategy

Facing a 'messy' reality of competing discourses around the practice of initiation (Chapter 11.2), the Provincial Government, through its representative official (Mr. Vika), decided to pursue an ideological strategy of rationalism. Their status as a government entity afforded them the necessary legitimacy in the eyes of the community. This was further buttressed by a number of interconnected factors. Mr. Vika is a Xhosa man who went through the process of initiation as a young man and therefore theoretically is in a better position to understand the issues involved. He also occupies a respected position of leadership in the community as a church minister, and finally his status as professional in his field of environment conservation. It was

oftentimes ambiguous to decipher which position he was speaking from at any point in time, especially when he voiced his disagreement with members of the community who did not agree with him on certain aspects of the initiation process (Chapter 11.2.5).

Appealing to reason and logic², deploying status as a strategy to bolster their arguments and simplifying issues as involving just access to land won some support with a few councillors, especially those whose wards faced a spatial problem. Framed this way, any piece of land would therefore suffice. This was combined with the department's concern to bring into the public psyche environmental degradation as a social problem. Two unique features of the Western Cape were threatened with extinction and therefore worth the public's attention.

Post-modern planning theorists have pointed out among other issues, the problems with separating facts from values or dualistic thinking. For example, it may be a fact that City Council faces a problem in terms of providing appropriate land to practice initiation, emphasis on the question of what is appropriate. For affected communities and some of their representatives (community councillors) however, an equal amount of value is placed on more accessible land and a more participatory approach as demonstrated in the following sections of this chapter.

The 'take it or leave it' impression by some Community Councillors represents their interpretation of the provincial government's attitude towards their predicament from their frame of reference a la Healey above. The meaning attached to the manner in which the offer is made is entirely different from that which the provincial government intended. Access to land could therefore not be divorced from the value attached to its location without sending an ambiguous message. In the eyes of the community, access enhances the value of land as an appropriate space for initiation, in conjunction with other elements as discussed in Chapter Seven.

² See for example section 6.2.4.2 in Chapter 6

Anti-foundationalism calls into question the validity of rejecting values as legitimate forms of knowledge and only favouring objective and universal methods. It acknowledges subjective and localized forms of knowledge, thus promoting the notions of social justice and tolerance of diversity. The `container` (space/environment) cannot therefore realistically be divorced from its `contents` (initiation practice) in two ways. Firstly, the objective transportation costs associated with the distance of the proposed village from the residential areas may be prohibitive for most families. Secondly, the psychological benefit of knowing that the initiation site is situated within walking distance, in the backyard of the residential area.

The combination of anti-foundationalism and anti-dualist critiques lie at the core of deconstruction as a method for post-modernism as suggested by Milroy (1991). The deployment of status/legality, power and reason constitute a deliberate strategy to dictate the outcome and manipulate the process in order to champion the course of the environment as a worthwhile social concern by linking it with an issue that has grabbed the attention of the nation. There may also be an element of opportunistic advancement of individual interests (status) both professionally and socially as a solution to the issue of the claim for space to practice initiation lingers on.

8.2.2 Social Impact

From an urban development point of view, the ideological strategy could be seen to be efficient. A mixed land use could contribute significantly towards combating urban sprawl, isolation and fragmentation, which characterised apartheid urban planning. Since post-apartheid urban planners were preoccupied mostly with attempts at integrating the fragmented apartheid city through compact development approaches, the strategy identified a willing ally. In addition to the spatial considerations of arresting sprawl and redressing fragmentation, in the context of scarce resources, the sharing of some of the infrastructure may help reduce development costs. However, negative impacts are associated with the strategy adopted by provincial government.

It is ironic that the strategy fragmented the community into two groups while simultaneously attempting to integrate spatial fragmentation and encourage

resource sharing. Councillors and their represented communities were marginal to the expert driven discussions about the environment and design of facility. In those wards where space was the issue, they had no choice but to accept the offer because they were aware of the lack of a viable alternative. Powerlessness and a sense of marginalization prevailed as will be illustrated.

The idea of `micro-physics of power`, signifying its location in everyday practices and the view that power is not a property held exclusively by others, leaves room for opposition and potential change. The community and their councillors soon challenged the discourse coalition of experts, first from a procedural point of view, and then from the validity of separating discussions on `content` and `contents`.

The following sections deal with the contentious issues that were either avoided by the strategy or not adequately addressed on it.

8.2.3 Distance of the proposed village

When the issue of distance arose during an interview with Councillor Mgxekeni, his response was as follows:

"If you raise this (Initiation Village) in ward meetings, people feel Drift-sands is too far. Another Councillor proposed this but there were objections. Parents must cook for the initiates, send three meals a day, that is costly for transport if you have to travel three times a day".

This issue generated a lot of anxiety and frustration among some of the Councillors was one of the sore points for Sub-Council 10 in particular. Responses such as `We are damn lost about initiation sites`, as one Councillor put it exemplified this anger and frustration. It also entrenched the resolve for conservative Councillors to throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater by taking the hospital option thereby doing away with the need for space if all the traditional requirements would not be fulfilled.

Related to this issue of distance was the safety of young boys who are `messengers` for the initiates. But it seemed as though Councillors for Sub-Council 10 and 11 were resigned to accepting the village proposal, albeit

begrudgingly, because of the lack of alternative appropriate space that was closer to the townships. The arrogance of the official in charge of the Initiation Village proposal could therefore be understood. His department had access to land, whereas Councillors and local authority faced a major problem with regards to land.

8.2.4 Burning of shelters

The burning of temporary shelter also generated a lot of passionate arguments from both sides and has traditional precedents on both sides, which made it harder to resolve. Arguments around the complete burning of shelters emphasised the symbolic aspects as required by tradition, and because the temporary shelter has been rendered `inhabitable` by virtue of its prior occupier:

“Burning shelter is important in our culture. No initiate can stay in a permanent structure”.

And,

“When we send our boy for initiation, we put traditional medicines inside the hut to protect him during his stay there, now how is this to be accommodated in one single shelter?”

Those who emphasised partial burning pointed out the same tradition, which makes allowances for a boy to be circumcised out of the bush in a permanent structure that is not specifically built for that purpose. But interviews with young men revealed that this option was highly frowned upon. It was not the real thing. It would seem that the village proposal, because of its location inside a nature reserve where fire is prohibited, favours the latter group. This position is further entrenched by lack of choice for an alternative site for Sub-Council 10 and 11, which forces them to reconcile the traditional practice of circumcising in a permanent structure due to special circumstances, which precludes burning, and the demand for nature conservation that eschews man-made fires.

This lack of choice for an alternative site for Sub-Council 10 and 11 yielded another interesting angle to the claim for space to practice initiation. It is

significant that the community of Langa Township (part of Sub-council 5) rejected outright the proposal for the Initiation Village precisely because they had an alternative space. According to one of their Councillors:

“Langa constituency differed from the Province (Initiation Village Proposal) initiative about specifications – burning, 1 big permanent hurt, and distance..... The community told him (official in charge) that if he wants it that way then Langa is not part of it”.

He went on to point out that the issue of space was central to the manner in which the Initiation Village option was being presented to other Sub-Councils:

“Sub-council 10 and 11 do not have an option but to take the village option. It is a Province initiative, Council (City) has no say”.

There was a feeling that the village option was being imposed upon communities that had no other choice but to go along with it because, unlike Langa whose Councillors speak in one voice regarding space for initiation and had alternative space, Sub-Council 10 and 11 lacked alternative space and their Councillors are divided on the matter. The official in charge of the Initiation Village proposal seemed very much aware of this dilemma.

Provincial government officials were equally aware that Councillors had other priorities such as job creation in addition to infrastructure development. The Councillor from Langa felt that the province was therefore taking advantage of the situation and imposing their ideas on these communities who had no choice. This was one of the reasons the Langa community withdraw their support for the proposal and choose to go alone because they already had access to land that should be `upgraded to suit the needs for initiation`.

Councillor Ntothoviyane (Sub-council 10) was particularly incensed by the manner in which this official was handling the Initiation Village proposal. `It is a sort of take it or leave it attitude` he fumed. Another Councillor (Mr Mxolose) from Langa shared a similar sentiment regarding the processes that were followed to facilitate community participation:

“Design should be the outcome of consultation, not be imposed on the people”

However, as will be demonstrated below, ward politics can make a mockery of community participation because Councillors act as gatekeepers in their wards.

Personal grudges, inflated egos and political manoeuvring may thwart potentially viable community projects from reaching deserving recipients in a number of ways. They can take decision-making in their hands without consulting their ward or denying permission to anyone wishing to consult with their ward.

8.2.5 Community participation

“The Drift-sands (Initiation Village) can turn out to be a white elephant because he (Mr. Vika) is waiting for funds yet we have not yet taken the matter thoroughly to our own wards”.

(Mr. Gocini, Community Councillor)

Councillors of Sub-council 10 and 11 seemed divided regarding the legitimacy of community consultation processes that were conducted in their respective wards. They were in agreement though in that they were responsible for organising ward meetings in order for the public to view the model and to voice their concerns. Since there was no formal mechanism in place to ensure that all wards were consulted, it appeared that those Councillors who were personally not in favour of the Initiation Village proposal either ignored the request to organise meetings in their wards or voiced their personal disapproval to the Provincial government official in charge of the project.

Since political etiquette demands that the office of the Councillor is the first port of call in order to gain access to their wards, this becomes impossible if the Councillor in charge does not approve of the project in the first place. As a result some communities were by-passed while the decisions taken affected their wards.

But as one Councillor noted in relation to the process that should have been followed by the official in charge of the Initiation Village proposal in order to avoid the division that emerged regarding the support for this initiative:

The process must first go to all Councillors, the long way is better than the short way.

The Drift-sands Initiation Village Proposal seems to have followed the `short way`, which makes it susceptible to a lot of criticism and lack of necessary support among Councillors.

8.2.6 Women and Initiation: An Oxymoron

I took my son to initiation. Came back home and my neighbour had been to my house and told my wife that my son was so brave, he did not cry when they cut him, saying that the initiator was really good. I was stunned because the man is older than me yet he discussed this matter with my wife

(Community Councillor Mr. Gocini)

The status of women with regards to initiation is perhaps the most sensitive and controversial of all the issues. It also wrapped up in a lot of ambiguity, confusion and rationalisations. Women have a culturally defined role to perform during the initiation process, yet the idea that they know something about initiation or have an opinion is highly frowned upon. Their role is largely perceived as involving the preparation of daily meals for the initiate and to organise for certain aspects of the coming out ceremony at the end of the initiation process. This confusion and ambiguity has been compounded by the fact that women now occupy official positions at national level as Ministers, and at local, community-wide level as Councillors both of which make them indispensable in some of the decision-making forums, including initiation. Furthermore, the growing number of female-headed households has compounded the situation.

Careful analysis of arguments reveals that women's role was acknowledged at the household or family level precisely because they have a culturally defined role to perform. According to provincial minister of health, women play a significant role in the initiation process:

'A would be initiate communicates his wish to be circumcised to his mother, who then passes the message to the father. The mother is, or should be, involved in the planning of the ritual until the boy is taken to the iingcibi (traditional surgeon), after which she is no longer directly involved but is kept informed of developments'.³

The following comment by Councillor Chief Ntothoviyane is therefore an acknowledgement of this fact:

Before you take the boy for initiation, you discuss the matter with your wife.

Some Councillors have been known to boycott Sub-council meetings where initiation issues are on the agenda if women were not barred from attending, as the following comment illustrates from one Councillor:

Fortunately, here in our Sub-Council (10), we are all men although we are not sure we have all been initiated.

The last part of the statement generated a tremendous amount of laughter, which was puzzling until one of the Councillors took it upon himself to let me in on the inside joke. Rumour had it that some Councillors who were present in the meeting had not been to the bush, which implied that they were not man enough to discuss this matter in the first place.

The rationalisation behind the marginalization of women was that they do not know anything about initiation. African Tradition is also often invoked as the final court of appeal against perpetuating the status quo and/or means to truncate dialogue about the inherent injustice and contradictions.

8.3 Conclusion

The benefits of combining information gathering and analysis benefited the study in general. Not only did the information from the interview with the provincial department official seemed too convincing and rational, it also contradicted some of the essential core requirements for initiation that were identified earlier (see chapter 7), which have implications for design specifications of the site. How was it possible that an issue so full of controversy was all of a sudden clear and straightforward? Were relevant communities adequately consulted? What and how were the issues that came

³ Eastern Cape: Mail and Guardian, August 27 to September 2, 2004:2

out of those meetings reconciled with the model in light of the initial findings of the research on the nature of the initiation process? Why did the Langa community decide to opt out of this Village proposal?

How was the contentious issue of women resolved, some of whom are Councillors and must be part of the decision making process?

Interviews with a group of Councillors subsequent to the meeting with the official from Provincial government soon confirmed my suspicions that any researcher develops through intimacy with their research topic. A number of issues that still needed to be addressed revolved around distance of the initiation site from the community, participation of women, community participation and burning of shelters. Deconstructing the Initiation Village proposal enabled to go beyond the statements and pronouncement of individual agents and help us understand their motivations behind the strategies and tactics deployed. The two conceptions of power and the notion of discourse coalition allow for the development of different perspective on the working of the city and the competing claims around consumption of space, which the claim for space to practice initiation represents.

CHAPTER 9

Local Authority, Community Councillors and Development Plans: The official response to the claim for space to practice initiation

‘.....different rationalities meet in a determinate historical landscape and establish coalitions for the pursuit of aims that, for a time at least, compliment one another’.
(Ransom 1997:70)

9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the role of local government with regards to the claim for space to practice initiation in relation to the issues raised in Chapter 7 about the elements involved with initiation process. The chapter also introduces and analyses relevant documents in relation to this claim by the community. This allows us to begin to answer the second and third research questions, namely: To what degree have post-apartheid planning dealt with the historical legacy of past planning, and what has been the experience of the marginalized in terms of post-apartheid planning initiatives?

In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary first to try to establish why the need for facilities was not entertained during the apartheid period. The discussion will focus largely on the question of skills both during and after apartheid, and the effect of the political context of apartheid on planning practice, and how this change in the political context has affected planning practice. Flyvjerg's (1998, 2000, 2001) method on the relationship between rationality and power and Foucault's notion of the micropolitics of power provide a methodological framework for analysis. Interestingly enough and more relevant to the discussion about space for initiation, Foucault sees space as fundamental to any exercise of power (Rabinow 1984: 252), where power necessarily implies resistance. This resistance may include challenging entrenched ideas and practices about permitted/recognized uses of space, which is the focus of this research.

This discussion enables us to provide more clues to answer the third research question, namely: What accounts for the lack of response or where is the gap

between practice and the need and how it can be breached? The discussion now turns on the lack of facilities during apartheid planning.

9.2 Why was the space for initiation not provided

On the basis of the arguments from chapter 2 onwards, we can begin to provide some answers to this question concerning the lack of spaces to practice initiation. The first had to do with the problem of involving affected black communities in the planning process, partly due to the authoritative nature of the apartheid regime, both of which made participation in the planning process inimical. It has been established in the previous chapter that community involvement in the planning process for initiation facilities is indispensable not only because of the complex nature of the initiation practice, but also for reasons having to do with social justice. The concept of social justice is used here in terms of Harvey (1993:358), which is universal, yet in a dialectical relation to particularity and context and open to constant negotiation.

The authoritative nature of the regime which militated against participation notwithstanding, professional arrogance and collaboration with apartheid policies also accounted for the lack of community participation in decision making processes by affected communities as the following quotation by Laburn-Peart (1998:172) illustrates:

'There was (also) an accompanying implicit assumption among planning decision makers either that they knew and understood the needs and problems of this disenfranchised sector of the public, or that the existence of this sector within 'white' South Africa was a temporary phenomenon, which precluded the need for equitable planning principles'.

The second related reason has to do with the training of planners at the time when the townships were designed and built from the 1930's up to as late as the 1980's, which according to Boden (1992) was exotic to the operative cultures. This not only meant that planning concepts and models from the west were transplanted into a

different context, it also meant that the planner's cultural, class, and racial background predisposed them to be culturally biased.

Thirdly, the then prevailing attitude was that Africans were temporary sojourners in the cities whose place of permanent residence was in the African reserves that were established by the colonial government. When the apartheid government assumed power in 1948, the 10 Bantustans or homelands that were established in the 1960's to coincide with ethnic groups were supposed to serve a similar function to the colonial reserves.

The fourth related reason has to do with the provision public facilities like housing and in this case, initiation sites, which were used as means to control the urban movement of Africans (Watson, 1998). Providing facilities like initiation sites would arguably have sent a wrong signal to those Africans wishing to migrate to what was then considered to be 'white' South Africa, thereby undermining the core of the so-called grand apartheid, that is, complete separate racial development of Africans in their so-called homelands. According to grand apartheid, the claim for initiation sites would have been met in the homelands.

The argument so far has consisted in pointing out that planners lacked the necessary skills due to their training, and/or did not have the latitude to experiment due to the fact that they were working within the confines of apartheid policies. These four reasons dovetail with Panel's (1993) view that modern town planning in South Africa was primarily introduced as a means to encourage urban white settlement. Oranje (2001) seems to corroborate Panel's view by searching in vain for 'the African' in past and present South African planning. Professional arrogance coincided with the political aspirations for cities to be structured along an obsession with idea of separation of people as evidenced by residential race segregation, and fragmentation of land uses to 'absurd levels' (Harrison 2001).

The validity of the notion that planners acted in the interest of a prior known and an undifferentiated public as underpinned by a liberal democratic perspective of the state has been criticized for failing to recognize the diversity of competing interests and uneven distribution of power in society. The case studies illustrate these issues clearly. From the initial confrontation with the police in Langa Township, the competing and conflicting interest of Community Councillors for Gugulethu, to the different manner in which in the Drift-sands Initiation Village proposal (Chapter 8) is perceived by parties involved, all tell us that planners and politicians are acting contrary to the interest of community the purport to serve.

South African society was already multi-ethnic during the advent of colonialism, and multi-cultural for centuries before the dawn of apartheid in 1948. In this case the notion that planners acted objectively on behalf of an undifferentiated public interest is interpreted here first as rationalization for the marginalization and exclusion of certain sectors of society from the planning process for political ends. Secondly, it is regarded as a rationalization to mask the lack of professional skills in order to function in a multicultural society, and to maintain the status quo.

The rapid social and political transformation of South African society has consistently forced planning practice to adapt. Under apartheid, rationalizations against change were backed by an increase in authoritative measures that included more centralization of the decision-making processes. Planning, which was a pivotal element of apartheid planning also assumed a top-down approach. In the words of Muller (1998:289):

'The apartheid master plan was constructed around coercion and control, and from the 1970's planning became a major vehicle in the driving of apartheid policies into the heart of South African society'.

This state of affairs has tarnished the image of the profession, especially among the African population who increasingly associated it with domination and oppression. Two types of planners emerged to entrench the status quo; the supposedly apolitical technician (Alexander 1979) whose work served the interests of the dominant group,

and an administrator (Kirk, 1980), working more often than not as an agent of the state. We can clearly see that both types of planners would have been irrelevant to the skills implied in the analysis of the case studies. Communication/conflict resolution skills, community participation skills, some understanding of the local culture including the language are some of the skills required, none of which the afore-mentioned planners seemed to possess.

The argument presented so far is that the lack of the necessary skills by planners to address the needs of a multicultural apartheid society was buttressed by a context of increasing oppression for political reasons. The rationalization is that the apartheid ideology constrained the nature of planners' work to that of administrators and apolitical technicians, that planners were therefore powerless to challenge the status quo. Foucault suggests that power is not a zero sum game. For him power operates in a capillary network throughout society rather than being concentrated in one institution such as 'the state'. This makes it possible for spaces of resistance against domination. The argument about the circumscription of the substance of planning practice by the draconian nature of the context within which planners practiced their profession amounts to a rationalization of choices made by these planners.

We are therefore in a position to answer part of the third research question concerning the lack of response from professionals, initially under apartheid.

From the foregoing, the concern with the context within which planners work has emerged as one of the most important factors that determines the scope and substance of planning.

Post Apartheid urban planning provided a new context not only to change the image of the profession, but also to broaden the substance of planning practice. To paraphrase LaBurn-Pearl (1991) 'a new animal' was emerging to replace the 'dinosaur', in reference to past planning practices. The fifth reason may have to do

with the fact that the post-apartheid era has spawned new initiatives aimed at restructuring the South African city. Unfortunately, some of these new and reemerging integrative approaches seem to perpetuate past practices of marginalization. For example, current attempts at securing initiations sites seems to be running against what Mabin (1995) regards as the 'emerging orthodoxy' around the idea of the compact city, as the following quotation from Dewar (2000:217) illustrates:

'Numerous in-built cultural attitudes to land exist, as many of the immigrants to towns and cities have been displaced from the rural areas. They bring with them a number of new needs that historically have not been accommodated adequately in the urban environment. These may include keeping and slaughtering livestock, initiation rites all of which tend to underpin a land-extensive mindset'.

The following section advances the analysis further through an examination of the role of official structures and development plans on this claim for space by affected communities. More specifically, Community Councillors, Langa Urban Development and Transport Planning (1997), City Council file on Langa Township, and Langa Spatial Development Plan (1999) will be analyzed for clues about the official status of the claim for space to practice initiation.

9.3 Langa Spatial Development Plan (1999)

The Langa Spatial Development Framework (SDF) was one of the four SDFs that were prioritized as falling within the Zones of Poverty identified by the City. These were areas that were severely neglected in the past and as a result lack a planning framework to enable necessary strategic public investment. The SDF was therefore supposed to provide a guide to try and stimulate public and private sector investments in these areas.

Since the Langa SDF was a comprehensive plan that covered all aspects of planning in Langa township, its relevance for this research had to do with whether or not the existing initiation site was acknowledged in official documents as legitimate land use and how it was classified. For example, it was customary in African townships for undetermined vacant space to be classified under the general rubric of

public open space. Official acknowledgment of the initiation site as legitimate land-use in official documents would not only reconcile with the strong community sentiment, it would also address decades of uncertainty and anxiety that pervades in the Langa community regarding this space.

According to this document the initiation site is listed in one chart titled 'public facilities', together with schools, churches, police station and library to name a few. Reference to the initiation site is confined to one paragraph under the section titled 'Culturally significant facilities', save in a couple of maps and charts accompanying the document, and not begin to convey the real significance of the site as the last sentence on the paragraph about finding indicates:

'The initiation site....., fulfils an important role in community life, but is under-utilised for much of the year..... Has become environmentally degraded, with no trees remaining and no privacy for initiates. Compatible uses could be identified.....'
(Langa Spatial Development Framework, 1999:22)

Thereafter, the initiation site is included in a map titled 'vacant, under-utilised and undeveloped land' and in another map it is indicated under 'areas to be protected'. Furthermore, sub-sections on 'preliminary project prioritisation' and projects for 'further investigation, planning and/or design', no mention was made of initiation site despite its uncertain status and significance to the community of Langa.

9.4 Langa Urban Development and Transport Planning (1997)

This document was completed by a team of public and private (consultants) sector planners as part of community infrastructure development in preparation for the 2004 Olympic bid for the city of Cape Town. Although the emphasis of the report is on the transportation system, a broad overview of the urban context was deemed to be necessary within transportation could be discussed. However, of particular relevance to this research is Chapter Two, which deals with urban development. The first reference to the initiation site is contained in a single sentence under the section on 'Public Facilities', which reads:

`Land for initiation is earmarked at the entrance to Langa from the N2 freeway` (Langa Urban Development and Transport Planning Concept Report 1997:12)`.

The second and last reference appears in the table of the section dealing with proposed developments and underdeveloped land. The table mentions the extent of the initiation site as 7.68 hectares, the owner of the site as City Council, description of the land as `initiation site`, and current zoning status as `undetermined`. It was noteworthy that this zoning status contradicted the official zoning of the site as Institution III, which according to the Town Planning Scheme of Ikapa (Cape Town), refers to community facilities.

The chapter concludes with a list of recommendations, one of which makes reference to the need to investigate the cultural and historically important features of the area in more depth in order to enhance the meaning of the built environment in people's day to day lives in Langa (Langa Urban Development and Transport Planning Concept Report 1997:19).

9.5 City Council file on Langa Township

Although this file dates back to the 1950's, documents concerning the initiation and claim for space only go as far back as 1989. The first document is a letter dated 3 May 1989, by the Chief Executive Officer, Mr J S Niewoudt, to the City Planner of the City of Cape Town informing him about the general meeting of the Ikapa Town Council, which was held on the March 31 1989, wherein the following three resolutions were passed regarding a place to be utilized for initiation ceremonies:

1. `The city of Cape Town be urgently approached to make the area west of the Langa Sports Stadium available to the residents of Langa for initiation ceremonies with the view to purchasing it at a later stage`

2. 'The negotiation with the City Council of Cape Town be entered into in consultation with the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), Community Services, Western Cape'; and

3. 'Negotiation be entered into with the Department of Nature Conservation and CPA with the view to obtain permission to utilize the nature reserve situated near Gugulethu for initiation purposes'. This serves to corroborate information gathered from a number of interviewees about some interaction with Council officials whose name(s) they could not recall. This document also provides proof that the claim for space to practice initiation was indeed officially acknowledged.

From this point onwards, this space was rendered out of commission for any development other than initiation. Furthermore, this explains the period of relative tranquility around the initiation site because the community had just scored a major victory against the then apartheid government, which ended years of uncertainty and anxiety about unimpeded access to the site for the practice of initiation. Either the council officials were not yet ready to concede defeat by initiating some sort of dialogue with the community concerning 'upgrading' the site to suite initiation practice, or they did not possess the requisite skills or both.

It is worth pointing out at this stage that at the onset of the research, one of the questions revolved around the question of skills; that state planners lacked the necessary training to involve affected publics in planning decision-making processes. Subsequent fieldwork has proved that this was not the case although most planners at that time viewed themselves as technicians in the service of politicians (see Laburn-Peart 1998, Muller 1995).

This 'silent' acknowledgement of the community claim for space to practice initiation by city officials was matched by a relative quiet on the part of the community precisely because they had achieved their goal of securing space for initiation. This state of affairs served to clarify as well as introduce an element of ambiguity to the

claim for that particular space in Langa (erf 3579). For example, the third resolution of the Ikapa Town Council General Meeting in 1989 points to an investigation about the possible use of a nature reserve outside Langa Township for initiation purposes. Further points of ambiguity concerns proposals that were submitted subsequent to this official acknowledgement.

Following a period of eight years of inactivity on erf 3579 (Langa Initiation Site), at least as far as the official records of the file on Langa show, on October 20, 1997 the Langa Muslim Movement (LMM) submitted a `renewed application for a vacant land in the Langa` (in reference to erf 3579, the site for initiation) to establish a `socio-religious development and learning centre` and a Mosque. The application cites prior recommendations in favour of their application by two public officials, Mr S. A. Parker (Assistant Director, Surveys and Land Information) and Mr Brian Hinter (Ikapa Municipality), but attempts at corroborating this information proved unsuccessful because neither the documents nor the two public officials could be located. It was therefore not clear as to when the first application by the LMM was submitted. According to point 1.1 of an undated handwritten memorandum, `the Urban Design Section of the Design Services Branch had no objection to the placing of these facilities in this vicinity`. It also recommends on item 1.2 that `Council and the applicant parties get together to place facilities on site with Urban Design Team of Design Services`. Item 1.3 turns around and states that `the Urban Design Section objects to the current proposals on the basis that the sites are inadequately planned. The final item number 1.4 specifically states the nature of the objection, i.e., that `access arrangements need to be resolved for the area`. Nowhere in this response was reference made to the official acknowledgement of the site for initiation.

The next piece of document is another application letter `for grounds for religious as well as community purposes` by LMM dated 28 October 1997 and addressed to a certain Mr Achmad Parker. According to this application, LMM `will be responsible

for the erection of a mosque as well as an institution for the upliftment of the Community in Langa.’

The final document is a memorandum dated 19 December 1997, from the Department of Land Use Management in response to the above application by LMM. The memorandum stated that there was ‘no objection in principle to the application for the development of a religious facility’, and makes two recommendations, namely that the applicant must ‘consult with the Langa Development Forum concerning the future use of the land under discussion and obtain their support and agreement to their proposition’, and to ‘arrange to meet with the Urban Design Serviceswith regard to the placing of the site required, including the issue of vehicular as well as pedestrian access’. The memorandum concludes by pointing out that in terms of the Langa Zoning Scheme, the site involved is zoned Institutional III, which means that if the a place of worship were to be constructed the site would have to rezoned to Institutional II to permit for such use.

The claim for space to practice initiation is fraught with such ambiguity and contradiction. Sandercock (1995) argued that those on the margins of society (marginalized groups) live with uncertainty, and that planners need to embrace this position in order to be able to make meaningful intervention on their behalf.

9.6 Community Councillors and the Claim for Space to Practice Initiation

This section examines the role of Community Councilors in general, and regarding the claim for space to practice initiation. The argument presented is that their responsibilities and expectations as community representatives needs to be understood in the ambiguous, contradictory, and uneven power structure that characterized the context in which they must perform their duties. Rationalization, posturing, and charade abound in an attempt to mask the combined, yet contradictory senses of powerlessness and ignorance on the on hand, and the political savvy to manipulate their constituencies so as to survive the next election. Throughout the discussion the concepts of rationality, power, marginality and

ambiguity will be used in the analysis and description of the data presented in this section.

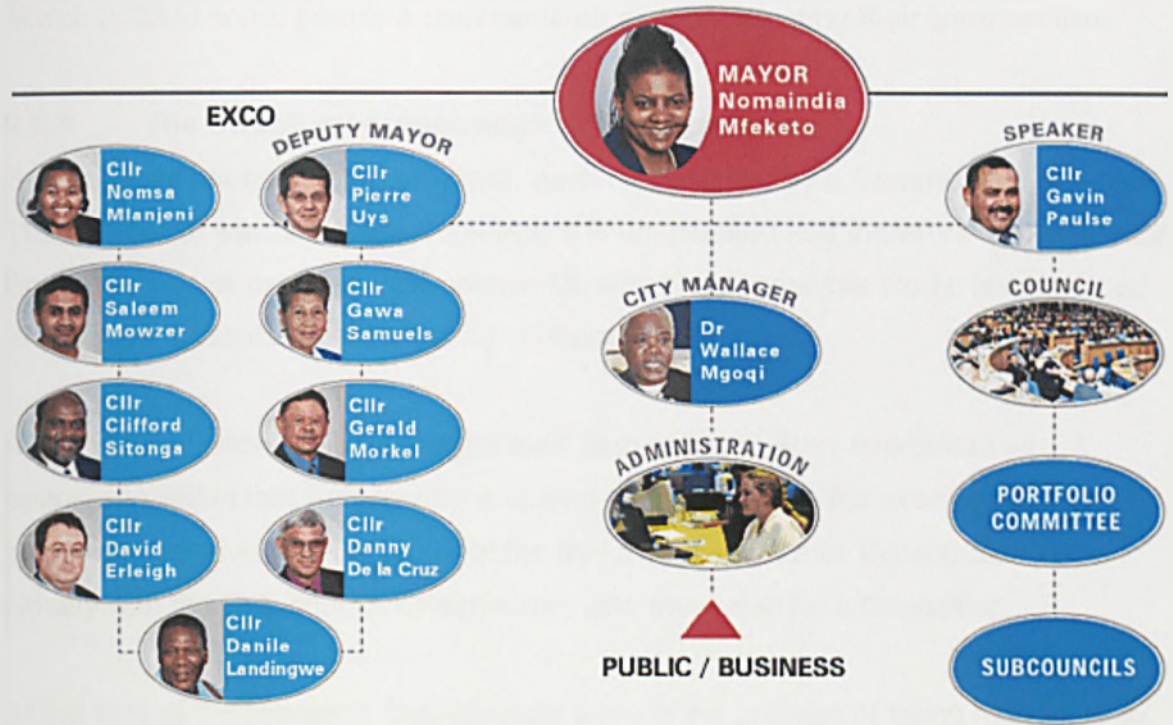
At the core of this political farce is competition for access to scarce urban land. Access to land varies among the different Wards and Sub-councils (refer to diagram below). Sub-council 5 has access to vacant urban land, whereas for Sub-council 10 land is not only scarce but also and constantly diminishing with increasing demand in land for housing.

The discussion will proceed as follows; the first section outlines the political structure of the City Council and function of community councillors. The second section deals with the issue of initiation and the role of community councillors in trying to address to address it. The two cases are juxtaposed to highlight differences in order to attempt to explain and understand the outcomes of these claims.

9.6.1 Structure of city Council

According to the official website, a new Council came into being on 6 December 2000 - the new City of Cape Town. The new council was an amalgamation of the previous 6 Metropolitan Local Councils (MLC's), namely Blaauwberg Municipality, City of Cape Town, City of Tygerberg, Helderberg Municipality, Oostenberg Municipality, South Peninsula Municipality and the Cape Metropolitan Council. According to the census, the new Council has an estimated total population of 3 million inhabitants. The Council has a total of 200 Councillors divided among 10 political parties. The Mayor together with an Executive Committee of Councillors, which also includes the office of Deputy Mayor, forms the core of City Council leadership (see the following diagram).

Figure 4: Cape Town City Council



Source: Cape Town City Council website

9.6.2 Sub-Councils – Decentralizing Democracy

According to Councillor Mxolose of Langa Township, Sub-councils were established in 2001 in order 'to bring City Council closer to the people and to monitor ward projects'. The City Council website states that 'Sub-councils will play a major role in enhancing public participation in such matters as the capital budget, the integrated development plan, and measuring the Council's performance'. Furthermore, they 'will also be given delegated powers to provide a number of important services at the local level, such as local land use planning, control over libraries, local amenities, public nuisances, undertakings that sell liquor to the public'.

According to the official website, 'The Council is client-focused and from its beginning promised to take governance closer to the people'. The formation of Sub-councils could be interpreted as part of this broad strategy of 'taking governance closer to the people' through decentralization of the decision-making processes. In

addition, the office of the Mayor embarked on a month long 'listening campaign' in March 2003 to solicit people's comments on matters affecting their communities.

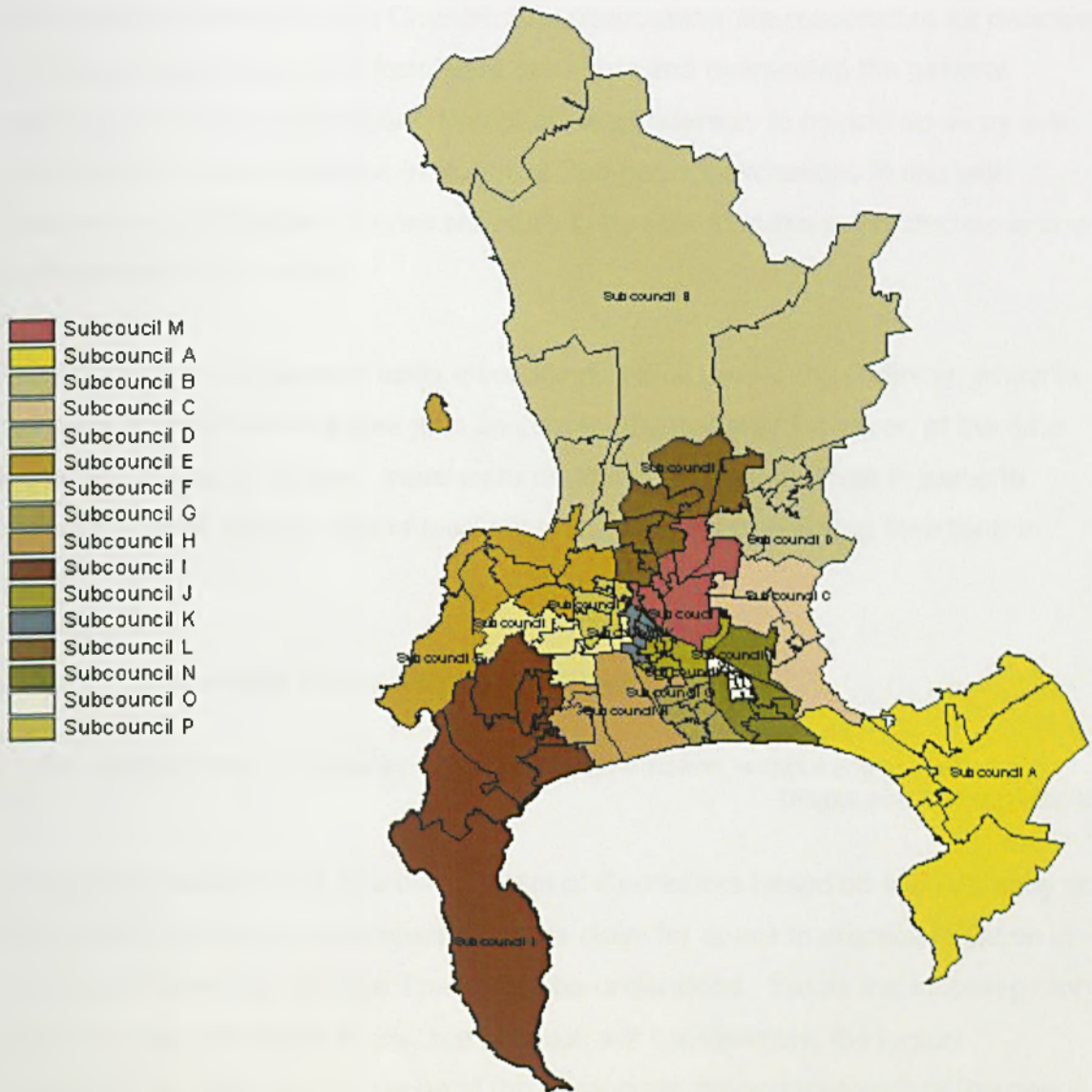
9.6.3 The Structural organization of Sub-Councils.

Sub-councils are composed of wards, each represented by a Community Councillor. The number of wards in each Sub-council is unspecified and therefore varies in each Sub-council. For example Sub-council 10, which concerns this study, is composed of 8 adjoining wards represented by 15 Councillors

A Sub-council coordinator manages each Sub-council. They coordinate all operations within that Sub-council and also accountable for the exercise of any power conferred to them in terms of the By-Law. Sub-council Coordinator works closely with the Sub-council Chairperson, who must also be a Councillor.

At the time of the research, Sub-councils were in the process of being reshuffled to increase the number of wards in each Sub-Council, and to increase the number Sub-Councils from 16 to 20. It was calculated that at the moment each Sub-council has a minimum population of 5000 and a maximum of 7500 people. Mention was made by some Councillors of the desire to empower Sub-councils to make policy decision, instead of the present system of only recommending to Council in terms of the Municipal Structures Act.

Figure 5: Map showing Sub-council Boundaries



Source: Cape Town City Council official website

9.6.4 Community Councillors

The City of Cape Town is divided into electoral wards. The number of wards in each area is determined by population size. A ward elects its community Councillor to represent them in City Council. Currently there are 100 wards in total.

Each ward is allocated what is referred to as `a ward allocation` of R200 000 per annum to be spent on infrastructure improvement within that specific ward. Ward Committees together with the Councillor as chairperson are responsible for deciding on various project proposals from ward members and overseeing the general spending of the Ward Allocation. Proposals are underway to try and do away with the R200 000 ward allocations in favour of Sub-council allocations in line with empowerment of the Sub-Council structure to be able to make policy decisions and the implementation thereof.

Each Councillor is expected, upon election into office, to undergo training, which is designed to assist them in their jobs as community leaders. However, at the time the research was conducted, there were no mechanisms/incentives in place to ensure that such training was indeed attended or completed during their term in office.

9.6.5 Who needs Community Councillors?

“We elected them (Community Councillors) with emotion, without any vision”.
(Parks and Bathing official)

It is against this backdrop of a new system of Councillors based on transparency and a decentralised form of government that the claim for space to practice initiation in the African townships of Cape Town must be understood. But as the following story about the claim for space to practice initiation will demonstrate, the logical connection between on the one hand the democratic pronouncements of the new Council as demonstrated by the `listening campaign` and a decentralised structure of Sub-Councils alluded to earlier, and on the other hand people's needs becomes more confused. This story about the claim for space to practice initiation is fraught with arrogant deception, ambiguity, uncertainty, which could only be matched by political opportunism coupled with a level of incompetence that defies any logical explanation.

9.6.6 The Claim for Space to Practice Initiation and Community Councillors

So far the discussion in this section has attempted to provide a context within which the claim for space to practice initiation can be understood and evaluated.

Interviews were conducted with Community Councillors (Chapter 5, Annexure 2) and the community in order to shed more light on the status of the claim by communities for space to practice initiation.

From the interviews, it became clear from the onset that there was a lot of tension between the community and their representative Councillors as contradictions started emerging. The first set of interviews with Councillors and community members revealed a contradiction on the question of how the claim for space to practice initiation was brought to the attention of Councillors. For some of the Community Councillors, it was the ubiquitous `people` who presented the case for the need for space to be reserved. Other Community Councillors indicated that it was through Street Committees. That much is clear, communities articulated the need for space. But from the onset of the research until the end, the story about the claim for space to practice initiation was fraught with contradictions and ambiguities.

9.7 Ambiguity and Contradictions Abound

The first major point of ambiguity and contradiction is whether the matter was ever brought to the meetings of Sub-council, in this case Sub-Council 10 for discussion. This could be verified by accessing the minutes of Sub-Council 10 meetings.

Other Councillors expressed the view that it was presented to Sub-Council and a decision taken on it to be presented to Council. According to one Councillor, a certain official (Mr. Donovan) from the Department of Parks and Bathing was even tasked with identifying suitable land. In addition, Sub-council chairman's (Chris Jaku) details were also provided as contact in order to obtain a copy of the minutes. Furthermore, the same Councillor invited me to a meeting of Sub-council 10 (which

are generally open to members of the public), in which I was promised the matter was also on the agenda for discussion.

However, another group of Councillors expressed strong doubts about the issue having been through to Sub-Council 10 meetings, ever. A file containing a meticulous set of minutes for all Sub-Council 10 meetings at the Sub-Council office confirmed the latter view. There was also no mention of anything to do with initiation on the agenda of the meeting I was invited to attend by the Councillor. An interview with Mr. Donovan, who was supposed to have been tasked with identifying suitable land, elicited nothing short of contempt for some Councillors and denied any knowledge of being given the task to identify appropriate sites for initiation. Instead he had this to say:

“(They) have no training – poor understanding of their jobs as Councillors”.

Contrary to the image presented by Councillors, he (Mr. Donovan) seems to have reconciled his intimate knowledge and understanding of the cultural needs of his community and his duties within his department. For example, he cited numerous occasions when he went against departmental regulations by among other things, opening the cemetery for burials past allocated time, and accepting late applications for burial holes to be dug, which is normally a couple of days before the burial. Asked why nothing seemed to be happening with regards to the claim for space to practice initiation, he responded by saying that:

“It is a question of motivation, our culture can be accommodated in city-wide processes”.

Other comments include the following statements regarding his culture as a Xhosa man and in general the claim for space for traditional practices such as initiation:

“I do not want to be marginalized by any other ethnic group. My department knows and consults me on matters regarding my people”, and

“This is a basic issue, basic needs.”

According to another public official, the reason why nothing seems to be happening regarding this claim for space to practice initiation is because:

"Councillors are looking for job creation and development – this (claim for space to practice initiation) is not on top of their list".

Such contradictory views and sometimes out-right lies as confirmed by lack of evidence in the Sub-Council minutes soon proved to have found a way of being compatible with reality, without any sense of strangeness for these public officials. The second major point of contradiction concerns the proposal for an initiation village in Drift-sands, which was discussed earlier as part of Chapter 6 and is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

9.8 Some Observations and Concluding Remarks

This chapter has served to highlight the role of Community Councilors in the claim for space to practice initiation. The chapter begins to provide some clues about the lack of these spaces both during and post-apartheid urban planning.

The importance of paying attention to power has been underscored, particularly in post-apartheid South Africa where power seemingly ubiquitous. During apartheid, it was 'the state' that was perceived as wielding enormous power and as such was the source of focus for struggles against domination. Post-apartheid urban planning has ensured that mechanisms and structures are in place for wider public participation in decision-making forums, they alone are no guarantee for democracy. The process is still weighted in favour of public officials, civic leaders and politicians. It is not surprising that some communities regard their Councillors and politicians in general with cynicism, concerned mainly with their political survival, as illustrated by Mr. Dawiti's comment earlier in the chapter.

The lack of a meaning engagement with initiation in development plans is a reflection on where the priorities of the leadership are focused. Where initiation is mentioned in the document, poor understanding is demonstrated. At this stage we are therefore in a position to make the following observations about Community Councillors regarding claim for space to practice initiation:

- Community Councillors for Sub-council 10 are divided in general in their support for the claim for space to practice initiation and in their support for the Initiation Village Proposal.
- Their positions as leaders in their wards are critical for the welfare of their constituencies, yet adequate mechanisms are not in place to ensure that the communities can decide what their priorities are, as this claim for space has illustrated.
- Urban land is a scarce resource, and as such provides a source of power to frame urban agendas, in this case along environmental concerns and city efficiency, which transcend any social cleavages in favour of a unified common future.

The practice of initiation is a divisive issue not only within the community, but also in the city and the nation as illustrated by botched initiations that were widely publicized in the media.

- Sub-council 5, which Langa is part of, represents a counter-measure against the dominance of this agenda by virtue having alternative land, which presents another choice for a vision of a city that embraces diversity.
- Struggles abound for dominance and control in the city among various government departments/structures. Access to urban land as a resource becomes crucial in these struggles for dominance.
- The seasonal nature of the initiation practice may be contributing towards political lethargy. It only becomes an issue for the community during the initiation season in June and December, after which it is relegated to the back burner until the next initiation season.

The discussion will now focus on the role of academics and consultants on this claim for space to practice initiation. Put differently, the chapter will attempt to bridge the perceptible gap between theory and practice.

CHAPTER 10

On Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice: Interviews with Academics, Consultants

`... different rationalities meet in a determinate historical landscape and establish coalitions for the pursuit of aims that, for a time, compliment one another`.

(Ransom 1997:70)

10.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the views of academics and consultants on the claim for space to practice initiation, in relation to the issues raised in Chapter 7. Reference will also be made to the South African Planning Institute of Town (SAPI) as a professional body that articulates the views and aspirations of planners in South Africa. The analysis will also include insights from Flyvbjerg (1990, 2001) and Peattie (2001) on the distinction among episteme, techne, and phronesis as discussed in the methodology chapter.

The previous chapters serve to shed light on two research questions namely; To what degree have post-apartheid planning dealt with the historical legacy of past planning, and what has been the experience of the marginalized in terms of post-apartheid planning initiatives? The discussion in this chapter should enable us to provide more clues in order to begin to attempt to answer a third research question, namely: What accounted for the lack of response or where is the gap between claim for space and practice and how it can be breached.

10.2 Academics

This section presents and analyses interviews with academics on planning in South Africa in general, and with specific reference to the claim for space to practice initiation. This `theoretical` input is juxtaposed with the views of planners in general in South Africa as expressed in various publications of the professional organization that represents planners in South Africa.

10.2.1 Interviews with Academics

Interviews conducted with a number of academics, mainly in Cape Town but also other parts of the country on the broader questions of multiculturalism and planning in South Africa, and more specifically on the claim for the provision of space for initiation. These interviews yielded a variety of responses ranging from rationalizations, feelings of being marginalized in the new planning dispensation, and a sense of powerlessness, lack of capacity and frustration¹. For example, on the question of changing the syllabus in response to post-apartheid planning, academic B, D, X, C and Y expressed the following:

“Our syllabus is solely determined by the needs of the employers, I mean private practice and local authorities`. These are the people on the `cold face of planning` so to speak, what we teach is what they encounter in practice and what the student will also encounter”.

“We can only teach so much during the academic year. The rest the student has to pick up in practice”.

“The wide range of employers makes it impossible for us to focus on one aspect. So we have chosen to stick to teaching the traditional and practical aspects of town planning, application for rezoning, application for subdivisions, drafting skills, things like that”.

“Our skill base is spreading more and more, yet the teaching time remains almost the same. Obviously some choices have to be made. Let’s face it, no employer would throw a student intern or even a graduate for that matter in the deep end. The first year they tend to do the basic so-called bread and butter stuff like zoning departures, application for subdivision, map updating and running various errands. Seventy percent of our teaching is focused on those things”.

“What you are talking about is a complete overhaul of the syllabus otherwise we end up with a jack-of-all-trades type situation, a little bit of everything. Besides the teaching staff also has no experience in teaching mediation, community participation, multiculturalism and the like. So you see it is deeper than just changing the syllabus and they will tell you that there is no incentive to do that because the market out there is asking for something else”.

¹ See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on method.

This varied response on the issue of training and skills is indicative of the state of flux with which these academics find themselves. Clearly, context is important. It determines the necessary conceptual equipment for planners as Graham and Healey (1999) have pointed out otherwise they loose the risk of being irrelevant. However, what is relevant is determined by the balance of power at any given point, which at this particular time is biased in favor of their clients i.e. employers of their graduates. Based on this information, we can safely conclude that the type of skills being offered therefore corresponds to techne, which refers to skills that are context-dependent, variable, pragmatic, and oriented toward production. Peattie (2001) and Flyvbjerg (1999, 2001) suggests that the knowledge relevant for planning is phronesis, which involves deliberation about values with reference to praxis.

On the question of the provision of sites for the practice of initiation, academic B did not see any relevance to planning at all:

“It seems to me that the issue you are talking about has to do with anthropology and maybe sociology than planning. I mean you tell me where you as a planner would start dealing with something like this”.

This is not too surprising given that the spatial connotations for the claim, which planners readily understand are not readily apparent. Culture and initiation oftentimes may conjure images of remote tribes in some rural setting.

Others (M and O respectively) were quick to point out whose responsibility this issue was (public sector planners) and how they should go about addressing it:

“First that is a matter to be dealt with by public sector planners who have resources at their disposal to put together a team of experts on health, culture and the like. I do not think that planners on their own can deal with this issue. I think that will involve a lot of research in understanding the whole process of initiation as a first step. Without this, it is impossible to proceed. That needs resources which at the moment nobody seems prepared to commit, certainly not

the private sector because let's face it there is practically nothing in it for them. This is a public sector issue. Now as far as the education is concerned, again the market dictates to a large extent what is taught, even what the local authorities do. So until multiculturalism and this initiation business shows some signs of economic viability or until it makes political sense for somebody to take it on board, it will remain right where it is. An interesting topic that nobody is willing to touch".

The view concerning the role of private practitioners in relation to the claim for the need for spaces to practice initiation is corroborated by research conducted by Laburn-Peart (1998). She found that private town planning consultants served a white middle class or commercial clientele². To say that the claim for space to practice initiation is not a middle class issue and that it does not have any commercial viability, as academic O claims, is not entirely true. Firstly, the African Townships may have historically been built for the working class, this is however no longer true because it is home to a variety of people from different ethnic and class backgrounds. Furthermore this assumes that those affluent Africans who have moved to the suburbs do not practice initiation, which is far from the truth. Secondly, it may be a bit naive to ignore the economic potential of this cultural practice, currently in vogue as place marketing. After all, places still matter in the process of capitalist accumulation (Castells 1997, Baum 200, Neill 2004). But the notion of NGO's as providing a different niche to catered for by the academic institutions was a constant theme, as the following quote from academic G notes:

"Unless you have outside funding like NGOs, you will not be able to do anything with this issue. In the past we were overpowered by apartheid, now it is the neo-liberalism of the new government that dictates what is worth doing. This is precisely where NGOs come in for me. We teach what our employers need, which is not different anymore. The NGOs fill a different niche altogether and they can tailor make their own product (student) according to their specific needs or issues they are dealing with".

²Out of 870 members of the South Africa Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP), 48% were private consultants. Laburn-Peart, C. 'Planning Practice in South Africa: The Image and Substance of Participation' *Planning Practice & Research*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 171-182, 1998.

The broad substantive changes in planning were regarded as necessary by most academics that were interviewed. A majority of them also expressed the opinion that some of the new skills could be easily acquired during practice or by taking specific classes according to individual needs and interests. Some also called for a more close interaction with planning consultants to facilitate skills sharing. The following quotations from academics X, C, D and Y illustrate this view:

“We have a more democratic political system now. Surely planning must reflect this. In addition to teaching the `bread and butter` which industry needs, there are other valid concerns now coming to the fore like mediation skills community consultation etc. My view is that employers must take their staff to short courses and in some cases these skills can be picked up during practice. To expect us to teach these things is a bit too much beside the fact that most of us are not trained in this stuff anyway. Over time we will then have planners who are skilled in these matters who can start teaching them”.

“Sure there have been a lot of changes in planning since the early 1990s. The reality is that the more things change, the more they remain the same as the saying goes. We talk community participation, empowerment and all those nice sounding words and then turn around and continue where we left off. After all what do they know, we know best right? People have been operating like this for years, and now you come and tell them they need to retrain to be mediators, facilitators and participation experts? The market and most of us do not have time for that stuff”.

“You have to understand that the profession was not held in high regard within the new government for reasons having to do with the cozy relationship between apartheid and planning³. My guess is that planners are still being marginalized as a profession, so that those who are involved are the ones towing the line of the new government, this neo-liberal stuff with GEAR. Forget participation and the like. Pie in the sky if you ask me”.

“The academic community needs to interact with practitioners more closely in order to tap on their skills base. Practitioners deal with a lot of issues and problems. We need to try and involved them more in our teaching”.

While all of the interviewees expressed the need for planning to adapt to the new context of post-apartheid planning, they were also unanimous in their

skepticism about the prospects of such changes seeing the light of day for various reasons. The most commonly cited reason for this was the neo-liberal economic policy of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), which they argue is undermining any attempts at integration and wider participation by prioritizing business interests. Mabin (1995) and Harrison (2001a and b)⁴ have expressed a similar sentiment in relation to some of the main challenges of post-apartheid planning, that is, 'new and powerful forces of fragmentation' as represented by the 'rising tide of deregulation' that has contributed to the 'suburbanization of forms of economic activity', and 'dependence on the zoning power of land rent'. As Dewar (2001) pointed out in relation to cash strapped local authorities, a common attitude of 'any development is good' is the norm.

Notwithstanding the impact of GEAR, which no doubt has had negative implications for progressive planning practice, the views expressed in the SAITRP (1996)⁵ document on community participation revealed a profession that is not at ease with the idea. It is worth recalling that community participation was one of the core requirements for the provision of spaces for the practice of initiation not only for reasons having to do with social justice⁶ but also because decades of practicing initiation have endowed the community with a unique perspective which is indispensable in any talk about the provision of spaces for the practice.

³ It is noteworthy that in 1996 planners in South Africa submitted an apology to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for the past association with the apartheid regime.

⁴ Harrison, P. 'The genealogy of South Africa's Integrated Development Plan' TWPR, 23 (2) 2001; Harrison, P. 'Romance and Tragedy in (Post) Modern Planning: A Pragmatist's Perspective', International Planning Studies, Vol.6 No. 1 69-88, 2001.

⁵ We may recall that the SAITRP merged with the DPSA in 1996 to form South African Planning Institution (SAPI). The DPSA was founded in 1994 'in response to the concerns and perceptions among predominantly African planners that the profession and the SAITRP was not doing enough to promote the transformation of society and the Planning Profession in South Africa, nor creating sufficient opportunities for the empowerment of Planners from previously disadvantaged backgrounds'. SAPI Constitution and Rules

⁶ Social justice is defined here according to Harvey as a context dependent

At this point we are in a better position to understand the views of consultants as products of academic institutions at a particular time, who espouse a particular view in relation to skills necessary. The basic philosophy of this view can be encapsulated in an old market oriented cliché of `the customer is right` or `the customer is king`. However, the idea of a `microphysics` of power suggests its location in everyday practices, and not a possession held by some and not others, which in turn leave room for opposition and potential change. Either these academics are not aware of the dialectic reading of power relations or they choose to subject themselves to this view, which has wider implications for the development of planning theory in general, and planning practice in particular.

10.2.2 Interviews with Consultants

This section presents and analyses interviews with consultants on planning in South Africa in general, and with specific reference to the claim for space to practice initiation. The interviews dealt with issues around the prerequisite skills and whether or not they possess them, what needs to be done and how they would go about doing it. Their views are also juxtaposed with the perspective of their organization, the South African Planning Institute (SAPI), which espouses their views in general.

10.2.2.1 Planning Consultants and the claim for space to practice initiation

1. Peter Von Bronkhorst Land Use Planner

Peter has been a practicing planner for 30 years first as a consultant and now as a government employee. His office is piled-up with old maps and documents on top of two drafting tables that are his prized possessions and testament to his long professional experience. He has witnessed the profession undergo many changes over the years and does not seem to be

fazed by the new challenges of post-apartheid urban planning with emphasis on new skills:

“Planners are jack-of-all-trades. We can adapt and adjust. We were not trained in this participation stuff but a lot of us are doing it now. It can only improve with time”.

Although he lamented the `good old days` when `planners were professionals` and `confident in their trade`, he equally appreciated the necessity to adopt new ways for practicing. For him, working as a consultant offered freedom of choice that public sector planners do not and cannot enjoy:

“In the private sector we can pick and choose projects based on amounts involved and on whether or not we can do the job. Our reputation is at stake just like any other business. We work to keep a good reputation”.

Therefore practically, any planner could handle this claim for space to practice initiation. The deciding factor for him was jurisdiction in terms of whose land was being claimed:

“Fortunately the land in question is owned by the state, so the public sector planners must deal with this matter”

His view on how such a project would best be dealt with revealed somebody who had not yet `adapted and adjusted` as claimed before. It all boiled down to a `clear and concise brief` and the magic of a planner:

“The job can only be done if the brief is concise and clear, and there is unlimited time in order to go back and forth until the client is happy”.

This `fortunate` coincidence of land being owned by the state presented an opportunity for `unlimited time`. This could be partly because consultants charge by the hour for their services. But it also soon became evident why he favoured this hands-off approach of receiving a brief and then being left alone to carry-on with the task:

“I got burned once because of the language barrier. Some things could not be translated into English and they thought I was being difficult and racist. It can get ugly out there”.

He is a veteran whose experience spans a wide spectrum of projects that have left an indelible mark on his approach to practice. Unlimited time, and a clear and concise brief, a pinch of cynicism and an element of pragmatism are the key ingredients for him. A Pragmatic approach is necessary because practice is sometimes fraught with emotions, misunderstandings, uncertainty and anxiety. Planners of his generation are forced to find a handle in this unfamiliar and difficult terrain.

2. Mary Omerod Planning Consultant

Mary qualified as landscape architect by training 15 years ago and has been working full-time as a consultant and a part-time lecturer. For her, some sort of experience in dealing with African communities is important:

“I work for a large company with a lot of experience working with underprivileged communities, mainly in housing”

She has confidence in the ability for planners to adapt given the right motivation or incentives. This assumes that all planners, by virtue of their training, possess this ability a la Peter’s ‘jack of all trades’ above:

“Personally I have not yet worked in the townships. But I know it can be done. People have had to adapt if they needed government tenders for upgrading townships”

“Negotiation, mediation skills are indispensable. Employ a translator if necessary. Although she is clear in terms of the skills necessary, experience seemed to be the best teacher as opposed to classroom training, and as opposed to what seemed to be the norm for practice in her experience, she seemed to have been warned that it may be a bit different ‘out there’”:

“Communities are very politicized about almost everything having to do with upgrading, so may be hard to have a rational argument because emotions can get so high”.

This awareness to adopt a different approach according to the dictates of the project at hand assumes not only that all planners possess the same toolbox but also assumes an awareness/consciousness to know the difference, which may be pivotal for planning practice. Like Peter before her, there is also a sense of pragmatism about her approach to practice. But unique understanding of issues put her in a different league because although she does not have first-hand experience, she seems to have succeeded in tapping into the reservoir the collective knowledge embedded in her organization in order to formulate her own conclusions about the stakes involved.

3. James Delphino Environment and Transportation Planner

James is a partner in a successful company that has branches throughout the nation. He is quick to point to his Italian ancestry as a reason for his business acumen and fast-talk with exaggerated hand gestures. My first question regarding his ability to deal with case study material, specifically the design of facilities and how he would go about doing it was met with a bottom line question typical of most businesses. Throughout the interview, it proved difficult to decipher when he was in his joking mood and when he was speaking as a professional:

“How much is involved, that is the starting point because I need to get motivated and money does it for me”.

As the discussion progressed to involved issues of subjectivity with regards to his approach, he quickly admitted that he could not vouch for an unbiased professional opinion except for his company. The pervasive view that consultants are not biased is not true, except for his company. In what

sounded like an advertisement for his company, he offers an assurance that he is an objective professional employee:

“There is a perception that consultants are neutral and would do anything. This is true for me but I am not sure about the rest. So most government jobs are given to us. In some cases the public sector need to get on with it too”.

He is quick to point out the necessary skills but puts emphasis on hands-on experience. There is little or no material incentive for the likes of him to do it any other way except through practical experience and a pinch of cynicism:

“I think communication skills are overrated. No need for special training, just a lot of patience and time because things are political and agitated out there”.

With specific reference to the claim for space to practice initiation, he acknowledges that his cultural predisposition may be a hindrance in his objective execution of the project:

“A lot of background research is needed before any brief can be formulated. Xhosa speaking planners should be the ones dealing with this issue because they are more likely to be sensitive to a lot of issues that outsiders may not be aware of”.

Implied in this statement is the notion that planning practice is an objective activity, or that objectivity is an ideal worth striving for during practice. The reality is that planning practice is oftentimes messy and complex, as he himself notes at the end of his previous quotation.

These planners constantly make references to a `brief`, which would presumably spell out what needs to be done in unambiguous terms. This may be a case of seeking a means to handle, politically, a` la Mabin (1995), waking up in a postmodern world while still equipped with the tools of a modernist past.

4. Jonathan Sherlocks Manager of Public Open Space

Mr. Sherlocks devotes his time between his full-time jobs in the public sector and working part-time as a consultant. There was an element of matter-of-fact about the kind of training he received, and what he can and cannot do.

While he was not trained in community participation and mediation, he can nevertheless execute projects that requires those skills:

“I trained in the olden days, so I did not receive that kind of training (in reference to participatory planning approaches)”.

“Yes, I can do the job but somebody must tell me exactly what needs to be done and leave me to get on with it”.

According to this view, planning practice is the tranquil and exclusive domain into which urban planners retreat for deliberation and clarity of judgment, far removed from the maddened crowds that may impair objectivity. Once again the `brief` serves as means to reserve this space and time for quite deliberation. This becomes hard to fault when his personal experience is testimony to the perils of ignoring this:

“I have seen participation (Public) get out of hand and project costs spiraling out way high. So somebody else does the negotiating and all that stuff and I do the work”.

The notion of the claim for space to practice initiation, as a `basic need`, is one that a number of planners have alluded to and understood this claim to be. Understood as such, the claim for space to practice initiation then automatically becomes the responsibility of government. So Mr. Sherlock's view that initiation is a basic need resonated with this view of government responsibility:

“It is mainly a public sector issue like housing. Basic need of people in townships. The land involved is also owned by the state”.

This view was also expressed by one of the public officials (Mr. Dawiti in Chapter 8) with regard to the need for such facilities to be provided.

These planners, as we saw with their academic counterparts in the previous section, are also practicing their craft in the face of power (Forester, 1989). They are both impacted upon and also influence these power relations in a dialectic manner.

While the new context empowers affected communities more vis-à-vis planners in a lot of ways, planners have constantly defined how they were going to conduct themselves as evidenced by the different views expressed with specific regard to the skills necessary to address the claim for space to practice initiation, as the following quotation also illustrates:

“I think you will need to know something about initiation before you can do anything. Background research, communication in Xhosa, although some speak English and Afrikaans there (in reference to township residents)”

The idea of a `microphysics` of power suggests its location in everyday practices, and not a possession held by some and not others, which in turn leave room for opposition and potential change.

5. Todd Turner **Lecturer and Consultant**

Older planners like Todd expressed a certain level of confidence in their craft that may only result from years of practice. The range and amount of projects undertaken in their professional life was sufficient to carry them through any planning situation, as implied in their statements:

“I was not trained in public participation. Nobody knew anything about that in those days. But those with an interest in it have and are picking up these skills as they go along or take some courses”.

There is a growing body of writing that supports this position. Planners like him are able to generalize from particular situations they have encountered before, but not in order to establish `covering laws` (Schon and Rein, 1994). They build up a mental `usable repertoire of unique cases` (Schon and Rein, 1994:205). Through a process of `reflective transfer`, they scan their repertoire of cases in search for points of similarity in order to construct an understanding appropriate to the new situation (Watson 2002).

Framing the claim for space to practice initiation as a `basic need`, and the association of the latter with government responsibility has already been alluded to above. This categorisation could be regarded as a delegation of responsibility inasmuch as it is an attempt to impose order in a seemingly disordered environment. This renders planning intervention in a context of `order`, which may be meaningful to these planners:

“It is no doubt a public sector issue because it is classifiable under basic needs like housing”.

The `order` enables these planners engage with the problem situation in a rational manner, through some form of dialogue. They do this knowing that this approach has its limitation as indicated by the last cynical remark:

“You will need to engage in some dialogue with people there, and good luck”.

Planners like him and the ones interviewed previously, have vast experiences that afford them insight into the problems and challenges of practice. The reverse logic he proposes suggests some semblance of `order` `out there`, the trick lies in recognizing it:

“Have they thought about what it is they want – a building, a park with trees, what? And what happens during the off-season? We are assuming people always know what they want. A lot of times they know what they do not want and you have to work your way backwards”.

One of the implications of this statement may be that some of these planners are articulating, albeit unconsciously, a combination of modern and post-modern planning practice methods, which some of the post-modern planning literature has commented about.

6. Phathinkosi Dlamini Environmental Planner

Africans expressed a feeling of intimacy with this claim for space to practice initiation and the practical knowledge that their white counterparts lacked, which could only be attributed to their status as `outsiders` in the African culture and communities. As members of the group where seniority in terms of age is regarded as important, this poses a problem when it comes to matters of traditions and culture, which is regarded as the domain of elders (man) because of their experience.

Being a young African professional has its disadvantages, particularly regarding the practice of initiation:

“Some people say Black planners should handle this. The problem is that everybody is an expert when it comes to our culture, especially older people. And you cannot argue your point because they think you are being disrespectful to your elders. So no, white planners are better because nobody expects them to know anything and they can ask almost everything and probably get away with it”.

Although outsiders may be better suited to address this claim according to him, they must also possess communication skills, work for the public sector and have a certain attitude:

“A lot of patience because you cannot rush things. People understand English well although most things get lost in translation. You just do your best”.

And

“Public sector planners are better suited because the private sector is a business. You have seen the shoddy jobs they have done with housing (in

reference to botched government housing projects). Also another basic need. Else give them a clear brief and monitor closely”.

Reference has already been made to the `brief` and the issue of `basic needs` with its implications for the role of government. It is however important to note the lack of trust in the profession. This could be attributed to the fact that planning as a profession was deeply implicated with apartheid planning. In this instance, the `brief` serves not only as a guide for planning practice, but also as means for accountability. This concern with mechanisms for establishing professional accountability is therefore understandable because it was not guaranteed under apartheid planning, a factor which a majority of his white counterparts may also be blind to.

7. Sibongile Mngoma: Assistant Planner

The role of women in initiation of boys is a sensitive matter that has been alluded to in one of the previous chapters. Women as a result are not as forthcoming on the subject:

“You cannot be serious asking me about initiation?”

This masked a serious concern with what goes on during the process of initiation and a feeling of helplessness with the status quo of being excluded because of gender:

“I have nothing profound to say – but these are our brothers getting mutilated there and we need to get more involved – more than we are”.

The issue for her as an African women goes beyond the question of relevant skills. Her gender circumscribes what projects she can and cannot actually accept as practicing planner, and this is not one of them:

“I come from Social Work, so have some skill with people and doing workshops.....Unless you are in the private sector dealing with commercial

stuff, some kind of exposure to participatory planning is indispensable, how else can you do work in the townships?”.

This level of reflection on practice by these two African planners was clearly not evident with the rest of the planners. The context of their sense of pragmatism was more pertinent to the immediate circumstances around this particular issue that affected their communities. The post-apartheid planning context had served to empower African communities in general, yet they felt that in matters of African traditions and customs power was still skewed in favour of elder man. At the same time no sense of urgency was perceived to challenge the status quo.

8. Malcolm Pillay and Sandra Mellons Public Sector and Part-time lecturer

Malcolm and Sandra (below) represent a new generation of recently qualified young planners. Because they lacked the necessary experience on which to draw upon and reflect on new situations, their sense of confidence about planning practice, though admirable, bordered on naivety:

“When I left planning school 3 years ago nobody was talking about communication, vague references to public participation, yes, but that was it. We were trained as technicians”.

Sandra, a researcher and part-time lecturer, put it somewhat differently:

“I am not aware of anyone who has been trained or sensitized to diversity and community participation to go out and do it. We vaguely touched on it at school”.

Just like their experienced predecessors, they were also convinced that a clear statement of instructions would suffice to get the job accomplished. This speaks to the kind of training they were exposed to as suggested at the beginning of this section. The emphasis was on technical competency, which, in this case involves the ability to reading and respond to planning briefs:

“Given a clear brief I can do the job. I do not have to speak the language. Just tell me what to do”.

Sandra, the more articulate of the two, put it somewhat differently again:

“I believe I can do it. You have to start somewhere to gain experience. Tell me what needs to be done”.

The notion of learning from practice, in order to improve practice has been consistent throughout the interviews with consultants albeit not because of its intrinsic value as another form of skills transfer, but because of its extrinsic value associated with enabling them to prioritize what to include and exclude in their syllabuses. Learning through experience therefore becomes a question of a chance encounter with those `odd` experiences that never made it into the syllabuses of planning schools. Again this does not augur well for planning in general because some issues, however relevant, are clearly not going to make the syllabuses and into the consciousness of planning thought the balance of power and the mindset of some academics shifts with it. Until then, the more familiar mantra, which former students have also swallowed uncritically like Sandra, will persist:

“We cannot be taught everything in planning school although a case can be made to include gender and cultural sensitivity to the curriculum these days”.

The naivety of these young planners is punctuated with an acute sense of social justice that the older generation of planners failed to exhibit. There is no question in terms of what should have been done in the past, and consequently what should be done in the future in order to avoid the status quo:

“It is first and foremost a public sector issue. Spaces should have been set aside or facilities built when townships were being designed. So they must go back and fix it. New developments should cater for this need to avoid the same mistake again”.

And for Sandra:

“.....They (spaces for initiation) should have been provided in the first place when townships were designed sometime ago”.

Towards the end of the interview, almost as an afterthought following a period of silence, Malcolm asked the following:

“Do they know what they want exactly to be done? Some prior investigation needs to be conducted first”.

It has been argued in the previous section that South African society is going through unprecedented social transformation and that planners are among other professions that are at the forefront of the endeavor to understand the transformation and to use that understanding to improve theory and practice. South African planning literature is replete with references to the need for planning to change in the new South Africa. For planners, the highlight of the endeavor at transforming the profession consisted in the merger of the SAITRP and DPSA to form SAPI in 1996, and the submission of an apology to the TRC for colluding with the apartheid regime. In short, the social transformation process in South Africa necessitated the unprecedented substantive and procedural changes for the planning profession.

However, evidence from past and present planning organizations suggest a profession that is not at ease with transforming certain aspects of the profession, particularly community participation. The relationship between participation and the initiation process has already been established in the previous chapters. This section analyses the SAITRP and SAPI documents to reveal a profession that is reluctant to transform. The following section examines the views of the profession regarding community participation in the planning process using various documents from the SAITRP, DPSA and SAPI.

10.2.3 SAITRP and SAPI Position on Participation In Planning

The then president of SAITRP, Peter Robinson argued that planners needed to 'face the challenge of the new South Africa' (SAITRP 1991:1). The past president of RTPI Chris Shepley (1993:34) echoed similar sentiments by stating that:

"Planners must become attuned to the needs of the new South Africa, they must change many of the principles and precepts on which planning has been based". These pronouncements within the profession led to administrative and organizational changes discussed above. The question posed by this section is whether these institutional and administrative changes are adequate to ensure equitable planning practices as espoused by SAPI.

The 1996 SAITRP report (1996:1-4) stated that it sets out to 'grasp the opportunity of defining and taking a stand on the issue of the role of the planner with regard to public participation.....'. The authors of the report question 'excessive consultation and participation' and express a 'concern regarding the very future of the profession'. They proceed to spell out the process for participation, that it should:

".. start with the dissemination of information that the planner has researched beforehand.....the methodology for obtaining community input.....may vary from public meeting to written communication".

They then propose as a solution to this problem of participation that:

"The solicitation of public input should be characterized by a more balanced approach than has been the case in certain quarters to date, with the planner taking a confident role".

The authors lament the situation in which planners found themselves in post-apartheid planning practice:

"The role and image of the planner is frequently undermined, weakened and emasculated (by participative processes), the planner is no longer viewed as a profession with a viable contribution to make to the well being of society"

Although this document was published before the merger with DPSA to form SAPI, the anxieties seemed to have been transferred to the new organization. SAPI subscribes to the idea of public participation in planning processes, but in the official position paper on the subject, SAPI expresses the reservation that this may be less controllable, less precise and so likely to slow down planning processes of development and delivery.

Notwithstanding the new planning legislations like Development Facilitation Act (chapter 3), which emphasised the development of new competencies in planning practice based on mediation, arbitration and conflict resolution, these views reveal a profession that is not ready to deal with community involvement in planning processes. Such views would limit participation to what Arnstein (1969) characterised as manipulation, therapy and informing, which she felt did not amount to true participation.

At this stage we are now able to make more sense on the views expressed by both academics and consultants, in particular, their obsession with a `brief` and professional confidence in spite of the lack in relevant skills. Their responses are summarised in the following table. Baum's (1996) on the persistence of the rational model, highlighted among other things bureaucratic pressure as illustrated earlier on in the section dealing with Integrated Development Plans (chapter 3), and psychological factors to defend themselves against seeming wrong, imperfect, or uncertainty (Baum 1996:134). Psychologically, the familiar and predictable ways of doing and acting are much more appealing, more especially when the alternative is perceived as `less precise` and `less controllable`. In addition the planner's skills is being challenged by the murky reality of planning practice, which makes them feel redundant, hence the references to being `weakened` and `emasculated`.

In addition, Harrison (2001) cited a 1999 survey of planners in one of the most populous of the nine provinces in South Africa, Kwa-Zulu-Natal, which indicated that a majority of planners were negative about the future of planning and the profession. As Harrison (2001) noted, contemporary planners were 'navigating the difficult path between a debilitating disillusionment and fanciful optimism'.

Diagram 6: Opinion of Academics and Consultants

Views of academics regarding planning skills required	Views of consultants / employers regarding planning skills required	Combined views regarding claim for space for initiation
Syllabus determined by employers	Lack relevant training/skills	Largely a public sector issue
Needs of employers vary	Learn through practice	Basic needs
Lack of time / Time limited	Cannot be taught everything	Research necessary / more information
Lack of experienced staff to teach	Learning through practice	Set of instructions / 'brief' necessary
What is not taught can be learned in practice	Learning through practice	Form of consultation with community necessary

SAPI's position on the issue of participation in particular, may also begin to explain why consultants exhibited such a high level of confidence. Through their professional body, they resolved to challenge the perceived skewed balance of power in favour of affected public(s). Clearly, one of the biggest challenges for planners in South Africa working in the context of limited resources will be to find the appropriate level of participation for each project (Laburn-Peart, 1998:175). With the benefit of hindsight, it appears that the pendulum of planning practice in South Africa not only swung too quickly, but also to the extreme opposite end for most planners.

10.3 A New animal emerges ?

There has been much discussion in the local planning literature about the need to transform South Africa planning in accordance with the perceived new challenges of a post-apartheid South Africa (Laburn-Peart 1995, 1998; Mabin 1995; Harrison 1995, 2001; Boden 1988, 1992; Muller 1996,1998; Oranje 1996, 2001; Dewar 1995, 2001; and Watson 1998) among others.

Muller (1995:10) describes past planning practice, which partly inspired this debate in local as well international planning literature about the need to transform planning theory and practice in South Africa as follows:

‘The planning methodologies of the apartheid era were, in form and purpose, autocratic and authoritarian. The planning paradigm of the time was of the rational-comprehensive genre Certainly, the planning approach was projected as scientifically objective, apolitical, efficient and centralized Notions of any involvement of affected black citizens in the planning process were perceived as inimical to the dominatory ideology of the ruling regime’.

The impact of the pace of the wider political and social changes to the planning profession were described by Mabin (1995:196) as akin to ‘waking up in a post-modern era while equipped only with the politics and planning practices of a modernist past’. Harrison (1996:32) echoed a similar sentiment by characterizing the new challenges as ‘the failure of an essentially modernist programme to perform within a context that is increasingly postmodern’. Oranje (2001) prefer to use the term ‘schizophrenia’ to describe the similar process of loathing the reality it (modern planning) finds itself in and urgently wanting to change it, while simultaneously situating itself in that reality so as to gain societal acceptance.

The need for change was not only confined to the substance of planning practice and theory, the internal organization of the profession was also transformed. This internal restructuring culminated with the formation of a single, more inclusive organization in 1996 to represent all planners, the South African Planning Institution (SAPI), and the subsequent submission of

an apology to the Truth and reconciliation Commission (TRC) for contributing towards apartheid.

In the words of Laburn Peart (1991:15), 'a new animal (will) one day soon emerge to replace the present dinosaur'. It was not surprising therefore that some soon began to observe the 'new animal' in the planning processes of the early 1990s, around the time when the first democratic elections were held. They argued that the planning processes at that time came close to the consensus seeking practices of collaborative planning (Watson 1998).

However, others have equally pointed out to what they perceived as the new market driven forces of fragmentation that have emerged, which they claim seem to be more powerful than the new and reemerging forces of integration (Mabin 1995, Watson 1998). Recalcitrant bureaucrats (Dewar 2001) were also identified as a stumbling block towards the transformation of the Apartheid City. The essence of their arguments was that past programmes of urban reconstruction in South Africa have tended to be overtaken by the realities of power and its limits, which have often perverted the idealism and vision of reconstruction to less attractive ends (Mabin et al 1997).

This argument about transforming planning practice in South Africa is consistent with the growing international concern in planning literature with the impact of the so called 'new times', which according to this literature have rendered modern planning theory and practice inappropriate (Young 1990; Harvey 1993; Yiftachel 1995, 2001; Qadeer 1997; Sandercock 1998, 2000; Flyvbjerg 1998, 2000, 2001; Allmendinger 2001) by perpetuating the status quo marginalizing certain groups in society marked by difference. Others have pointed to the 'darker side' of modern planning that has served to rationalize inequality and domination. Yiftachel (2001:252) has dubbed this as 'a double-edged sword' of planning:

‘It is able to either facilitate and enhance a ‘rational’ development, in the name of improving quality and amenity, or conversely, to retard, fragment and control progress and development’.

How have these changes affected planning practice? With particular reference to the questions raised by the case study, have the issues of marginalization, empowerment and participation in planning processes been adequately addressed by these changes? The discussion now turns to the views of academics, followed by those of consultants, and lastly their professional body.

10.4 Conclusion

At the beginning of the chapter the third research questions were posed, namely; what counted for lack of response or where was the gap between claim for space and practice and how it can be bridged? In an attempt to answer this research question this chapter, interviews with academics and consultants were presented and analysed, as well views from former and present professional planning organizations (SAITRP and SAPI). The findings can be summarized in the following manner:

- Key pieces of post-apartheid legislations were enacted aimed at redressing the effects of past planning practices that were marginalizing and discriminating.
- Planners were obligated to put an emphasis on wider community involvement in planning processes and urged to develop new competencies in line with the new context of post-apartheid planning practice.
- A new planning organization (SAPI) was formed which in theory readily embraced the transformation process and its implication for a planning practice based on equity.

However, reconciling institutional and organizational restructuring with the realities of planning practice has proved to be harder than was anticipated. Mabin and Smith ((1997:218)⁷ echoed a similar sentiment in relation to the likelihood that `the durability of the parts of the older.....especially that fixed in the built environment and embodied in professional knowledge and language` will be harder to dislodge:

`We have added to this notion of the persistence of older social and physical forms the argument that past programmes of urban reconstruction have tended to be overtaken by the realities of power and its limits, which have often perverted the idealism and vision of reconstruction to less attractive ends`

Finally, Healey's (1997) argument that societies which are multicultural, fragmented, conflictual and complex demand different ways of thinking about decision making and planning underscores the need to reflect on the limitations of current initiatives aimed at transforming planning in South Africa. The following chapter begins the process of exploring the impasse between the claim for space to practice initiation and planning theory and practice.

⁷ See also Baum, H.S. (1996) on `Why the rational Paradigm Persists`

CHAPTER 11

The Discourse around the Claim for Space to Practice Initiation

11.1 Introduction

The need for `proper facilities`, in reference to this claim for space by the affected communities, received support from a variety of groups. This chapter seeks to provide some explanation for the reasons behind these various arguments. It also begins to analyze the significance of this claim for space in terms of how urban issues are framed in order to galvanize necessary support for particular causes. Throgmorton (1991, 1992, 1993 and Hoch (1992), among others, have highlighted the practical significance of persuasive discourse in planning (chapter 4).

Emanating from these various arguments are the issues of commodification of culture, the symbolic aspects of the initiation process, and the design and management of proposed `facility/space`, which are central to the claim for space to practice initiation. We are able to analyse and understand symbolic aspects of the initiation process through Boden (1992) approach (chapter 4). *The argument presented is that the initiation practice is symbolic and therefore a relevant approach is necessary.* The commodification of culture is analysed in terms of the post-modern condition characterized by the globalization of the economy and the extent to which the market economy has permeated all aspects of life (chapter 5). The design and management of proposed `facility/space` has to do with the day-to-day management and the design approach as suggested by Boden (1992:1998).

11.2 The arguments around initiation site

There are five kinds of arguments being put forward about the need to provide `proper facilities` for the initiation process:

11.2.1 Health professionals, including traditional healers

Their concern is the spread of diseases and some deaths and hospitalizations among initiates resulting from the lack of basic clinical training. Traditional medicine has largely been the only source of medical care administered until this concern emerged. In the overall context of the AIDS epidemic in the South Africa, this concern is understandable due to the intrinsic nature of initiation that involves cutting and bleeding.

11.2.2 Local economic development experts

They saw opportunities for cultural-tourism in what was being dubbed as a possibility for a `real/authentic` cultural experience for tourists. Small-scale employment opportunities for locals were also envisaged. This raises the issue of commodification of culture.

11.2.3 Environmentalists

Expressed concern about the use of inappropriate materials such as plastic and cardboard for building the initiates' temporary huts, all of which `do not only pose a serious threat to the environment, but they pose an ugly picture of the entire province` (Vika 2001:3). The Drift-sands Initiation Village proposal (Chapter 9) within the Delft Nature Reserve tries to solve the two main challenges facing environmentalists, that is, nature and cultural conservation.

11.2.4 Planners (academics and consultants)

Acknowledged the general lack of accommodation of traditional practices in urban land use, and in particular the space to practice initiation. Generally agreed on the need to involve affected communities in process and in their ability to perform the task by virtue of their practical experience. Debated about the appropriate level/scale at which these initiation sites or `proper facilities` should be celebrated as prominent public cultural symbols in Cape Town.

11.2.5 Local Community Members

The community was generally not unanimous with regards to the initiation issue. There are two broad groups classified in terms of the views on initiation as conservatives and progressives. The conservatives generally feel that their version of the initiation process is more authentic, and the progressives are much more accommodating in terms of changes/adaptations to the practice, including the status of women. The progressives were more readily open to forming alliances with other groups like environmentalists and those who wanted to exploit the economic benefits that might accrue through tourism. The conservatives were weary of `outside interference` in the initiation process, which they felt was already watered down due to the urban setting. Their sons were more likely to go back to the rural areas for a more `authentic` experience of initiation.

The arguments by each group were not mutually exclusive, of course, and several of them were merged into a common thread – for example, providing tourist friendly facilities for the initiation process may contribute towards enhancing environmental protection, improve hygiene during initiation to minimize infections, and generate employment opportunities for the locals, a position more in line with the progressives. The conservatives regard themselves as the sole custodians of the initiation process, and as such they are not willing to negotiate with anyone but the local authority that owns the contested sites. They would for example point out the view expressed by planners concerning the appropriate level/scale at which these initiation sites or `proper facilities` should be celebrated as prominent public cultural symbols in Cape Town as an example of the irreconcilability of interests because it clashes with the element of privacy.

We would, in post-modern jargon, be prone to describe these separate arguments as `discourses`, each with its own logic and imperatives (Harvey 1993:592):

‘And we would not have to look too closely to see particular ‘communities of interests’ which articulated a particular discourse as if it was the only one that mattered’.

The particularistic argument advanced by the conservatives for example has so far proved effective in mobilizing the community against eviction from the Langa site, and advancing their own brand of the initiation process that was unfettered from outside influences like the Drift-sands Initiation Village proposal, which is driven by environmental concerns.

Arguments by progressives and purists seem to be prevailing as evidenced by proposals for the Drift Sands Initiation Village and the stalemate in Langa Township. Undoubtedly, some of these concerns are going to be one of the major determinants for the design phase and/or site selection for the initiation process, at least for the proposed village. Planning must now at best play a coordinating role, synthesizing the inputs from diverse interest groups into a coherent whole ala collaborative planning, or risk being marginalized in the very process of planning itself, a theme that will receive much attention in the concluding chapter.

The framing of the question for initiation space along environment, local economic development and health concerns could also provide for that instance of a more general principle that would provide wider support a` la Peattie (2001), that is, linking the claim for space to practice initiation to the broader issues of reintegrating the fragmented apartheid city, wider participation in decision making, and concerns for the environment, to name a few. Previously marginalized communities might draw some parallels and strength from struggles by environmentalists for the incorporation of environmental impacts statements to any proposal for development, which were previously marginal in planning decision-making processes.

Particular styles of communication targeting a diversity of audiences, which may in turn necessitates using different languages, planning jargon and styles of presentation may be necessary to advance the cause for the claim for space. Planners would argue that the communicative turn facilitates discussion and dialogue among diverse stakeholders and various interest groups, which in turn may makes possible the emergence of a general principle as basis for a consensus. In fact the planning processes of the early to mid 1990's in South Africa have been characterised as coming close to the consensus-seeking practices of collaborative planning (Watson 1998).

Opponents of this communicative approach in planning may point out that it still perpetuates the status quo of marginalizing other voices and critical points of view, not least among them that of the planner¹. Women for example, who were (and still) previously marginalized in these matters due to the male-centeredness of the initiation process, expressed a concern about some of the boys dying and some needing hospitalized due to infected wounds and other medical complications. They also expressed concern about the safety of younger boys some of whom had gotten involved in a variety of accidents while performing their traditional role such as collecting firewood, water, and meals from home for the initiates who are secluded in the bush. Another example concerns the healing of circumcision wounds, which may not only be a simple matter for hospitalization as explained above, the symbolic aspects need to be considered as well².

¹ See Tewdwr-Jones et al (1998) 'Deconstructing communicative rationality: a critique of Habermasian collaborative planning, *Environment and Planning A* 30(11), pp.175-198; Faistein, S. (1999) 'The future of theory in planning, paper presented at the Planning Research Conference at the University of Sheffield, 29-31 March; Rorty, R (1989) *Contingency, Irony, Solidarity* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.); Flyvbjerg, B. (1998) 'Empowering Civil Society: Habermas, Foucault and the Question of Conflict' in Douglas and Friedman *Cities for Citizens*, Wiley Press.

² According to one informant, circumcision wounds that do not heal may indicate a much deeper problem having to do with ancestors. Parents of the initiate are informed in order to perform a necessary ritual.

These concerns highlight the element of complexity involved with the claim for space to practice initiation and the challenges concerning the attempt to reconcile some of the main issues involved, that is, management and design of the site/facility, symbolic aspects of the initiation process, and commodification of culture.

11.3 Main Issues around the Provision of Site.

There has been a widespread concern regarding the plight of the initiates (abakhwetha) who suffer from medical and psychiatric complications associated with the initiation process. Does the solution to this consist only in placing the circumcision operation in the hands of medically trained personnel? What about the symbolic aspects of the initiation process? The design and management of the site/facility must be such that it is sensitive to the culture and practice of initiation. Finally, does the commodification of the initiation practice adversely affect the culture? Each of these issues will now be discussed in detail below.

11.3.1 Symbolic Aspects of the Initiation Process

The initiation process is marked by the observance of certain rituals by both the initiate and initiator, including anyone in contact with the initiate such as mother who may be preparing food for the initiate³. While in seclusion, the initiates are `considered to be holy` and to be `in the care of the ancestors`, they must abstain (ukuzila) from meat, sour milk, tobacco, liquor and sexual intercourse.

This abstinence also applies to those who come into contact with them as discussed above. Those who disregard these rituals are regarded as `contaminated` and consequently, not permitted to be in contact with the boys for the duration of the initiation process. The point made earlier that the

³ Until recently a younger sister of the initiate performed this duty. Since they could no longer be trusted with abstaining from sexual intercourse for the duration of the initiation process, that is, one month, the mothers are now responsible for cooking.

arguments about health standards notwithstanding, an understanding, respect and sensitivity to these cultural meanings and symbolisms attached to the practice must form the basis for a meaningful planning intervention.

This has implications for the medical staff that may come into contact with initiates who must be sensitized to these issues (see figure below). These are the issues that the purists would raise as evidence of the superiority of their argument against interference from groups, however well meaning. The compromise that was agreed upon involved a pre-initiation medical check-up for boys and first aid training of initiators, partly as a result of women who were concerned about their dying sons from infectious wounds and other medical complications. In this case talking about the `container` (in reference to the site) and not the `content` (the actual practice of initiation) as the cultural progressives like Mr. Vika suggested would not only be highly problematic, it misses the most critical element.

11.3.2 Design and Management of the Site

It has already been mentioned that the initiation process involves much more than the physical act of cutting, that it is also profoundly imbued with symbolism. This means that the proposed site must also incorporate symbolic aspect associated with the initiation and the culture of the local community.

Given the limited participation espoused by the majority of planning practitioners that were interviewed (chapter 9), and their experiences in other aspects of planning, it is still doubtful as to whether these planners would be able to address this issue.

Post-apartheid planning also faces tremendous obstacles (chapter 2). The combination of these factors has resulted in living environments that are detached from local cultures and their spatial expressions, a phenomenon

unique to South African cities. For example, cities like Ciudad Guayana in Venezuela and Dodoma in Tanzania among others have also been criticized for being alien to local cultures. In short, the political context of apartheid militated against the development of requisite skills to address similar issues on the one hand, whereas the existing political will in the post-apartheid context does not provide enough incentive to promote the acquisition of these skills by planners.

Clearly, a method for reconnecting planning proposals with their cultural context is needed. Boden (1992, 1998) proposed a culturally responsive approach, which enabled him to identify the symbolic, and expressive physical cues. This method was employed here with some slight adaptations to suit elements of the case study (see figure below). His proposal therefore represents a significant step for planning practitioners engaged with similar issues, particularly in the context of South Africa where planning is still in a state of flux.

The management of the proposed site has to do with the day to day running and maintenance of the ablution facilities to be installed. This becomes an overriding concern during the off-season months when the facilities could be susceptible potential theft and vandalism.

Diagram 7: Examples of expressive cues identified from case studies

IDEA OR SYMBOL	INDEX OR EXPRESSIVE ELEMENT	PROCESS BY WHICH ESTABLISHED	CHANGES IDENTIFIED
1. Privacy or Secrecy	(a) The bush/forest.	Cultural	High wall or fence
	(b) Walled off space	Emulation	None
2. Orientation	(a) Right more important than left.	Cultural/Cosmic belief	None
	(b) West more so than east.	Cultural/cosmic belief	None

3. Security	(a) Walled off space.	Accultural	None
	(b) Title deed	Accultural	None
	(c) Initiators	Cultural (functional)	None
4. Proximity (ease of access)	(a) Walking distance.	Accultural (functional)	None
5. Fire	(a) Protection, warmth and source of light	Accultural (functional)	None
	(b) Transformation process/change/rebirth	Cosmic belief	None
6. Water	(a) Cleanliness/health, life.	Accultural (functional)	None
	(b) River	Cultural	Replaced by shower due to lack of access to a river.
	(c) Shower facilities	Emulation	

A duly constituted management structure is therefore a prerequisite for guaranteed functioning of the facilities especially during the off-season period. This in itself seems an obvious and unnecessary point to make, but nothing could be further from the truth. For example, why has these communities not organized around such an important issue, at least to liaise with the local authority? How do planners begin to address the issue of initiation sites in the seeming absence of such community structures, which are indispensable for participatory planning?

Friedman (2001) has pointed out that the emergence of social movements in the 1960's provided a cue for some planners to talk about advocacy planning (Paul Davidoff), community participation (Lisa Peattie), and equity planning (Norman Krumholz). Where is the point of leverage for those planners who want to be involved?

However, this lack of community structures belies the deep-seated sentiment in the community regarding initiation practice and the attachment to the site currently in use, particularly in Langa Township (see Chapter Six). It also belies the level of frustration and cynicism towards local government officials who have threatened them with eviction or done nothing to resolve the situation in favor of the communities involved. This notwithstanding, it was still surprising given the fact that South Africa has a relatively high degree of social capital.

11.3.3 Culture for Sale: The Commodification of Culture?

Town Planning in South Africa takes place in a context of unprecedented economic globalization. This has a tremendous impact on the capacity of the national government to provide essential services, as the dependence on direct foreign investment is indispensable. Dear (1986:381) sums this relationship between international capital and the state as follows:

‘The postmodern city is a deliberate mutation engendered by a bureaucratic state and a corporate civil society. Both spheres are driven by economic return, in fiscal or profit forms. The postmodern city has become a mutant money machine, driven by the twin engines of (state) penetration and (corporate) commodification..... Commodification is the extent to which the tasks and products of planning can be timed, routinized, priced, and sold’.

In the case of South Africa, planning was implicated in the implementation of apartheid policies for which the profession subsequently made a submission of apology to the TRC. Ironically, the bureaucratic capacity of the post-apartheid state that is currently being marshaled to reconstruct and integrate the fragmented South African city has been criticized for perpetuating the status quo. Two examples have been cited as demonstrative of this view.

Firstly, at the national level, the RDP policy was replaced by the unpopular⁴ neo-liberal economic policy of GEAR in 1996 as the `pressures to abandon leftist rhetoric and pacify global capital were great`, and `any notion of central planning espoused by the RDP could not be reconciled with economic orthodoxy of GEAR (Harrison 2001:186). Secondly, at the local level municipalities or local authorities are forced to devise ingenious ways to generate much needed revenues due to declining funds from central government. Cash strapped local governments have therefore adopted an attitude that `any development is positive` (Dewar 2001), in an attempt to attract sorely needed revenue from taxes on land development, and `private sector developers continually seeking cheap land, continue to be central players in determining the urban footprint`⁵.

Harvey (1989:77) also notes a similar trend in the rising tide of deregulation and dependence on the zoning power of land rent. Both authors argue that this undermines the postmodernist critique of the fragmented city and any attempt at integration. Furthermore, local governments in association with local community structures are also mandated by the national government to prepare Integrated Development Plans in order to access some funds from central government for various development projects in their areas. But the deadlines imposed on the preparation of these plans and the new managerial ethos have all relegated the IDP's into a comprehensive quasi-business plan instead of an arena for debate and collective shaping the future of the South Africa city (Oranje 2001:11).

Mabin (1995) concludes that the new forces of fragmentation that have emerged seem to be more powerful than the new and reemerging forces of

⁴ Since the inception of this policy, South Africa has been plague by a series of strikes, protests and criticism mainly from members of the tripartite ruling alliance, the trade union movement and the South African Communist Party, both which have threatened to pull out of the alliance with government.

⁵Gnad *et al* (2002) noted a boom in the so-called GASH market (GASH - Good Address, Small Home) in reference to the increasing market for Gated Communities in South Africa.

integration. In relation to planning, the emphasis has shifted from integration to business planning from integration to fragmentation as Harvey (1989) noted above.

Complexity and contradiction abound in the post-modern city. On the one hand is an argument by Watson and Gibson (1995:260) that `global processes of capital and new forms of communication have erased national boundaries` with the result that `the local has been increasingly asserted as a place of significant resistance. Harvey (1989: 302) on the other hand suggests that the disempowered groups tend to command place better than space. In making the connection between place, security and social identity, he notes the following:

`In clinging to place bound identity – often of necessity, such oppositional movements become part of the very fragmentation which a mobile capitalism and flexible accumulation can feed on` (1989: 303).

The question of commodification of culture therefore needs to be situated within this context of the pervasive economic rationality and the impact this has on the capacity for local authorities to perform their functions of service delivery.

Does it matter that the claim for space to practice initiation also opens the door for `mobile capital to feed` on as Harvey warns, as long as the claim for space is acknowledged and provided? Is it possible to reconcile the profit motif with practice of local culture? For example, Watson and Gibson (1995:262) argue that `postmodern politics celebrates struggles and new possibilities at many sites, both marginal and mainstream, recognizing that victories are only ever partial, temporary and contested`. They go on to point out that this `means strategic interventions and alliances which are capable of shifting with the fast-changing circumstances of cities today`. The progressives might add the caveat that as long as the market rationality does

not impinge on the practice of initiation, it would not matter; that culture is dynamic anyway and the initiation process is continually being adapted to the dictates of urban living.

The romantics would be more skeptical about this arrangement for reasons having to do with the sanctity of the initiation process. Habermas (1989)⁶ would add to this the view the distinction between what he calls the life world, which encompasses the private and public sphere, and the systems world involving the economy and state. Within the life-world agents coordinate their actions with each other by reference to an intersubjective consensus on norms, values and ends. This consensus is achieved through speech and interpretation. In the systems world, agents co-ordinate the actions of agents is based on self-interested calculations through the media of money and power, of which the capitalist economy is a paradigmatic instance. For him the flow of control from systems to life world is more characteristic of contemporary political systems through a process he refers to as `colonization`. Nothing short of the removal of the systems world from the life world would suffice. Culture in a general sense should be freed from the influence and control of the state and economic forces.

11.4 Conclusion

The previous chapters presented a detailed discussion of the elements involved in the initiation process as well as the views of all stakeholders. This enabled us to appreciate the context within which the claim for space to practice initiation was being made.

The discourses around the initiation process underscores the complexity involved with the initiation process. The framing of the initiation process along

⁶ Habermas, J (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, MIT Cambridge Mass.

such broad terms galvanizes support from a wider constituent. According to Peattie (2001:262):

‘Any planner or reformer who was to make a practice of framing issues at the most limited level of the problems of those immediately affected would lose thereby the wider support of those who might see in a particular issue an instance of a more general principle, and thus provide the source of leverage to alter the problem situation’

From this analysis we are able to crystallize the main concerns involved with this claim for space to practice initiation into three essential issues, that is, the commodification of culture, the design and management of facilities, and the symbolic aspects of the initiation process. The commodification of culture provides an instance of the extent to which the market economy has penetrated South African society. While the fragmented nature of the post-apartheid city provides spaces for resistance a la Foucault and Watson and Gibson (2001), it also presents an opportunity for mobile capital to feed (Harvey 1989). The design and management of facility/site has to do incorporating the need for a participatory planning process in order to tease out the essential aspects of the initiation process, and the challenges of managing the site/facility especially during the long off-season periods. Finally, the symbolic aspects of the initiation process have to do with the observation that symbolism permeates all aspects of the initiation process. The need for sensitivity to this aspect cannot be underestimated in the process of design and management.

Overall, there is a consensus regarding the claim for initiation space, the differences had to do with the not so small matters of how and where. It is safe to conclude therefore that the ‘discourses’ about ‘proper facilities’ was primarily borne in large part, out of concerns for health, the environment, and the commodification of local culture in the form of a tourist spectacle, and not out of the desire for social justice.

The following chapter explores an alternative, African-centered approach to the claim for space to practice initiation. This may provide a unique vantage-point from which to observe and analyse this claim in order to inform practice.

Chapter 12

A Reflection on Contradictions and Limitations of Post-modern Planning

12.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to highlight some of the emerging contradictions and limitations of post-apartheid urban planning theory and practices, as part of the analysis of data. These contradictions advance the debates about urban planning theory and practice in South Africa by revealing the limitations of normative planning, including a post-modern approach in post-apartheid urban planning. The chapter begins to attempt to develop a local/context specific practical approach (see also appendix 1) in response to these contradictions and theoretical limitations in terms of the apparent irreconcilability of values and the ability/capacity for both post-modern and neo-liberal planning to accommodate difference or fundamentalism. The emphasis on the local/context is in keeping with view of post-modernism as not yet another meta-theory waiting to take over modernism (Milroy 1991; Sandercock 1995, 2000).

The following sections explore these contradictions, namely, valorization of the `local`, place-making and the politics of difference, and the ability of civil society to promote the ideal of democracy. The last section of the chapter begins to explore implications for planning theory and practice, a major theme of the last chapter.

At the heart of the debate will be the following new questions based on reflection upon the data: What makes fundamental/difference, it? Under what conditions is it justified to respect fundamentalism/difference, especially when it reinforces and/or perpetuates marginalization of other groups in society? How is the issue of human/individual rights resolved when it clashes with claim for group rights that mark difference?

Can diversity and multiculturalism be accommodated in planning theory and practice? Is an inclusive, tolerant and just city possible or just an ideal worth striving for?

12.2 The Valorization of `the local`

Marris (1998) has argued that the purpose of planning is to articulate and resolve, to the greatest extent possible, the tensions between the political, economic, and civil functions of a society as its diverse human membership tries to find their place in it and fulfill their needs. Participatory planning processes are posited as the `most flexible way of responding to the ongoing rearrangements in those tensions, by providing meaningful opportunities for local communities to deal directly with the issues they face (Hibbard and Lurie 2000:188)`. The dominant procedural paradigm of communicative or discursive collaborative planning is relied upon as basis for involving affected publics.

The post-modern emphasis on context, the role of agency, local knowledge and `ways of doing a` la Sandercock (1995, 1998), while indispensable and necessary for building and sustaining democracy, leaves it blind to the broader forces of political economy. For example, there is sense in which it can be argued that the substitution of the economic neo-liberalism of Growth, Employment, And Redistribution (GEAR) for the leftist Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1996 as national policy in South Africa had a tremendously negative effect on the capacity of local governments to perform their functions. Internationally, the insertion of South Africa into an increasingly globalizing economy that pit nations and cities against one another as best locations for investments also adversely affected local structures of government and material life.

Following these changes in national government policy and insertion into an international context, local government structures had to adjust accordingly.

The notion of a `world class African city`, and later `world class city` characterized by massive downtown redevelopment projects, shopping malls and gated communities on the periphery became popular.

Local structures are therefore not immune to these broader changes as they constantly try to adapt and adjust. Watson's (1998) view that planning processes of the 1990's in South Africa came close to collaborative planning processes underscores the sensitivity to these changes. Mabin (1995) also remarked that, in view of what he perceived as inadequate changes in planning practice in South Africa, planning practice in South Africa was akin to waking up in a post-modern era while still equipped with the tools and practices of a modernist past. Both views support the idea that changes in planning practice are not arising because of the shifts in the planner's conceptual equipment. They arise rather, as adjustments to the unfolding realities within which the practice is located (Graham and Healey 1999:641). However, this is no guarantee that planning theory, and practice in particular, would automatically follow suit. In other words, while the broader political context that buttressed modern and apartheid planning has been supplanted by a more democratic political context, planners have yet to fully embrace it.

But as Watson (2002:45) warns, putting much emphasis on localities may be problematic for other reasons:

`If the economic and political base is not rendered problematic, then the blame can be simply placed on the inabilities of local groupings or areas to situate themselves correctly in relation to broader forces, and this ignores the need for local groups to `scale up` or begin to make global alliances`.

In spite of these broader forces that impinge on localities, places still continue to matter (Graham and Healey, 1999). This view suggests a dialectic relationship between the local and the global spheres. Indeed, Uve Schwedler and Neill (2001:207) suggests that creative urban planning responses tackling economic and cultural exclusion illustrate that while

localities are not masters of their own destiny they are not impotent in the face of the market either. Castells (1997), Graham and Healey (1999:631) also referred to the paradox of an increasingly local politics as people strive to create meaning in a world structured by increasingly global processes. The globalization process seems to demand localization in the favored places of the planetary urban system (ibid:632). This paradoxical situation calls for a more nuanced approaches to the inter-linkages among places, governance, technology, and economy, which fragment and interlink spaces and places simultaneously.

12.3 Place-making and the Politics of Difference

Hague and Jenkins (2005:8) argue that planning is about place-making. Planners mould or reproduce and create identities of places through manipulation of activities, feelings, meanings and fabric that combine into place identity (ibid:8). This recognition and celebration of difference and diversity is one of the basic tenets of post-modernism. However, the operationalization of difference and diversity is fraught with difficulties, especially in the South African context where apartheid policies perverted and manipulated group differences for political ends.

Diversity may be regarded as a founding and indispensable characteristic of the city. A city exists principally because different men have found it advantageous to practice their different crafts, trades and pursuits in close proximity (Reader 2004:117). A city therefore thrives on diversity.

However, there is fine line between acknowledging and celebrating difference and encouraging/perpetuating separation, intolerance, inequality and violating human rights. Apartheid planners imposed an overly constricting order of difference that post-apartheid planners must be careful to avoid. As Neill (2005:219) has pointed out, 'some ways of life are just plain horrible'. For example, group identity may provide an opportunistic launching pad for the

redistributive claim on resources. This may be problematic, particularly if the claim is perceived not to be in proportion to the size of the group concerned, and/or in the context of limited resources. Furthermore, identity claims may also be rooted in economic and political circumstances, which may lead to separation, inequality and oftentimes violence. So the materiality of context influences the cultural-identity positions which people may feel pulled or pushed (Neill 2004:141). At the risk of gross generalization, Africa is fraught with ethnic politicization and polarization.

Emphasizing difference may also obscure intra-group struggles such as that around gender by smothering dissent through pressure for group conformity. In the context of this research for example, one of the findings was that the prevailing wisdom was that the initiation of boys was largely a male affair. The contribution of women during initiation is not fully recognized, such as the preparation of the daily meals for the initiate, and the post-initiation celebration for which women save, sometimes for a year in advance for the purchase of necessary new clothes and linen that comes with the new status of manhood. So for women, the initiation process begins long before the boy enters the bush, and the financial implications are felt long after its culmination. Whereas men pride themselves for 'giving' the boy the tradition, women pride themselves for organizing the best post-initiation party and saving for new clothes. In spite of this contribution, they are still regarded as marginal to the whole process.

Also related to this issue of smothering intra-group dissent is the concern for human rights for boys who have no choice but to go through the process due to social and peer pressure. Completing the process affords the initiate an enviable status in the eyes of the yet uninitiated through privileges that accrue upon successful completion of the process. Therefore, there is immense social pressure to experience the process. Some of these issues cannot be tackled or altered without changing the fundamental nature of the initiation

practice, they are part and parcel of the *raison d'être* of the process. They are part of what constitute the 'it' of the practice. A value-rational question in terms of the desirability for planners to be involved in entrenching marginalization becomes unavoidable. How do urban planners and other built environment professionals navigate this thin line of promoting/facilitating and celebrating cultural identity/difference without entrenching intra-group injustice that is embedded in the constitution of this particular practice?

One view is that power is central to the understanding of the practice, which give rise to issues of exclusion (in this case of women and the uninitiated in the decision making-process) and inclusion of the initiated only. In other words the practice is inherently biased in favor of the man. This conflictual situation has prompted other theorists to embrace conflict as constitutive of civil society and therefore relevant for planning in general. According to Flyvbjerg (1998:210):

'The role of conflict in pluralist democracies and the rise of civil society with its scores of competing and often conflicting social movements and organizations make it incumbent on planners, planning theorists and policy analysts to think more in terms of conflict and power'.

Difference is not to be solved, at least along the lines of modernist control, order and transparency. A dialogical approach that brings antagonistic parties together to talk through their concerns through negotiation, mediation and cross-cultural understanding may be necessary. However, Hague and Jenkins (2005:53) have warned this approach is unlikely to be realized in societies based on inequality and domination that will systematically distort communication, deflect focus away from political economy, embed power relations that privilege particular political skills and actions (listening, argument, negotiation etc.) that risks hegemonizing such discourse system, and that is it contextless and servers processes from the spatial substance of planning. The dialogical process must not presuppose that a rational

dialogue among stakeholders is appropriate and achievable either (Sandercock 2000).

This post-modern world view that consists of a diversity of groups with different values interacting via blurred borders of unstable and shifting socially constructed categories is also not incompatible with the depoliticizing consumerist worlds of neo-liberalism either. The extent to which difference plays in the hands of opportunistic capital in search of new niche markets underscores the complexity of this post-modern context. As Hague and Jenkins (2005) have warned, planners are likely to be used as conduit through which political and economic interests promote their versions of place identity. But at the same time planners have to be able to engage with local residents and other members of civil society, for whom places may have very different meanings and identities, as this research has demonstrated. Intra-group and inter-group claims on place-identity as demonstrated by the differing views on initiation (Chapter 9); the clashing views between the community of Langa and the local authority regarding the future of the initiation site, and the view that imbuing places with identity/difference may play in the hands of capital, suggest threading with care in order to prevent the entrenchment of the status quo of inequality and domination. This suggests that planners possess the prerequisite skills to deal with these issues, which is the subject of the last section in this chapter.

12.4 Civil Society and Ideal Democracy

Thomas (2000:34) argues that modernism sought to establish certainty and stability through the myth of a rational and transparent society. The political crisis of post-modernity is precisely the inability of modern institutions to continue to exert an integrating function in an increasingly pluralistic and diverse context that promotes cultural difference. Pluralists have consequently put faith in civil society to promote the ideal of democracy. There is a strong preference for planning processes outside government

structures a la Sandercock (1995, 1998). Communicative theories advocate working in collaboration with official structures through prescribed dialogical processes in order to achieve a consensual agreement (Healey, 1992, 1993, 1996, Forester, 1999) among others for example.

The notion of an independent civil society that is able to bring more pressure to bear on government to act more democratic is a flawed one. For example, the claim for space to practice initiation is also tied up with ethnic identity, which cannot be relied upon to articulate broader issues of public interest. Possibilities of achieving consensus are also undoubtedly more difficult in societies fractured so deeply by ethnicity (Hague and Jenkins 2005, Watson 2002). In other words it may not be easy to untangle issues of survival that may cut across all divides as basis for galvanizing broad public interest, from identity politics that is divisive.

Reader (2004: 117) asks if there is an `insidious law` at work, constantly ensuring that as regions and cities grow more populous, and economies more prosperous, those enjoying privilege and prosperity will always be disproportionately few in number, whatever the society and whatever the period. Specifically relevant to urban planning is Peattie's (2001:262) value-rational question: What has planning done in the societal production of space?

The answer gives credence to the view that governments are less likely to respond to groups on the basis of their electoral power or the intensity of their preferences. Rather, governments are driven to cooperate with those who hold resources central to achieving of policy goals (Hague and Jenkins 2005). If civil society is fraught with divisive competing claims for access to resources, government more inclined to cooperate with economic and political interests a la Hague and Jenkins above, and planners more likely to be used by the same interests because changes in planning practice arise from the

realities within which it is located as suggested by Graham and Healey (1999). This does not bode well for social stability necessary in any society, but multi-cultural ones in particular.

The discussion highlights the conflictual and contingent nature of decision-making processes, especially in pluralist democracies characterized by discordant social movements. We may therefore begin to appreciate more why a relatively small township of Langa fares better in terms of access to space for initiation in comparison with her numerically larger neighbors. The initiation space being claimed is of strategic importance for both the government in terms of current and future city expansion, and community as the last remaining adequate space for initiation (Chapter 7) already imbued with meaning through generations of initiations. Flyvbjerg (2001:209) reminds us that the very constitution of the public sphere took place, not solely from rational discourse and consensus, but from a field of conflict, contested meanings and exclusion.

The increasing internationalization of economic, social and cultural life also circumscribes the ideal of democratic. The extent to which the market economy has penetrated society or the negative manner in which the systems world has affected life world in Habermas' (1989) terms has resulted in individualism and insecurity that undermine civic engagement.

The transfer of the emphasis of responsibility for social reproduction to the individual undermines the basis on which representation of the public interest is constructed, effectively shifting it away from the modernist domain of that planning premise (Brand 1998). Individualism also undermines the bonds of mutuality and solidarity. For example, the prevailing situation in some of the townships was that initiation was reduced into a family affair instead of being communal as people struggle to locate space for initiation. Initiation takes place inside the township, in the middle of the residential areas, in violation of one of the core elements of initiation identified in Chapter 7.

Simultaneously, the claim for space to practice initiation encountered a fertile ground in this individuated social structure incited by the experience of marginality forced by the logic of social reproduction into self-interested pursuit of survival. The inhabitants of the townships could discern a residue of solidarity, which other discourses rationalized and transformed into a basis for the functional organization and representation of a new consciousness for the city. The claim for space to practice initiation therefore served as a means of focusing this uncertainty and constitutes a stable platform on which to fix attention in the midst of turmoil. Neither rational approach nor the communicative action theory is sophisticated enough to shed light on such complexity. This leads to the next discussion concerning planning theory/knowledge and practice.

12.5 Knowledge and Praxis

One of the findings of this research was that planners in post-apartheid multi-cultural South Africa were (still) faced with a challenging task of forging for themselves a more rigorous *modus operandi* for an inclusive discursive planning process incorporating cultural difference (Chapter 9). The institutional context was such that planners in Cape Town took their place alongside many professional colleagues fulfilling partisan roles within the patchwork of quilt of local government making up the disunited region of Western Cape and Cape Town City Council. No easy procedural normative template was (still) immediately available and existing suggestions (Hague and Jenkins 2005, Neill and Uve Schwedler 2001, Sandercock 2000, Baum 2000, Graham and Healey 1999 among others) will have to be adapted to suit local conditions (Chapter 13).

Baum (2002) suggests that planners might learn from anthropologists' methods because getting to know another (group or culture) takes more than a few meetings and/or needs assessment survey and that understanding and building trust depends on spending time in a community. This goes beyond

technique or art and craft, which most planners seemed to possess. This calls for *phronesis*, which requires deliberation, judgment and experience (Flyvbjerg 1990:12), knowing what to do in particular circumstances (Peattie 2001:260) as discussed in Chapter 5 and 9.

Sandercock (2000:26) is also specific about the requisite skills for planners who are working in contexts of cultural diversity, especially when both parties have experienced a history of antagonism:

‘Dialogue and negotiation across the gulf of cultural difference requires its practitioners to be fluent in a range of ways of knowing and communicating (). Something more than the usual tool-kit of negotiation and mediation is needed, some ‘method’, which complements but also transcends the highly rational processes typical of the communicative action model’.

Schon (1993:18) called to the attention the ‘mismatch of traditional patterns of practice and knowledge to features of the practice situation – complexity, uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict’. He proposed that we substitute for the knowledge and applications model of positivism an epistemology based on the idea of reflection in action.

The point being made is that the theoretical and practical implications of competing theories for supplanting modern urban planning may be more complicated and demanding than is readily admitted. All require resource commitments, experience and an attitude that may not be readily obtainable in the context of scarcity and in a culture of recalcitrant officials and consultants.

The discussion also serves to highlight one of the current key problems with planning theory because the meaning of theorizing is perceived differently. What Yiftachel (2001) calls ‘societal critique of planning’, which explores the broader power structure and legitimization dynamics within which planning agencies often act, is not a coherent or unified and follows diverse influences.

Although it was found that planning consultants were generally unanimous in their ability to possess the requisite skills to function in a multi-cultural society that is South Africa, further analysis and reflection suggested otherwise. Necessary method(s) are yet to be articulated in current planning literature and other relevant forums. Reflecting on the complexity of planning practice, Graham and Healey (1999:641) warn that:

‘Because the discourse community which clusters around planning practice has such a confused and limited conceptual vocabulary with which to describe what they are adjusting to, planners readily slip back into earlier conceptions, or slide away into specifications thrust on them by the dominant circuits of power, with their emphasis on sectoralized, producer driven and largely aspatial conceptions of which relationships to consider’.

Planners need to be able to spell out the costs, both economic and psychic, of cultural identities living in separate bell jars (Neill, 2004:221). Although this may be overstating the case, it underlines the importance of critically engaging with cultural difference, which may not yet be obtainable in South African planning.

In a nascent democracy such as South Africa, uninformed embracing of claims that are likely imbue the built environment indefinitely with specific cultural legacies, deserve public scrutiny unencumbered by past historical injustices yet cognizant of the need to accommodate and reflect diversity. To paraphrase Neill (2004:220), post-apartheid planners also need to know when planning for difference need to stop and planning for what is shared should start. Professional planner pretensions are not enough, nor are cathartic the submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee for collaborating with apartheid policy synonymous with making a qualitative difference in planning practice.

12.6 Conclusion

This chapter sought to highlight some of the emerging contradictions and limitations of post-apartheid urban planning theory and practices. New questions relating to the desirability of promoting fundamentalism/difference in the context of the relative infancy of the South African democratic system were explored. Given the contingent nature of planner's conceptual equipment to context as suggested by Graham and Healey (1999), and their susceptibility to manipulation by economic and political interests a la Hague and Jenkins (2005), it was discovered that planners still lacked the necessary vocabulary and experience. Currently dominant communicative action model, while necessary, is clearly not adequate enough transcend decades of mistrust and disinformation. Instead, methods that embrace conflict as constitutive of democracy were posited as relevant basis for beginning to formulate local, and therefore context specific approaches. The following chapter discusses this issue in detail.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS: REFLECTION ON METHODS AND FINDINGS

‘Limits to the possible, which planners must question, will necessary vary from one specific urban working context to another tolerance has its limits. Sometimes difference has to be confronted and the values and practices that are constitutive of it have to be faced down. Some ways of life are just plain horrible’.

(Neill, 2004:219-220)

13.1 Introduction

The research began by asking what are the limits to modernist planning in an increasingly globalized and multi-cultural South Africa? What was discovered was a profession in disarray. The broader transformation to a democratic political system with a leftist RDP, and two years later to the economic neo-liberalism of GEAR, forced the planning profession to re-examine and adjust their conceptual equipment. A decade later, planners had still not yet been able to develop the necessary vocabulary and conceptual wherewithal to fully engage with the needs of a culturally diverse population. The following section provides a summary of the Chapters while simultaneously answering the research questions, namely: 1. What is the difference between apartheid and post-apartheid planning? ; 2. To what degree has post-apartheid planning dealt with the historical legacy of past-planning practices, and what has been the experience of the marginalized in terms of post-apartheid planning initiatives?; 3. What counts for lack of response or where is the gap between practice and the need and how can this be breached? ; 4. How important are issues of diversity and multi-culturalism in planning in terms of people affected and is this relevant in the context of limited resources?

13.2 Summary of Discussion

Urban planning in South Africa takes place in the context of unprecedented global economic transformations and national political transformation process. Urban planners are at the forefront of the endeavour not only to understand these issues but also to use that understanding to inform urban planning theory and practice. Two broad trends characterized this endeavour by

planners, namely, the `communicative turn` in planning of the early 1990's, and the ascending expert-driven approaches from the latter part of the 1990's to the present.

In Chapter 2, the historical overview of planning suggested a particular trajectory from an overly constricting order of difference from colonial to apartheid policies, culminating with a benign one in the form of RDP and lately its economic neo-liberal successor in the form of GEAR. This begins to answer the first research question in terms of the difference between apartheid and post-apartheid planning. In response to the second research question concerning the degree to which post-apartheid planning has dealt with the historical legacy of past-planning practices, and the experience of the marginalized in terms of post-apartheid planning initiatives; Chapter 3 suggested a different path towards a post-modernist version of planning as suggested by Mabin (1995). The planning processes of early 1990s were regarded as coming close to the consensus seeking practices of collaborative planning (Watson 1998). Negotiation as a strategy, which was pivotal in the realization of the new political dispensation of power-sharing of the Government of National Unity in 1994 and popular in planning circles, undoubtedly had a strong influence in post-apartheid urban planning theory and practice.

However, this communicative turn in planning was soon eclipsed by an ascending and marginalizing expert-driven ethos as the dominant approach. Firstly, there was the orthodoxy around the compact city approaches (Mabin 1995, Dewar 2000), which is aimed at redressing the spatial fragmentation and residential race segregation of the past. Since governments are driven to cooperate with those who hold resources central to the achieving of policy goals (Neill and Uve Schwedler 2001), this meant that those who were marginalized by apartheid continue to be marginalized by the governing coalition of private and public interests of the new regime.

Part of Chapter 5 argued that this expert driven planning ethos also found new expression and official sanction in the mandatory need in a plethora of

post-apartheid planning legislations. Secondly, the increasing globalization of the economy and the insertion of South Africa in it also entrenched the expert-driven ethos as the coalition of private and political interest forged a new regime for governing. This pandering to political and economic interests cloaked in expert planning jargon has gradually undermined the imperative to facilitate wider community involvement in planning deliberation processes. Taking its cue from the then prevailing climate of tolerance and celebration of diversity, and buttressed by post-apartheid urban planning legislation, affected communities were encouraged to be involved in the planning decision-making processes in their areas. This was soon to be undermined by the ascendancy of economic neo-liberalism.

The historical overview of initiation in Chapter 6 and 7 addresses issues raised by the third research question i.e., what counts for lack of response or where is the gap between practice and the need and how can this be breached? We now know from previous chapters that apartheid urban planning imposed an overly constricting order of difference that precluded the provision of such facilities. The crystallization of the core requirements of initiation practice in Chapter 7 is aimed at determining the requisite planning skills necessary in a post-apartheid multi-cultural context, and particularly for the case studies presented.

In light of the material presented in Chapter 7, Chapter 8, 9 and 10 begin to analyse the planning response, first, by situating the claim for space in the political context of local government system, and then in the wider forums that concern the city and nation. What emerges is a community at the mercy of their oftentimes ill-equipped and dis-empowered Community Councillors and Sub-Council structure respectively. In Chapter 9 for example, we see a paternalistic approach in the manner in which the first tangible official response was handled.

In Chapter 10, elements of a post-modern trajectory discussed in Chapter 3 begin to emerge in the form of a wider discourse around initiation. These discourses serve to connect the initiation process to the city and nationwide

discussions around health, local economic development and tourism albeit in the cringing veneer of place-marketing cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 11 continues the analysis of planning responses, this time through a series of interviews with academics and consultants. This reveals a planning profession that is at best ambivalent towards the transformation process, and at worst a bit naïve about the implications of the changes in terms of the conceptual armoury at their disposal. According to Graham and Healey (1999) the context is pivotal in shift in their conceptual equipment. So tensions and contradictions galore. In relation to the fourth research question regarding the importance of issues of diversity and multi-culturalism in planning in terms of people affected and its relevance in the context of limited resources, Chapter 12 deliberates on the desirability of promoting difference in a society that is fraught with intra-group conflict, and the necessity for striking a balance between planning for what is common and for difference in a budding democracy like South Africa. This becomes more relevant since capital is flexible enough to feed on both the fragmentation (Watson and Gibson 1995:261) that planning for diversity engenders as well as being compatible with the largely still dominant rational model of modern urban planning.

13.3 Planning for Cultural Difference: A Reflection on Planning theory and Practice and New Questions

We are now in a position to conclude that it is doubtful whether apartheid planners possessed the necessary skills. The *raison d'être* for apartheid policies that informed planning was precisely to discourage any sense of belonging associated with an emotional attachment to places, which in turn imbues them with meaning. The nascent dialogical model of the 1990's was also quickly nipped in the bud by a combination of economic neo-liberalism of GEAR, economic globalization, and the expert-driven ethos, well before it could develop its local flavour and character. Judging from the interviews conducted, it appears that the requisite skills are also not yet at hand.

This raises a new set of value-rational questions¹ in relation to planning for difference, in particular with regards to the case studies presented, which has implications for planning in South African, and planning theory in general.

1. When does planning for what is different begin and for what is common start. This requires prudence or a phronetic approach. This implies deliberation, judgment and experience. This is currently lacking in planning practice, particularly with regards to the case studies. However, careful reading of cases in other contexts may yield valuable insights for adaptation into the local context.

2. Is planning for difference really desirable in a context of an emerging democracy and past history of apartheid, which encouraged racial and ethnic segregation? This is also relevant to the case studies that are fraught with intra-group conflict. Here progressive multi-culturalism has been suggested as a solution, where marginalized communities unite not in order to separate from the mainstream culture but to claim an equal place within a multi-cultural democracy. Neill (2004:218-219) warns that the recognition and promotion of cultural diversity by planners in particular, however necessary and justifiable, must not perpetuate the same injustices it seeks to redress:

‘Limits to the possible, which planners must question, will necessary vary from one specific urban working context to another tolerance has its limits. Sometimes difference has to be confronted and the values and practices that are constitutive of it have to be faced down. Some ways of life are just plain horrible’.

3. What are the requisite skills for a multi-cultural planning context in general and South Africa in particular? We know that the communicative model is not adequate and professional planner pretensions are not enough either. We also know that planners operate in the face of power (Forester 1989), which determines the shift in their conceptual equipment (Graham and Healey 1999) and are likely to be used as conduit through which political and economic interests promote their versions of place identity (Hague and Jenkins 2005).

¹ Flyvbjerg (1990) makes a distinction between value rationality as a virtue related to phronesis and praxis, as opposed to instrumental rationality that is the domain of the sciences

The fact that communities/localities are also not impotent in the face of such adversity suggests that the solution(s) will vary from one specific urban context to another depending on the balance of power at any specific time and place. Prudence suggests reflecting and adapting on some of the suggestions based on other similar experiences in other contexts.

13.4 Reflection on Methods

13.4.1 Aim and Objectives

The aim of the study was to critique post-apartheid planning in South Africa using insights from post-modern planning theories. A case study approach was adopted as one of the methods. The objectives of the research were stated as follows:

1. To identify appropriate/useful concepts from post-modern theory in general and post-modern planning thought in particular to explain the apparent inadequacy of modernist planning to recognize the needs of different cultures in South Africa. This was achieved in Chapter 3 and further reflected upon in Chapter 12, which highlighted the limits to post-modern planning thought within the framework of democratic political dispensation.
2. To critically evaluate the post-apartheid policy of RDP from a post-modern point of view. This was the subject of Chapters 2 and 4 as a first centrepiece or focal point of post-apartheid planning and an example of a plethora of modernist planning policies that characterised post-apartheid planning respectively.
3. To identify planning practice and policy implications relevant to the South African multi-cultural context, which forms part of the subject of this Chapter.
4. To contribute to the growing literature on the restructuring of the South African city using post-modern planning theory. This has so far been achieved through three conference publications.

Overall methodological problems have been highlighted elsewhere (Chapter 1.4.2), suffice to mention additional factors. It was mentioned previously that the research coincided with local government restructuring which made it difficult to locate archive material as personnel and files were exchanged among departments. In addition, time and costs precluded any plans of travelling to other parts of the country with a similar history of initiation for comparison. This could have provided a cross-ethnic and inter-regional study, which undoubtedly would have yielded an interesting perspective on relationship between initiation and planning.

13.4.2 Unstructured in-depth Interviews

With regards to the interviews, the unstructured in-depth approach suited the subjected matter as it facilitated a more dialogical interaction wit interviewees. However, due to time constraints on both parties, the selection relied on the availability of the candidates and their willing to participate in the research. Undoubtedly, conditions permitting as discussed in the previous paragraph, a selection of interviewees based solely on experience was going to yield a qualitatively different response.

13.4.3 The Post-modern Approach

The post-modern approach proved fruitful in analysing South African planning with regards to issues of difference and diversity. It yielded insights that would otherwise be untenable with a different method, and as such opened the field of planning to other influences like anthropology, philosophy, and urban design for example.

However, limitations were encountered, particularly in the context of a nascent democracy like South Africa, on the implications and desirability for promoting fundamentalism/difference. Post-modern theory was silent on this particular issue. It relied on the communicative `turn` in planning, which has been criticised for being contextless, aspatial and risk hegemonizing certain discourse systems by privileging particular political skills etc.

13.5 Conclusion and Future Research Questions

The following sections provide specific conclusions to planning theory in general, and case studies presented. The section also highlights some of the future research question, particularly with regard to the case studies. This is based on the belief diversity is here to stay and consequently, pro-actively planning for difference is better than a reactionary approach. The more specific future research questions are to be read as part of the broader, more philosophical questions in section 13.2 above.

13.5.1 Conclusion Specific to Planning Theory

The claim for space to practice initiation and post-modernism deconstructed modern and apartheid planning and highlighted gaps in current normative theories, including post-modern planning theory. What are some of the elements relevant for a multi-cultural planning theory and practice in South Africa? Any serious attempt at understanding planning theory and practice in South Africa must reflect on some of the following issues:

- Power and conflict are essential in understanding planners' conduct, especially those in the public sector. Centralization and privatization have characterized much of government action in South Africa, which have sparked massive protests and strikes. The claim for space to practice initiation underscores this conflictual nature South African society.
- Identity politics may have roots in material circumstances, which although useful to effect desired social change at a local scale, may also be unstable as alliances shift and people move from one place to another in search of better opportunities.
- `The local` both shapes, and is shaped by broader structural forces in a dialectic manner. On its own it circumscribes consciousness that is necessary for creating broad alliances and may be depoliticizing.

- The central role of the state as another arena of struggle for both the redistribution of resources and legal protection of civic rights, especially for marginalized groups. Planning is also still dominated by state institutions in South Africa, and is characterized by a strong developmental element of alleviating poverty and spatial inequity at the city level through compact city approaches, which are still inconceivable outside state apparatuses.

13.5.2 Conclusion specific to Case Studies

The claim for space to practice initiation has both political and spatial significance in the city, largely due to the extent of the spaces envisaged, and the issues of health, environment etc. related to initiation. Although the claim may be unique, it serves to highlight broad issues that may be of relevance in other contexts for planning practitioners and theorists, namely, political significance, space, and the element of timing in the claim for space to practice initiation, which were pivotal in the final analysis of the claim. What is the significance of claimed space(s) in terms of scale and location in city and nation-wide politics? How important is the element of timing in maximising success? The following sections illustrate these questions.

13.5.2.1 Political Significance

The conflict in this research was ostensibly over a claim for space to practice initiation in African residential townships that straddle two municipalities of Cape Town. The symbolic stakes were considerably greater for both the then apartheid government that needed to project an image of social stability and control during the turbulent 1980's, and the affected communities who were determined to defend a cultural onslaught by a white minority which had always threatened their presence in the cities. Therefore, the claim for space to practice initiation was initially characterized by both racial and cultural undertones.

So this relatively small, localized conflict was intertwined with core national issues of racial identity, discrimination and oppression. Needless to say, the racial undertones receded to the back burner, at least at the national level, when an African majority government came into office in 1994. The

preoccupation with procedural rules, to the detriment of equally important substantive contents of the claim, is a throwback to the apartheid past that obfuscated the need for meaningful dialogue about future of South African cities. Also of political significance is the fact that Langa has only two wards whose two Community Councillors were unanimous in their decision to preserve the existing site, whereas in other townships the exact opposite situation prevailed. In addition, one of these two Councillors of Langa was recently elected chief-whip for the majority party in City Council.

The ability of linking the claim for space to practice initiation, a local issue, with broader issues of racial oppression was strategically astute. Having a chief-whip as Councillor was equally a shrewd move. Feistain (2000) argues that forming alliances with certain individuals in the state (progressive officials and `guerillas in the bureaucracy`) may also further the interest of marginalized. Whether or not to engage with the state therefore is determined by circumstances and cannot be ruled out a priori.

13.5.2.2 Spatial Significance

As mentioned in the previous section, the claim for space to practice initiation involves two municipal areas with a population well in excess of a million. The strategic location of the initiation sites was such that they were bound to run into conflict with official plans for these areas as the example of Langa illustrated. Firstly, although the African townships are generally located on the outskirts of the cities, Langa and Gugulethu are located much closer to the city centre compared to the general national norm of 20km or more, and therefore highly desirable locations for low-income housing, of which both developers and aspiring homeowners are aware.

Secondly, as this strategic location relative to the city centre puts more demand on existing finite space due to increasing population, it was inevitable that in the competing demands for space between housing, other amenities, and initiation, one had to take precedence over the other. Eventually, demand for space for housing eclipsed the need for space to practice initiation in Gugulethu Township, with the exception of Langa.

With specific reference to the Langa site, some of the following question could inform future research: To what extent was the survival of the site in Langa Township attributable to the determination of the community to prevent any development, official or otherwise, from taking place on the site?; What were the unique elements that made Langa Township immune to the scramble for space to build housing and other amenities?; Why was the claim for space to practice initiation expandable in other Townships and not in the Township of Langa?; How significant was proximity to the site in Langa, and/or the option to send boys to the rural areas, towards the decision to forego their own sites? Does initiation space takes precedence over space for housing? Planners need to know when to foreground identity issues and when these are eclipsed by distributional concerns otherwise they may contribute towards exacerbating poverty and disparity.

Phronesis speaks to this kind of knowledge; what to do in a particular context, which is grounded in `the local`, and therefore not being able to be generalized.

13.5.2.3 The significance of Timing

Timing here refers to an awareness of and exploitation of a unique opportunity, and is therefore closely tied to phronesis. In the context of this research, the exploitation of the element of timing manifested itself in two instants namely, during apartheid and post-apartheid planning moments. Firstly, it was during a specific moment in the life of apartheid that the claim for space to practice initiation first emerged. During this period in the mid-1980s, the state security and police system were overstretched with revolts and strikes that plagued the country, were preoccupied with military excursions in neighboring states, and sanctions were stifling economic growth. The state soon embarked on a strategy of winning `hearts and minds`, which involved the relaxation of certain aspects of apartheid policies. In the context of `conciliatory` gestures on the part of the apartheid government, the issue to retain space in Langa went on temporal hiatus with the land remaining vacant and the community continuing to use it for initiation,

and issue was never resumed until post-apartheid South Africa in the early 1990's.

The second element of timing concerns post-apartheid planning, which was more sympathetic to claims of diversity and difference. The collaboration among supportive state officials, facilitated by legislative frameworks and driven by community-based groups provided for that unique moment and agency to exploit it to their advantage. Planners should therefore not only operate on the basis of a thorough understanding of the socio-spatial and political processes which shape the contexts in which they work, they should also be `street-wise` and timely. Current theories of planning are not reflective enough to the complex, unstable and uniqueness of the practice situation.

APPENDIX 1

REFLECTION ON METHODS: THE RESEARCH ENCOUNTER

This personal account of the `research encounter` is rooted in the anti-positivist tradition of post-modernism that informed this research. This allows the subjective and emotive voice to be heard and the sharing of the research experience.

Although a strategy was envisaged for this research, the `wicked problems` alluded to in the preface and section (4.5) demanded what Professor Beall and her colleagues at London School of Economics refer to as `deep hanging out`. This refers to the iterative process of data gathering and synthesis. It speaks to the `snowball effect` that was characteristic of this research, where individuals referred me to others who were willing and also eager to be part of this research.

This process entailed driving back and forth to the townships, literally hanging around street corners in order to `catch` particular individuals as they went about their business, if only to try and set a date for a possible interview.

Two spontaneous events deserve mentioning with a bit more detail as examples of the `snowball effect`. The first involved being a participant observer of sorts during the `coming out` ceremony I was invited to by an informant during what I had planned to be my day of rest. The event took place on a Saturday. It involved a procession along the main street of Langa as the whole community joined the carnival atmosphere. On such occasions cars are relegated to the side of the road, as streets truly become public spaces that they are. The procession culminated in one of the

initiate's home where a daylong celebration of a feast, music and dance marks the end of coming out ceremony.

The second incident involved an impromptu invitation to interview women partly because an interview with men that was scheduled for that day did not materialise. The hostess decided to take the opportunity to invite her friends over to be interviewed as a group. Needless to mention, the interview yielded some useful insights (8.2.6) bearing in mind that women are generally not allowed to discuss this issue. However, during the a meeting with men the following day, I was strongly reprimanded not only for having spoken to women, but also about a issue that concerns men only, and also because I had spoken to women first.

This represented my first in a series of experiences as 'an outsider' to this practice. My Zulu ethnic background and professional bias to hear all sides to story blinded me to this deep-seated cultural taboo. However, my deep personal conviction against discrimination of any kind did not sit well with the reprimanding but could not be allowed to stand in the way of the imminent interview with this group of men.

Conditions for interviews were also far from ideal. Interviews were conducted in people's living rooms in between neighbours dropping in for various reasons. It also demanded being prepared to put up with busy officials, whose phones were constantly ringing during the cause of the interviews, being at ease conducting a group session with some of men in what seemed like a *shebeen* cum sports bar in Langa.

The language also deserves mention as part of this interview encounter. Certain Xhosa words and phrases could not be translated into Zulu, let alone English period. There are no English words equivalent. Some could be translated at the risk of loosing

their meaning rendering the whole exercise pointless. Words like *iingcibi* and *ikhazi* for example mean more than their interpretation in English or any language (see interview transcripts in appendix 1 for more examples of such words and phrases).

People also spoke in their multiple identities as well. Men were not only speaking as fathers, they were also speaking as initiators and as custodians of this age-old tradition, as community activists who were part of the struggle to preserve initiation sites and other issues affecting their community. There were healers as well as chiefs who were also Community Councillors. Equally, women spoke not only as mothers of the initiates, they were also concerned members of their communities regarding the health and safety of initiates. These multiple identities were not declared beforehand but became manifest at various stages of the interview, for example, in response to a particular question or discussion about a certain issue.

Finally, concerning the audiotapes of the interviews, these will be recorded on CD-ROM and made available in due cause.

Appendix 2

The claim for space to practice initiation: Afro-centric analysis

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore an alternative, African centred approach to the claim for space to practice initiation. In the previous chapter, Boden's approach shed more insight on the symbolic aspects of initiation. This demonstrates the efficacy of borrowing insights from other disciplines in order to improve planning theory and practice. If planning theory amounted to mere reflection on experience/practice, as consultants would have it (chapter 11), then the experience must be broad enough to accommodate for a variety of planning scenarios. Alternatively, planning theory could become thought crafted to guide practice a la Sandercock (1995), which means opening up to insights from other disciplines, instead of a reflection on practice which may be myopic.

1.2 Afro-centric world-view

Afro-centrists view the world from the vintage point of view of Africa as a central point of reference as opposed to being on the margins. African Cosmology plays a significant role in this process. The diagram below illustrates the African cosmological order that underpins this belief system. The symbolically ordered environment within each circle constitutes a major media for socialization, which is marked by a particular ritual as one progress from one stage/rung on the outskirts, towards the centre/middle. In the context of this research, the practice of initiation could therefore be interpreted as representing the centripetal movement of men from wild, less domesticated realm, to the centre where they are ritually reborn as men into the public realm. The space to practice initiation is a symbolic manifestation of this world-view where all aspects of material life governed by divine order.

Notwithstanding the complexity involved with the initiation process, at the bottom of this claim about lack of provision of spaces is a different `way of seeing` the world. Post-modern theory, and in particular Sandercock (1995,1998,2000), makes allusions to `other voices` and `other ways of being`, which needs to be

heard and acknowledged by planners. The argument by Mabin (1995), that current planning practice in South Africa is analogous to 'waking up in a post-modern context while still equipped with modern planning methods' has partly to do with the need to reconcile two conflicting different epistemologies, in this case a euro-centric and an afro-centric one. Oranje (2001) expresses a similar sentiment in his search in vain for 'the African' in current post-apartheid urban planning.

Wiredu (1995:172) suggest that 'rational knowledge is not the preserve of the modern West nor is superstition a peculiarity of the African people'. For du Toit (1997:15):

Africans live simultaneously in more than one world-view. This corresponds to many levels in religious and commercial life on which they participate. African culture is at ease with paradox

Sandercock (1995:84) also echoes this sentiment in reference to those who live on the margins:

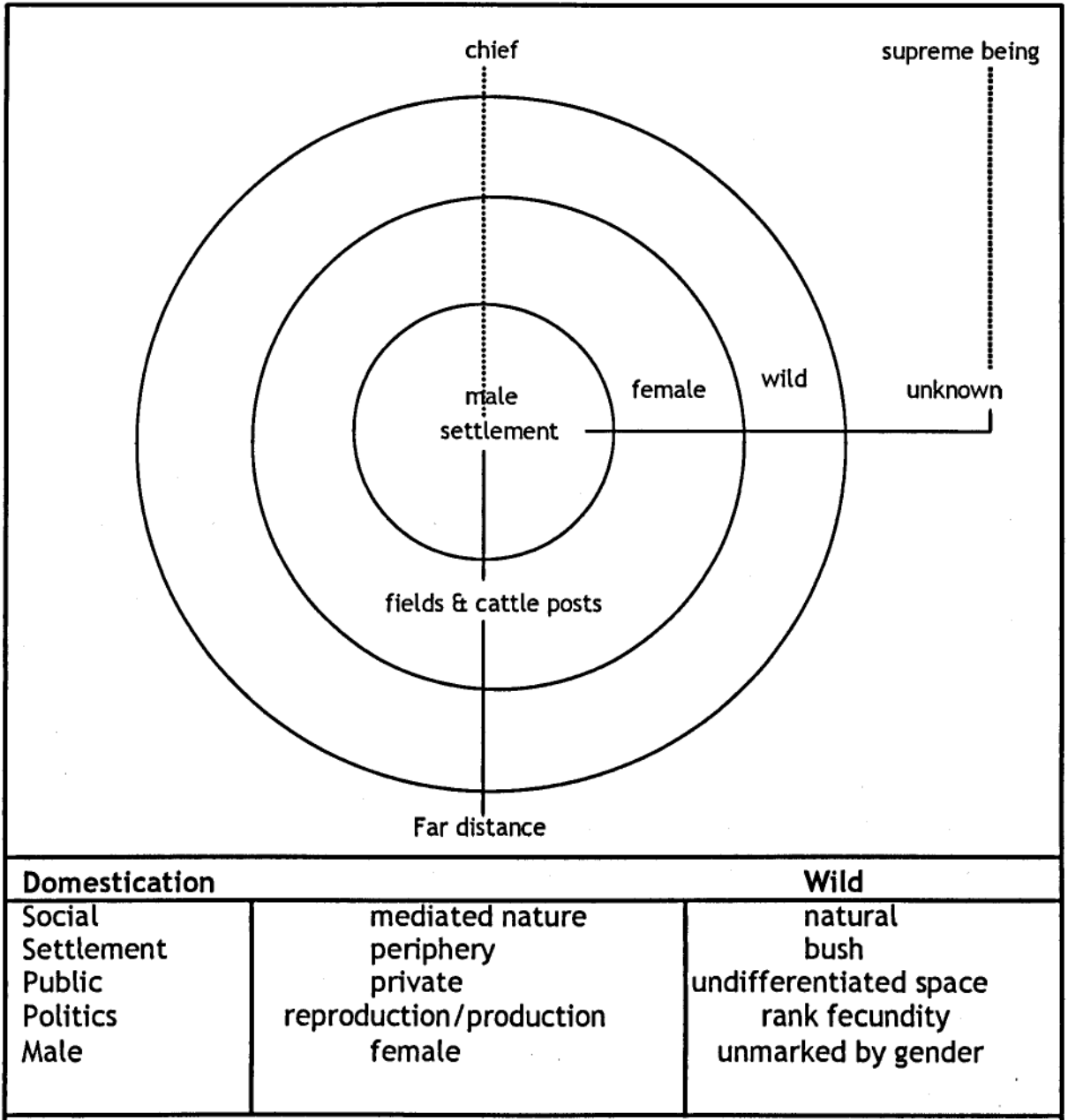
'..... they are telling us that this marginal space, this place of unease and discomfort, can be a place of strength, a way forward They accept the necessity of living with uncertainty, living without universals, without the panaceas of the revolution or of progress

This idea of living with paradox and uncertainty in marginal spaces relate with the notion of the hierarchical interconnection of spaces. The words marginal/periphery/border/ also suggests a relationship, in this case with the centre, which is the main stream, the norm. Therefore, there is a sense in which it could be argued that the Afro-centric world-view currently sits on the margins of the dominant modern planning paradigm in South Africa, the symptom of which is the lack of space to practice initiation. To the extent that there is a general consensus among all stakeholders on the need to provide initiation spaces, the central issue then becomes the processes involved with bridging the gap between the two paradigms. One notion of an African world-view may consist in that it is marginal to, but not incompatible with, the dominant modern planning paradigm.

1.3 Compatibility between Afro-centric and modern planning

Kudadjie and Osei (1997) expressed a view of African cosmology that was contrary to the above.

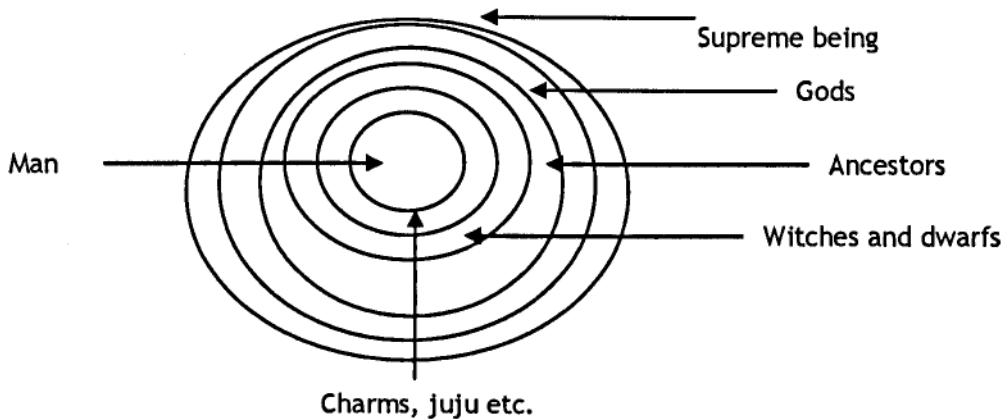
Figure 8 The Cosmological order, adapted from Comaroff 1985



According to this view, not only does the African world-view sit on the margin in relation to mainstream planning ala Sandercock (1995), the two cannot be reconcilable. Kudadjie and Osei (1997:45) argue that the African world-view renders subjects into a state of helplessness:

... to expect such a person to engage in any serious detached scientific thinking is therefore, to portray one's ignorance or misconception of his or her world-view. The following diagram illustrates this point about the position of man at the core, completely encircled by layers of spiritual entities to which they have submitted their will.

Figure 9 God-man-nature relationship



This view suggests Dear's (1986) notion of post-modern theory as a 'babel of irreconcilable languages' and planning as 'pastiche of practice'. This radical view of African cosmology corresponds to the view expressed by purists in the previous chapter (10.2.5), who were wary of interference from 'outsiders' with limited understanding and consequently, lack appreciation for the sacredness of initiation. The implication for planning practice is that either consultants from affected communities or community members with an appreciation for planning processes must lead. The difference between those espousing non-compatibility of planning with African cosmology and those who do has to do with strategy, which may prove crucial in order to secure the space. The compatibility group are more tolerant and likely to form coalitions in order to garner support from a wider constituent in order to alter the problem situation, whereas non-compatibility group is more likely to pursue a particularist agenda which may prolong altering the situation in their favour.

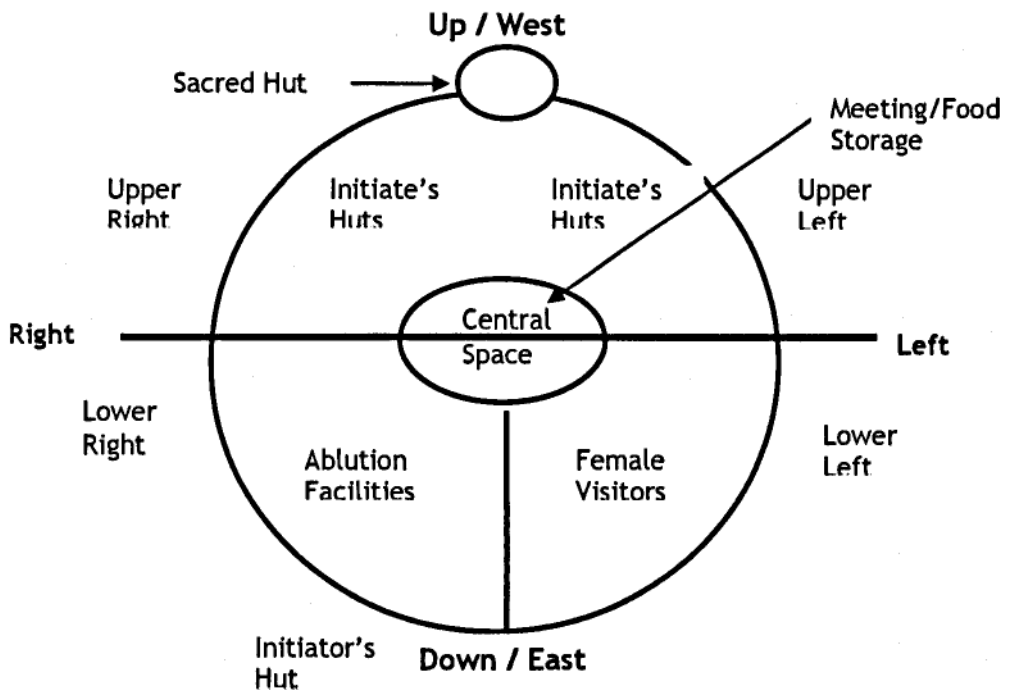
Notwithstanding these divergent views on the Afrocentric world-view, its relevance in the design phase of the facility/site cannot be underestimated because it brings a unique perspective that is not readily accessible through 'normal' planning experience. For example, according to the world-view,

designers of the facility/site would have to pay particular attention to the importance of the meaning associated with cardinal directions of centre and periphery, inner versus outer dimensions, the `up` and `down`, or West and East dimension as illustrated in diagram below. This world-view underscores the point made earlier concerning the complexity involved with the initiation process.

1.4 Some Implications for the design

The following diagram illustrates how African cosmology might influence design of facility and location of activities in space. The ordering of the universe in a precise manner with everything in its place has implications for the designing process

Figure 10: Influence of African cosmology on design of facilities



The initiator's hut is situated at the entrance of the site as guardian of the initiates and the site in general. The ablution facilities are located on the right lower section, right being male and more auspicious than left. This is also where the entrance/exit for the initiates is located. The lower left side corresponds to female and is the least restricted area. This is where visitors in general and women specifically would be received. The upper section is generally a more restricted area. This is where the temporary dwellings for the initiates would be located. In the center would be a central meeting and recreation area for

initiates. On the extreme topmost section of the site/facility is the location for the sacred hut. This is where the consultations would take place and medical supplies stored.

It is important to note that although the center/side opposition or inner/outer opposition occurs constantly, the social relationships associated with this spatial dimension may be reversed, or overridden by another opposition: the left/right opposition. In this case the emphasis is more on the upper/lower opposition and minimally on the left/right opposition.

The talk about the provision of facilities for initiation could amount to a commitment to engage with this complex world-view, or conversely a superficial `turning a blind eye` by allowing the status quo to persist with minimal involvement by the planning profession. The former has implications for training and education of planners, while the latter perpetuates the status quo.

1.5 Conclusion

The significance of an Afro-centric world-view in this discussion lay in trying to promote an understanding of African phenomena through an African centered world-view. African cosmology plays a significant role in this regard as part of the Afro-centric world-view.

Modern and Apartheid urban planning theory and practice did not take into consideration the significance of local cultures when designing for them. Post apartheid urban planning has institutionalised mechanism to guarantee broader participation in planning decision-making processes. These processes are still biased in favour of consultants. The degree to which consultants are willing to engage affected publics in the decision-making processes will vary according to the extent to which they feel their professional opinion is not being jeopardized, and the degree to which the communities feel their voices are being adequately accommodated and no longer being marginalized.

APPENDIX 3

Interview with Ms. Nombulelo Mkefa January 2002

I am going to speak from lets say two spheres ok? The one as the mother and the member of the black community and African community (Umxhosa) and the other of the profession as a professional in particularly within local government responsible for tourism development.

And this is has been an issue that has been bothering me and its really frustrated really by you know the responses that I have got from both culturally and professionally, em particularly from black people and you know I've got two sons and the eldest you know he's gone through the ritual and

Locally?

Yeah locally and for me there was ... it was a very challenging situation in terms of being the mother and how does one grapple and deal and raise pertinent issues about this thing when women are not supposed to talk about this....its not woman's domain

But some of the challenges that I was faced with was that we've raised these kids and we are staying in suburbs and going to model C schools etc etc.

And my friends who are white or coloured or whatever and it was like the first time you know it sort of came uppermost or sort of when it came to the fore for me was like things got to a point especially in the media there was lots of things ... around the eastern cape and deaths and all that and people were saying..Nombulelo 'are you going to....is your child also gonna go

And just without even thinking the response was like off course ... of course they will go. ...and then they are like these kids you know they are not traditional in that sense compared to(cant make out the word) 2.6 schools da da da

And they've got rights they stay in the suburbs and what do you say to this if they are not going to ekwakusem? And that is where the concern begins....this is not so remote you know its actually possible what is it that says that he's not going and

These are valid and rational arguments to support what am saying and said something like if from if its something that needs to be done then there needs to be other ways in terms of addressing those things in terms of if it is a passage of rite to manhood you know you can rationalise around that but I mean you know they are clinically safer methods of doing this dadada, you know all those arguments

And all could say was that wow yeah potentially we are in a situation where it will totally cause a rift between him and his father if something like this could come to the fore. Luckily this didn't happen ...ehm the amazing thing in the sense that he studied at Rhodes and ehm all his.... he was getting pressure from his side in terms of his friends, his lecturers, and he even said to me that one of the doctors said to him I mean if you really want to do this I can do it for you and his response was that 'I don't think my parents will send me to my death I have faith for me that was like

Everybody else was like millennium mad and all those sorts of things and it was challenging that even in terms of his circle of friends I mean this one morning one guy gets out and says I am his friend if its possible I would like to visit him you know men are allowed to go there you can come with me and I do/don't normally go at this time and they went. So it created you know that opportunity in terms of ehm how does not one sort of across cultures deal with some of the issues in terms of the environment that we are in interfacing with each other and then the second part of was when he came back and for me that was really ehm .My....., it was like mixed white coloured whatever and how they received this and you know obviously. Be patient, noise dadada but in terms of their interest in the sense that invitations, come from the day he came back ehm and did the traditional things beth'intonga up the road and nton'ntoni and wonk' umtu waphuma. Everybody was like 'I never thought I was ever going to see this in my lifetime' and you know and for them it was like I've played my role in terms of nation building and if people were singing and everybody was 'like wow this was great we've never seen anything like this how proud you must be' and the support and touching thing was also the fact that some of them have actually gone out to do their own little bit of research you know Colored guy down the road and his son wafika epheth'intonga naye and it was like 'I want my son to see this'. A white guy across the road came ezogida and he brought presents, underwear I don't know what else he brought.

I was like 'I can't believe this you know' ...'I can't believe this...for me it was like, but also I was also fortunate in the sense that in terms of my husbands brothers you know in terms of the way they handled the whole thing because I remember the Sunday evening before they left for the eastern cape to go back home they called all my kids in fact all of us and sat us down and spoke to us and told the children about what this means and he says 'I know u gonna go back to school or other people are going to ask you what was happening kokwenu, what is the significance you know'and why are you not allowed to call him Zingi when all of us call him that you know? And everybody had an opportunity to raise questions about whatever was making them what they didn't understand etc etc. from that context.

Ok the other level was 'what can I do about it' because what has been bothering me all along is the fact there is no where for our kids to go in an urban context and we are beginning to see things in terms of the tradition within u know women were never expected to see any of it in the first

place, ubon'abakhwetha along the highway walking there and like all sorts of things. Also seen some of the things that are happening in other areas to do, also to do with the mortality rate, also that we are loosing all the safety valves that were part of u know the practice again ehm that were forced obviously by economic situation, the environment in which people find themselves being in the township etc all those sort of things and this whole urban mobility and therefore you know if u get u know the guy who acted the role of the surgeon for example in the olden days you found that it was the same guy who did your brother, your father dadadada you know did you, your kids and all those sorts of things now it's a situation of the guys now who do it almost as their job uyaqonda, for they would you know so the Saturday normally xa kuzaw'phunywa, this guy has got ten kids that is going to do it on that Saturday and is moving from one kid to the other one eMpuma to the other and so they stick to the things that are sort of the peripheral things and the nice things you know like ingcebi would get ibhotili yebrand etc., but it comes with payments, he gets paid, but they stick to ibhotili yebrand etc. etc.

So the question is by the time he gets to kid number six usenjani, u know after six bottles of brandy by the time he gets u know for me it was all these sorts of issue. But all those things in terms of how you choose a the person who is going to look after your child there, how can parents abdicate that responsibility, noba unalo ikhankatha but wena as a parent you need to monitor, go to your child and nton'ntoni so I couldn't understand ezozinto ekuthwe lumkhwetha uyagula', unheard of, traditionally, unheard of, u know all those sorts of things and stories about the kid I knew who died you know and it was because of the practice yowuba, u know if people feel like umdala so this obviously its either you are scared or whatever abanjwe umntu yabona, and they did this to this young guy and he died because he was an undiagnosed diabetic, u see, and when he got sick on site and then people started panicking and they went to get a doctor.ultimately to get a black doctor but he refused to see the doctor because of the stigma attached to you having a doctor. So it was all those things and also eh you know seeing what was happening at the areas like komaMtata and stories people were telling about they no longer use amabhoma that you burn after, people are now actually renting out shacks uthi xa kuphu'omunye kung'ozayo.

Excuse me but what happened to that whole thing that you burn and dadadada..... all those things. So those are the things that are bothering me and I started thinking around what can we do about that because I saw that one of the disadvantages of being eh not having the power is that your needs, your wishes, your practices, etc etc your language everything about who you are becomes much marginalized because those in power is their things that becomes, you know and you will be able to see it for example their concerns about the Eritreans, have about the Somalis and how they are loosing their practices in terms of education and where the money is coming from so they are forced to being taught in Arabic.

So those things concerned me and the whole question of.....

And now from the perspective of a professional its like ok fine one of the things that eh from a tourism and development point of view u absolutely act, u saying eh the vision of this city is globally competitive city and also a know world class premier destination ehm that's the words that they use. A lot of that has got to do with the environment, the environs of the city ehm so that it doesn't become a city of slums and dadada and the challenge that we face in this city is the sort of the first and the third world u know check by j awl and I've watched through this all the time like at amazed at this beautiful first world city that they can liken to California etc and then they see you know the informal settlements and its like they can't believe they are in the same place ok and some of them even leave without never haven been taken there.

So from that perspective for me the city needs to work with its people first and then the tourism thing follows afterwards you know so the focus shouldn't only be like eh the problem of tourist not coming is because of the crime etc etc., we sorting out the crime ourselves and it becomes a safe environment for citizens then the tourists then will be safe so for me it goes together

But from the context that said that ok fine a need to plan for the people or we need to do things that whether we like it or not the people bayolusa elokushini. And therefore from a professional point of view I would say where do I get my leverage, my target all the time is to deliver new products, new things and for me cultural tourism is an area that is untapped in this country we haven't packaged ourselves in terms of our cultural attributes we tend to focus on our a know the natural attributes in terms of beautiful place god given mountains whatever beautiful beaches. But there are beautiful beaches all over the world people don't have to come here so for me its like what is unique does this, why would someone come here and instead of going to Brazil? You know? And for me its about people and we need to utilize you know the perfect window of opportunity in terms of this madiba magic, madiba nation you know lets write this cos people are saying wow what makes this people tick? Why didn't they go to war? Why isn't there civil strike there? You know whatever whatever, and so they want to understand this people what is so different between them and the Eriterians? or them and whoever who ever who are killing each other the tribe whatever?

So we need to capitalise on that and therefore for me because of my personal interest in terms of the initiation I sort of in my own head you know started thinking about a model in terms of if we had a centre that would like to see council saying 'u need to address this as a need and this spans through and you know four areas in terms of the city's delivery and its mandate in terms of delivering to the people of this ... it addresses environmental issues, it addresses issues of sustainability, health issues etc, it addresses the whole cultural thing and it addresses the tourist function is to have a facility in the same way that we have camping sites, caravan parks etc etc, and it has all those spheres that has demarcated signs you want to use this facility you know environmentally you are not allowed. I mean the areas where you are allowed to braai and there are

areas that u r not allowed to braai so there must be areas that we are allowed take school kids and there are areas you are not allowed to you know and that comes the whole land use thing.

And so there is this camp the city runs it, you apply and you are allocated a site and this place is divided into four for argument sake and you circulate the use in terms of allocations so that you deal with because they have to burn we have to replant etc etc so, one whatever quarter you know for x amount of years or months whatever environmentally it takes you know this where they will be allocated ok to burn whatever and if that is used up you go there and its given a chance to rejuvenate you know and that's it. But in terms of the application process you've got a council and the council is made up of medics, its made up of elders that deal with the cultural context and the things you know that the guardians have to ensure that there is somebody responsible for the applications so is therefore responsible for this kid, ehm there is also system where you get approved surgeons who do this thing so there needs to be some sort of registry so that it is somebody who has been accredited because he's gone through you know the required procedures and uses the proper practices that is instruments dadada, so that not every dick Tom and Harry thinks ngo-December ndizabasezimalini, namindizaba yingcibi and can ask ezi-handred rands or whatever they ask for and then he doesn't know what he is about and messes up peoples kids and then there is the whole thing about the safety and the security we know kudala kwakukholanto nabanina so long uyindoda you can go to inkwenkwe and umkhathuze and whatever whatever, but there is go to be control of access, u know, at the point so that not every tom dick and harry gets to your kids and, you can determine who are the approved people who can visit your kid.

But within that controlled environment that is informed culturally at that council level, doctors deal with all the things, premeds that this child has got the insurance, is this child physically fit, is this child old enough to be able to go, the council, the elders deal with the traditional set-up so if ngama-Hlubi they check, who do we liaise with in terms of this application, who is the person responsible. If they've got a problem with the system and how we've organised already there are signals there.

Therefore potentially yeah you say yes to this thing ...u know and the site will be only allocated once zonke ezi-levels have been addressed and the medical doctor component is cool with it, u know the elders are cool with this application u know there is the family there is provision for this child wonk'umuntu, so that there will also be the question of abantwana abazitshwayo..... you know where the parents are not prepared for this thing and mixes up the whole thing.

So for me it was like if you have a facility like that how do you deal with this from a tourism point of view?. And u know for me its always that eh from a cultural and traditional point of view, the owners of the tradition you know have the right to allow or deny access.

So tourists will have access to extent that the tradition and the culture allows them. So there are issues like this that is private and you know outsiders are not part of that but there are aspects where there may be a receiving thing where tourists can actually see xa bengena, that is what the public can see because sihamb'estratini nabanina, naxabephuma or whatever the case might be nemigidi or whatever they can go and see on invitation of the family but always guided by the family or owners of the traditions so that when in Rome you do as the Romans do if there are areas where they no access to Romans, whether you are a tourist or not you doesn't have access. So trying to look at that, 'what is it about culture that is marketable that u can actually go and see in the same way that people go to Tibet and driven to the Dalai Lama's and whoever who-ever but they stick to rules.

So those are different spheres of my interest in this subject. I `ve broached the facility concept with some of the councillors in the past. Spoken to some guys in planning like abo-Steve Boshoff, have spoken to Manny Sotomi about it. But they haven't really had a chance to actually sit down. From my side, I haven't had the chance, so may be one of the approaches is to get a planning proposal because there are studies around and pilot projects in the eastern cape from a medical point of view, so there are views in terms of medically how should this thing be managed etc. etc. u know it is not really in my line of work and it need input from others, planning point of view, art and culture point of view. So yes so in a nutshell that's where I `m at, those are my interests in terms of this but also for me from a cultural point of view in terms of saying we have been marginalized and therefore we lost the opportunity of developing in the same way that different groups like Muslims and Jews have been able to adapt as they went along in terms of the practice of their customs and taken advantage of advancements. So for example the Muslims use Imams to do this sort of thing but he is also a medical doctor, so the surgery closed for any other business, so he does the ritual that Islam requires him to do and the medical requirements he does that.

So they have taken advantage of medical development because of the resources, because they have the money they developed their own facilities. When it comes to the burials, they negotiated they have organised themselves into powerblocks via Muslims Judicial Council. There are set procedures when a Muslim dies, they bought their own burial sites etc. So it is all to do with power and resources. So because people did not have that, we could not organise ourselves, so there is no collective move in terms of development and growth in terms of our traditions and customs. Lowo nalowo adjusts as it suits yena. So I decide that I am a professional, I am a working woman, andizu'apha ndithwel'ghiya because of the environment I am working in because I am woman and that is not how I am expected to look. You adapt in terms of the situation wedwa. Umtanakho ubheka esuthwini traditionally and whatever it is he must be there for so many months and nton'ntoni. I think because of the situation we need to adapt so 'owami umntwana ndizomfaka 2 weeks 3 weeks ukuba uphillile ndizamkhupha'. There is no agreed so lowo nalowo comes to..... So marriage nelobola, there's no

agreed intoyoba okay ikhazi ngoku yintontoni. The first thing that is asked is okay 'inkomo yalapha imalini'? The guys decides ukuthi 'eyami inkomo yiR2000'. So already I am counting ikhazi lalapha zi 10, already I am talking There is no set thing because there is no where where we agree as people that this is what needs to happen. Part of the problem is that we start-off from the wrong foot in terms western democracy, and everything about us becomes an after-thought, always Oops about this and oopsie about that. As opposed to saying we are an African country, this how we should do things as Africans okay. In terms of modern context nton'ntoni we need to adjust apapha na aphapha, we do like this practice because it is against human rights or we like that, let us add that uyabona. Our centre is west, our centre is west.

In terms that of that particular practice, I do not think it can become the centre in a physical or spatial sense. It cannot become the centre because by its very nature a lot of the activity is private and needs to be away from the community and needs to be away from the eyes of the people who are not suppose to see it in terms of the practice, it cannot be central. It needs to be out of but it needs to be catered for.

The community wants to know what is going to happen to the site in Langa?

Part of the problem with the civics is that people have been outside of the system for so long, they do not understand it and how it works and what it canm do for them. That includes also their representatives, they do not know that as councillors in their wards or whatever they are called what their role actually is in terms of ensuring that the needs and the views if their constituencies are put on the table. So when you say to me there is so much sentiment around that particular site. The question then becomes 'excuse me has that been registered anywhere in terms (a) as abantu bakwa-Langa we want that site designated for int'ethile dadadada and it must be frozen so that nobody can say 'oh this land belongs to whoever, it belongs to council and therefore they can plan, so it is up for grabs for whomever might have an idea. Has that been incorporated into the MSDF, you see things like that. So people don't understand how the game is played because they do not understand the rules. So that becomes a concern that kanti they feel so strongly about the protection of this site and has anybody done anything towards protecting that site either politically or otherwise. I mean when I chatted to Steve, the following, within that he submitted a proposal to me because I have funds for community based development projects. And he submitted a site and wanted to bring in ke ngoku this component into this park. The problem I had with the application (1) 1 felt that the application was premature, a lot of work had to be done on the ground in terms of communities first in terms buying up the process the whole consultative process. It would have a taken a long time for us to deliver a tangible product in terms of what my requirements are for the funds. But also the problem with the location, it was at Hanover Park, and 1 thought like you know there is no way this is gonna work, no way this is gonna work just in terms of the site and in terms of a multi-purpose park. The things that he wanted to twin

into it would never work because it can't be a multi-purpose facility, anyway.

The more I look at it, u know, I am scared but it is going to be difficult. I mean it is something that needs to be put up in terms of they are nice to have' and what would be the next best thing because the areas are so dispersed, Khayelitsha itself has been growing and growing, ama-Bluedowns and all those sorts of areas, and there might be land there in terms of addressing those communities and therefore what are we saying. Does this say that there has to be multiple sites that provide for different communities or is it a site for each community? What is the reality of the thing? Mine is that for now we need to just register in terms of what saying that if there is in an area land that is suitable and that is available, let's ring fence that land and let's start this thing. And from the usage we would then be able to argue for more sites and see how people respond to this whether people will be using it.

One of the issues that has to be addressed is the safety. Do we go to the point of saying 'people let us be realistic, this is within an urban context, leyanto youkuba kwakuhanjwa ngeyinyawo across hills for kss and k's within a modern context it is not realistic, they are highways etc. and you cannot imagine people besihla ngoN2. So the access and transportation in your whatever planning of the ritual, you've got to get to a stage where you actually say kuzakhwela imoto and then for the last kilometre bazothulwa abantwana bhambe ngezinyawo-ke xa befika kufishane. That is the reality of the context in which we are operating and we need to look at that. And anywhere just in terms of Cape Town and its size compared to places like Gauteng, places are not that far apart, you just look at uLanga and people from Gugulethu think it is far and vice versa, therefore we need three sites. I do not know

One of the obstacles I found in terms of raising interest and mobilizing around it is that when I spoke to the council and challenging them ukuba 'you are sitting here in council, representing people, nenzani, there is this issue I want to be addressed. 'Hayisuka, asinethetha nomfazi, what the hell....' I had to literally say 'excuse me, I am speaking to you as a professional into yokuqala, and yes I am a woman, and I have an interest because I've got sons. I do not know if that is sufficient as an answer ukuba why am I interested in this topic' I actually threatened and said 'if you guys are not going to do anything about this, I am gonna show you guys, I will organise itoyitoyi yomama because they might not be saying anything but they have concerns as mothers'. Iyashiyashina in terms of your capacity, educationally and otherwise in terms of how you deal with the situation. One woman I do not know if they are Suthus or whose child died and they hung a blanket on the gate as a sign, she took them to court, because she was not allowed access, could not see her child etc, and apparently the court said 'you do not do that'. So there are lots of issues, but mine is that the children are going to throw the bay and the bath water because of valid things, they are already talking about 'backward practices' etc. etc. 'we should do away with them, azisenzelinto, barbaric and so on'.

The problem is that we as a people need to devise a process of how we manage and practice so that we benefit from technology, science you name it. Everybody has done it, the Japs do their thing, you go to an Asian country and the ablution facilities are consistent to their practice, uyaqonda, where they need to wash . . . there is everything, it is provided and it strikes you when you travel in a Muslim country u know to see those differences. So nathi we need and that is where the gap was for us, we did not have that opportunity. And even our language, I mean in Africa we word not have a word for computer, and that is how stagnant culturally we are because we were not given that scope to be able to develop and that is why people cannot even do descent interviews ngesiXhosa, because it like community development, kanene ndizawuthi intoni ngesiXhosa?

So those are the challenges.

APPENDIX 3 Continued

Interview with Mr G, Vika 28 January 2002

Question: What does the Initiation process entails?

Let me take you back where this whole started. It started with me looking at the problem we have in the urban areas, that we do not have a space set aside for this kind of..... we don't provide facilities for this cultural practice of initiation of boys from boyhood to manhood, and then if you look for example at place like Cape Town, you will find that..... if you drive along the national road, people because of lack of space they invade every open space they can find and they put those shacks there and everybody does that and it is very ugly, very much unfriendly to the environment because they use plastics and also very dangerous to their own health because these plastics burn and then you have a big problem. And secondly, if you look t the problem that we have that we do not have for example the material that will be used to build shacks for initiates, amabhoma.

It started with that. I decided that before I could actually do anything about it, let me first call a workshop where I invite mainly traditional healers and leaders, and communities, individuals and NGO's so that we can start this discussion about this whole thing and to find out from people how they feel about this whole initiative. And then they said look, this is quite exciting. And then we started looking at the problems that we have to face because it sort of gonna encroach on how people are used to this kind of cultural practice. Now we come here now with a compromise in terms of building a permanent structure. And mainly that was the only thing that people had a problem with, some of them. But we started talking about it and saying to them 'look if for a example you say that you a facility like this in the western cape, and that you need a space provided in your residential area, what would you like to see happening'?. And the majority of them said, 'look because do not have the materials that we would use

to actually construct these amabhomas or shacks, therefore we would compromise in saying that we would like to put up a permanent structure'. And we discussed that, and we said alright we will go for a permanent structure and then people had discussions about that. And obviously the hardliners in terms of culture would probably say 'oh no this is really gonna diminish the significance of our own culture because of various issues that are this will bring. But at the sametime they do not have an answer to us when we say 'alright what do you see as an alternative'? They say 'we will get a space and then we go there and then we burn at the end of the practice. You say' look, that is the biggest problem here in the urban areas' Now if we for example where you have a high concentration of population in the urban areas like the Metropolis. And if you took for example in a place like Langa say over a 100 shacks in one open space a decide that each boy when he decides to leave the place he is gonna burn it. What is going to happen to the entire environment and those other amabhomas that are situated around. And these are the problems that people don't at times think about. So we decided to say what we will do is to say to people 'alnght lets take a pilot project and see what kind of support it is going to get. And obviously a lot of people are going for it and by now I am sure we just being delayed by the processes that we have to follow in terms of impact assessment, scooping exercises. But we have done all of that, we are just waiting for a response to say 'okay you can go ahead and build the structures'. We have already secured a funding for it and so going to put those permanent structures. We gonna earmark that land which is about 15 ha solely for this king of operation. And every single person who wants to use that facility will go there and use that facility and then we will sort of put up a management committee. It will be co-managed by the department and also their participating stake-holders like traditional leaders and healers and then we will deal with the contractors.

Q. Interesting perspective you are drawing between the cultural practice and environmental protection. Other people are looking at it in other perspectives. But Iam also interested in the key/core characteristics of the

practice. For example one of the issues mention by the community is fire. They say there must be some fire going on throughout the process, inside the ibhoma. And your project does not involve burning. My question was to the community was 'does it matter what materials are used because fire wood could be brought to the premises. There is no access to rivers anymore. What about taps and showers'?. How far do you think we compromise on these issues without altering the practice?

Let me say if I want to come closer and say 'what are the issues involved'? There is definitely the question of health. You sit down and examine that one on its own. If you look at the problem which we have had here maybe if you go the Eastern Cape you will hear about those big problems of the initiates dying during the process. And some of us argue that, and I actually follow that line, that people die there, these boys die there because there a question of negligence on the part of the nurses who actually helped, the traditional nurses. And secondly there is a question of negligence in terms of ensuring that the tools that are use in the rituals are tools that have been sterilised. Which means therefore that we need to bring the department of health because there is this big problem of AfDS which we are dealing with. And that is why they have to come and provide advice and to say 'what are the best methods of dealing in terms of ensuring that that people do not get infected and which would imply therefore that the boys first of all before they go for the ritual have to be examined, and that has to be decided by them including their parents, including the management team. And then you tackle all those health aspects and building a permanent village implies that you then have to make the thing a little bit more professional in terms of ensuring that there are people who have been properly trained to look after these boys and who in case of emergencies are going to be able to communicate with the department of health in terms of e.g. ensuring there is a stand-by doctor who can come in at anytime and examine the boys in case of emergencies. Those are the things that people have to decide because some people will argue that once you bring the western medicine in you are spoiling the whole show. But at the same time I have not heard

of any single situation where these boys when either they have been dehydrated or serious health problems during the process, they end up in hospital. So why avoid this from the beginning then if you could end up there? So it is a combination of both traditional and western coming to dialogue on this issue. So that where possible, we can compliment. We might find that there are some gaps here that we need to fill up with western medicine. And that is why we say that the health department has got to be involved.

The planning department has to be there also because they need to provide us with the space for the ritual. It has to be a proper space that is away from the residential areas.

Q These are the core-requirements I am looking for. What would determine the space in terms of size, location etc. What are the spatial requirements?

Number one it has got to be a bushy area. We have to come to a place that is forest like. But at the time one must also be careful about that one too because we have got a high rate of crime these days. You have got to ensure that you do not put people in a place where their lives are going to be endangered. And so planners have to make sure if they provide spaces for such facilities, they are not close to the community because once you do that you encourage that the initiates must mingle with the communities which should at all cost be prevented.

Q So secrecy is one of the requirements?

That is correct.

Q Issue of size?

The question of size. Well it is going to be determined by the availability of your local resources. But if you want to build for example a permanent structure, you looking at anything like approx. 10-15ha. Why? You are looking at that size so that you allow the initiates to move around.

Because the smaller the place becomes, then the privacy is going to be compromised by being exposed to the local community.

Q Size and secrecy go together?

Yes you have look for buffer zones for example like a mountain or hill between site and community.

Q Water?

The question of water, and obviously if t all possible it has to be as close as possible near a river. But given the fact that e.g. we are in urban areas, that question might not be easily addressed. And what do you do in that case? You make sure that at least where you have constructed this village, that you provide tap water. This is what we have done. There is a river next to our project but it is polluted. So people cannot use, cannot even go and wash there. And then what each family could do is take the boys there and at the end of the process go wash them elsewhere in a river, running water, because they need running water obviously.

Q. How about shower facilities instead?

Well shower facilities you can't because the boys at the end of the process have to actually go to a river. That is a tough one but obviously as I say that one has to strike compromises. For example boys from this proposed village could take a bakkie to a river wash and come back.

Q. So water is no compromise then because of the need for a river?

Well I take it that some communities will definitely not want to use tap water. Because of the kind of significance attached to running water.

Q. Does your proposed village incorporates the whole of Cape Town or is it for a specific community?

Well we are talking about surrounding communities.

Q. So Langa is out of the question?

Well I do not think that a place like Langa would be driven away except that preference would be given to surrounding communities. Because I tell you how this thing is going to work. There is going to be a management

committee, there is going to be a registrar like in any university or any technikon where people apply in advance. First come first served basis. I do not think that necessarily that people from other townships will be turned away.

Q. I am raising that because the other issue that is emerging is proximity. For the Suthus this is not the issue because the boys are provided with all the supplies. Here there is a daily delivery of food and other necessities. So proximity plays some role here?

Yes it definitely is important. At the same time it depends on how the management together with the communities are going to decide on it. For example proximity may not be necessarily a bog problem because where for e.g. if they decide that the management if you take your son there you pay for example R100 and they are going to provide food for your son up until. And then come there occasionally to check if they are fine. Then that would not be a problem. Because e.g. I tell you this village is not very different to what is happening in some places in the Eastern Cape. It is just that here we trying to institutionalise it because it is coming from the side of the government. But at the same time the question of permanent structures, some people use it even in the very remote areas for a number of reason. Either a question of security or availability of facilities there. For e.g. some man in the Eastern Cape would provide a rondavel or a house that has been abandoned by a family and they use that. At a place called Idutshwa there is a doctor who is practising this right in town. He is housing the boys in his big house.

Q. Does it not affect the meaning of the initiation now?

Well, I think that is why I say it depends which aspect appeals to you most. If for e.g. you are most concerned about the health of your son, then you will sort of underplay all other aspects. Because for you the main thing health. And now if you e.g. say this thing must be done purely in the traditional way, and it is actually going out right in the mountain and putting up there a structure and building up a shack and..... you maybe what I should do..... do you have somebody who could make a

copy of a video? I will borrow you a video cassette portraying how the initiation is done in a rural context.

We did a workshop in Langa as you can see from the document I gave you. Now the people from Langa have an advantage because they invaded that space. Legally it is not theirs. But at the same time it has got its own problems because it is very close to the national road so they need to build buffers. Also it is not formally planned and managed and that is the problem. Why? The situation we are faced with is a bit complex. People are drinking a lot, now this is worse in the townships. Now you are going to tell me that you take your child umbeke pha? And then the man who is going to look after him ahambe ayosela eshibhini?. Now there are whole lot of other things which come with this ritual. The purification, cleanliness, that this person who is going to look after these boys, and these are the things which can only be these days be implemented by a management committee. It is not a question of saying that it is fine we are going to look after them. There are certain things you have to observe. You will not for example, go and sleep home, you must be there all the time. You cannot be with your partner nursing these boys at that time throughout the period. You must totally abstain.

Q. The question of security?

The question of security is raised by the problem of modern day society. Those days you could walk through without a problem. But today e.g. if a person was looking for your son in the township and could not find them here is an opportunity now. They will kill him there in the bush. It is easy. That is why we say there is a question of security to be addressed.

And obviously when we spoke to some of the especially chiefs and traditional leaders from Langa, they were sort of their hearts were hardened. But after some time they saw the light. And I said look here, you must not speak to us as if the African culture is not dynamic. Every single culture is dynamic. You yourselves grew up knowing very well that a man your age cannot under any circumstances use toilet facilities inside the house. If you are a man you go out and relieve yourself outside there, not inside. Now you are telling that if you a Xhosa man you cannot sleep

on a bed, you sleep on a mat on the floor. You want to tell me that you are doing those things? You cannot tell me that if you are Xhosa man you keep a cellphone. You carry cellphone, you are traditional healers, you are dressed like this wearing suits all those things.

Now these are all the things we need to understand that times change. Chiefs today were ties and suites because society has evolved

Q. Do you see a time when the initiation is totally westernised?

Well, I tell you what because it is something we are going to introduce in the entire Western Province, the pilot projects. I think this thing is going to stand between African and Western. It is going to be neither African nor really Western. Why? Because of the facilities we have these days. Now at the same time I say to the people we talk with look we are not trying to westernise you, if you feel that you still want to go there, go. But there are things you have to understand that initiation involves many issues.

Female headed households. What do you about that? What do you do as a single mother and your son needs to go? You cannot go there as a mother. Now when you provide a facility like this one you addressing fears, problems, frustrations experienced by single mothers. You are also talking about orphans. This kind of facility addresses that too. If you look at our society today, many children do not have parents, for various reasons. The facility is a place where your child can be safe. Some people still go to traditional healers and also to doctors. So it works both ways.

Q. The question of women?

Man needs to understand that this thing also involves women. But there are certain levels where women are involved and another level where man are involved. In that video you are going to watch, you will notice that woman at home there is a ritual performed by women in solidarity with the one whose some is going to the bush. At the same time when the shack (ibhoma) is build they are involved. Man come a put the frame and women come and wrap the frame with grass and finish and then leave for home. Now you cannot tell me women are not involved in this thing at all? Men

are manipulating the ritual. It allows for the participation of women. At which levels? That is the key question. Now women will not participate in the actual ritual. But in the process they are involved somewhere. Your unmarried sister prepares and brings your food in the bush. Only married women who cannot go there. After 7 days unmarried women can go there, girls.

Q. What is the significance of 7 days?

There is a ritual performed after 7 days (ukujiswa). It is sort of a critical period for the boy. It signals the beginning of the process of healing.

Q. Is there really teaching going on there about being a man?

This is why we say that this thing must be properly formalised. Is that the essence of this thing is about teaching, and that teaching element is lacking these days because of ignorance. The question of appointing a traditional nurse. You appoint somebody who is going to be able to teach these boys informally. But these days that will not happen. And we are saying that when we formalise the thing, then you have an opportunity to do what we call an orientation session before the boys go there. How they are expected to behave. How they ought to conduct themselves in society. In a formalised thing you would be able to do that. So that the boys know exactly what they are letting themselves into. And during the period they are there, you again teach them what is expected of them when they move from the transition, from boyhood to manhood. Things they should learn is that as a man you will not go back to your old clothes, no mingling with boys anymore. Discipline, environmental issues, other skills as well. Because in rural areas boys work in the fields. We have to come up with a skills programmes. You cannot sit there for one month. Carpentry, and computer lessons, leadership skills, deep sense of responsibility. This is the relevance of the initiation nowadays. It must be adapted. Practically speaking they are like patients waiting to be discharged. You will still retain the African aspect of the practice. Time is gold these days. One month spent there you could come up with some qualification.

Thanks for the time.

I will be going to be write guidelines for development for establishing these initiation villages and a booklet around initiation to try and help people understand that it does not help to pretend we live in the olden days. What we provide will be determined by the needs of the context.

Thanks again for everything.

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