

POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND THE REGIONAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK: THE CASE OF JOHANNESBURG INNER CITY

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DEDICATION

To my late brother Maushe Sydwell Phasha, his love for education inspired me.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided word. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Kgolane Ernest Phasha

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores poverty in the inner city of Johannesburg. The World Bank perspectives on describing poverty have been adopted as a theoretical framework for understanding poverty in the inner city. The report looks at the local government's planning framework for the inner city, and through Flyvberg's theory of power and rationality, critically assess the potential of the RSDF to alleviate poverty in the inner city. Through Healey's collaborative planning theory, the dissertation looks at possibility of improving poverty alleviation in the inner City of Johannesburg.

Views were obtained from planning officials and community based organisations engaged in development of the poor. Additionally, statistical information from census 1996 and 2001 provide the reader with concrete figures on poverty in the inner city of Johannesburg.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The new era of political transformation in South Africa created a context of democracy and good governance (Bond, 2004). Through legislation, the local government sphere has been charged with responsibility of being developmental in its approach, thus moving away from its dominant administrative function of the past. Planning under the previous apartheid government was a fragmented practice (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling and Wooldridge, 2002). Urban planning is criticised to have been more physical, leaving out the socio-economic dimensions of development such as poverty alleviation (Mabin and Smit, 1997). This is considered as a historical characteristic of urban planning in South Africa, which was focused more on spatial and technical issues.

Contrary to technocratic and narrow city planning of the past that was specifically focusing on land-uses, planning now follows an integrative approach. The concept of *integrated development plan* (IDP) was coined to make planning frameworks inclusive, focusing on social, economic, spatial and all other relevant dimensions important for development (Harrison, 2001). The intended result of this new planning framework is a development that is sustainable and well-coordinated. In the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), the IDP is also formulated at the regions of the city. These regional IDPs are called Regional Spatial Development Frameworks (RSDFs).

In the CoJ, IDP is guided by the annually determined set of development priorities, called the strategic agenda of thirteen points (CPU, 2004). Some of these points include: fighting poverty and promoting human development, access to basic services, good governance and building democracy, Batho Pele, and housing delivery. The IDP is made of different business plans from each of the CoJ's departments. Nevertheless, no matter how good the goals and aspirations of a strategic plan are, it may not always achieve its aspirations due to existing problems.

1.2 Problem statement

According to the Department of Social Services in Region 8, there are a number of community level non-governmental organisations with initiatives to address poverty in the inner city. Such organisations are however, not well resourced (Greenstein, 2003), and only get minimal support from the municipality: the City of Johannesburg. They also are not encouraged to get involved in public decision-making processes.

With regard to the Region 8 RSDF, providing certain social and welfare services may not be responsibility of the city. The Region 8 RSDF (2003: 103) states “within the marginalized, formal townships of the city, levels of service provision may need to be improved, economic activity stimulated and a variety of other spatial and non-spatial interventions required. It is important to note that these interventions may not all be within the mandate of the city, specifically with regard to certain social and welfare functions”. National and provincial government spheres have functions that relate to poverty alleviation. According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No.108, 1996), national and provincial government in South Africa has functional areas that include the following among others: housing, education, health services and population development (Republic of South Africa, 1996). The national government sphere is not necessarily above the provincial government sphere, as their relationship is not hierarchical. However, the two government spheres are regarded as independent from each other but co-operative with each other, as well as with local government.

Provincial government for Gauteng province, under whose jurisdiction the CoJ falls, provides social and welfare functions for the city. Department of Social Development, whose motto is ‘pushing back the frontiers of poverty’, provides social security services such as social grants/assistance and relief programmes to people who cannot support themselves, such as the old aged, the disabled, vulnerable children and the safety places for the homeless.

However, I argue that these poverty alleviation strategies do not seem to be sustainable as they only provide ‘hand to mouth’ survival of people living in poverty. Put differently,

people living in poverty cannot rely on welfare activities as they need to be developed and capacitated to survive by themselves. The RSDF is supposed to provide such an opportunity, however, its sufficiency is questionable in this regard.

The above policy situation does not appear to be appropriate to the specific situation for which it was tailored. Existence of poverty in the inner city of Johannesburg is a documented phenomenon (CASE, 2004). Unemployment seems to be central on existence of poverty in the inner city, according to research conducted on urban poverty in the City of Johannesburg (CASE, June 2004). Poverty is manifested clearly in places such as Joubert Park and Hillbrow among others (Morris, 1999).

It is estimated that population of Johannesburg Region 8 is 220 000 (Development Planning and facilitation: 2004). It is acknowledged that the number of people living in the inner city on a temporary basis is unknown. 'Over the past years, a gradual shift has seen higher-income residents moving away and being replaced by middle to lower-income population' (Development Planning and Facilitation: 2004:3). Census 2001 revealed that households without income increased between 1996 and 2001. Together with the low earning groups, these unemployed people are considered to be within the poverty line (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 1999).

There appears to be a cycle of poverty taking place in the inner city, starting with inability to pay rents, leading to sub-letting, leading to overcrowding, leading to over-burdening of services, in turn leading for the need to pay more and failing to pay, and leading to cut-off of services and/or tenant evictions (and restart the cycle) (CASE, 2004). Poor sanitation and crime are by-products of the self-sustaining poverty in inner city – a ruthless trap on the poor and the oppressed (CASE, 2004). The poor may include employed people with small wages (Pernia, 1994). These problems ultimately result in homeless people sleeping on the streets within the inner city, and doing informal trading on the streets of Johannesburg inner city.

In the new dispensation for the CoJ, poverty alleviation constitutes one of six mayoral priorities, identified by the mayor for the City of Johannesburg (CPU, 2005). These priorities are aimed at assisting towards achievement of one of the policy sources for RSDF, called Joburg 2030 for the World Class City. Poverty alleviation is mentioned from page 111 of the RSDF for Region 8 (June 2003), as one of the problems that need to be addressed.

According to a report on Johannesburg's commitment to the poor, the city is a dangerous place for the poor (Corporate Planning Unit, 2005: 2). Many poor people live "without adequate water, sewerage removal and electricity, in overcrowded and hazardously dilapidated buildings".

Poverty in the inner city is related to pollution, overcrowding, crime, and degeneration (CASE, 2004) and (Morris, 1999). These happened despite attempts by government to ameliorate the conditions. I therefore see the need for improvement in government policies and programmes relevant to poverty alleviation in the inner city.

The RSDF as a strategic integrative plan of development directs most programmes and projects within Region 8 of Johannesburg. RSDF, as a tool of local government (CoJ), is supposed to address the issue of poverty alleviation as required by the Municipal System Act (32 of 2000) and the White Paper on Local Government. However, the RSDF does not clearly state how its strategies will address the challenge of poverty alleviation. My argument is that inner city community does not make a meaningful contribution towards the formulation of the RSDF. Through my research I hope to devise a number of recommendations that may assist the CoJ in rethinking the RSDF towards better addressing the challenges of inner city poverty.

1.3 Rationale

Poverty and local government

According to values of developmental local governance, municipalities have an obligation to direct their development policies (such as RSDF) towards assisting poor people under their jurisdiction. This has been outlined in the following official documents.

Firstly, section 153(a) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) states the developmental duties of a municipality:

A municipality must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community and to promote the social and economic development of the community.

Secondly, the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (Act 32. of 2000) states in its preamble that:

...there is a need to set out the core principles , mechanisms and processes that give meaning to developmental local government and to empower municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of communities and the provision of basic services to all our people, and specifically the poor and the disadvantaged

Thirdly, the White Paper on Local government (RSA, 1998) states in Section B subsection 1:

The reality in our cities, towns and rural areas is far from this ideal. Many of our communities are still divided. Millions of our people live in dire poverty, isolated from services and opportunities. The powers and functions of local government should be exercised in a way that has a maximum impact on the social development of communities – in particular meeting the basic needs of the poor – and on the growth of the local economy. In addition, new policies and programmes can be initiated, aimed specifically at alleviating poverty and enhancing job creation. For example, local government could assist with the provision of support services, such as training to small businesses or community development organisations.

Community based organisations

Community based organisations are important for this research as they often are faces of the poor, actively involved in addressing issues of development (Greenstein, 2003). In encouraging collaboration between a developmental local government and community based organisations, the White Paper states in Section F, subsection 2.2.4 that:

Partnerships with community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations can be effective ways of gaining access to external expertise and experience. They can also stimulate local economic development. Community based organisations and non-governmental organisations often have particular skills relating to facilitating development initiatives, developing small, medium and micro-sized enterprises, and capacity building. Another advantage of these partnerships is that community based organisations and non-governmental organisations often have close linkages with community groups and can act as effective intermediaries in development initiatives. ...this approach enables the transfer of skills, creates employment and provides an effective service without draining municipal capacity.

The Inner City of the City of Johannesburg

Poverty in the inner city has been identified. Households without income were 2,975 in 1996, which increased to 19,962 in 2001. Whereas households earning between 1-2400 were 1,060 and increased to 2,580. Moreover, unemployment rate grew over two times from 21.2 %. The Human Development Strategy for the CoJ recognise that more than half the people in Johannesburg earn less than R1600 a month, whereas others live in overcrowded and hazardous buildings that are dilapidated (CPU, 2005).

1.4 Aims and objectives of the research

Given the above problems, the aim of this current research is to make a case for mainstreaming poverty alleviation within the RSDF and suggest ways of doing this. Objectives towards achieving this aim were the following:

- To motivate for collaboration between local government and civil society organisations
- To critically assess the planning process for the RSDF
- To investigate inner city poverty and make a case for additional planning policies that deal with poverty alleviation.
- To emphasise a role for civil society organisations in local governance and public decision making processes
- To enhance the potential contribution of RSDF strategies to poverty alleviation in the inner city of Johannesburg

The aim and objectives of the research conducted have also directed the method used to undertake this study

1.5 Research method

In order to achieve the above objectives, the research adopted a data-collection method based on a number of in-depth interviews. The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. There are a number of reasons for this choice: the necessary data was qualitative; the research needed specific experiences, opinions and practices.

The sampling method was purposive, meaning that the sample was carefully and purposefully selected. Thus the sample constituted government officials from the Department of Development Planning, Transportation and Environment who are responsible for writing up the RSDF, the community based organisations working for the poor and the Public Participation Department (under office of the speaker). This entire sample adds value to the research. Government perspective provides the first hand experience in formulation of RSDF, the community perspective provides clarity to its own needs, aspirations and experiences, and the ward councillors act as intermediaries of communication between the former two – and therefore crucial for this research.

1.6 Limitations of the research

Previous research on non-welfarist, municipal strategic plans were minimal, therefore limiting the basis from which I could draw assumptions and prior knowledge. Another limitation was time constraints placed on the research by academic department under which the research was done, specified as a limit of a number of months before the research should have been finished.

1.7 Structure of the report

This research report is structured according to the following:

Chapter one: introduction

Chapter two: theories on power-rationality in planning and collaborative planning

Chapter three: the Regional Spatial Development Framework

Chapter four: poverty, the inner city and poverty alleviation

Chapter five: the potential of the Regional Spatial Development Framework as a tool for poverty alleviation

Chapter six: conclusion and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

POWER, RATIONALITY AND COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

Chapter 2: Power, rationality and collaborative planning

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the conceptual framework for this research. It is acknowledged that cooperation between local government and civil society organisations may be dictated by forces rooted in the socio-political arena of their context. The concepts of power, rationality and collaborative planning are discussed in this chapter. These concepts will be synthesised with findings from my fieldwork research.

This chapter argues that the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) municipality faces certain socio-economic problems that shape the kinds of power and rationalities adopted by the city to address these problems. However, the city has not turned to collaborative form of planning to assist it in addressing these socio-economic problems. The theories are discussed and briefly applied to the current planning processes of the CoJ.

This chapter is structured into three parts: power-rationality debate in planning, consequent problems facing the CoJ, and discussion on collaborative planning theory.

2.2 Power and rationality debate

There is a good reason to support the power and rationality debate. This debate help us understand the ways in which governments live up to challenges facing societies. Flyvbjerg (1998), in his discussion of the concept of power in planning, shows how power is intrinsic in planning. The author mentions that public institutions are supposed to represent the “public interest”, and through his case study of Aalborg, Flyvbjerg shows that: “not only is knowledge power, but, more important, power is knowledge”(Flyvbjerg, 1998: 33). The author mentions that power determines what counts as knowledge, while it ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does not support a particular state institution’s ‘power’ goals. It is mentioned that basic relations

between rationality and power often result in lack of balance, fragmentation, and lack of goal achievement.

Flyvberg sees certain propositions as explaining the basic relations between power and rationality. His theory of power and rationality thus has a number of propositions, five of which are discussed in this chapter.

2.2.1 Power defines and creates concrete physical, economic, ecological and social realities.

Considering Flyvberg's argument that power defines and creates social, economic, physical, and ecological realities, I will show through this research, how the CoJ implements its power and rationality to define and create realities. To understand realities of Johannesburg, this argument (Flyvberg's) will provide clarity and explanation.

Power produces knowledge and rationality which is supportive to the reality it wants, and suppresses the knowledge and rationality that are not of use to it (Flyvberg, 1998: 36). Forrester (1989) points out that power determines agendas, as the information to communities is controlled by planners, who determine channels and times of its availability, on what facts and circumstances and therefore what best options maybe. Flyvberg mentions that agenda setting may also contribute on to why certain policies are never challenged – as they are presented as necessary presumptions.

At the formulation of the first Regional Spatial Development Framework for Region 8, it was stated that 'the aims of the public participation conducted during the LIDP (Local Integrated Development Plan) review was to provide to the public a feedback on developmental and processes issues' (2003:1). As it seems, these were developmental issues in the eyes of planners – presented to Region 8 communities. The communities were supposed to engage in discussions that were shaped by planners, based on the knowledge handed down to them by planners. This knowledge (information) include community needs (social reality), investment (economic reality), infrastructural

development such as the movement system and nodes (physical reality) and open spaces (ecological reality).

As the updates and reformulation continue, the Department of Public Participation explain that communities must be engaged through ward committee structures led by ward councillors. This set-up therefore controls access to communicative infrastructure and decision-making processes, and shapes the relationship between authorities and the public. Here, 'knowledge' is communicated through a certain 'rationality': the rationality of power. The RSDF was produced by the so-called RSDF team of planners who are in the pursuit of this rationality of power. This 'rationality of power' is owned by government, business, and academia: who are powerful bodies. Thus the rationalities espoused by these groups become 'truth and knowledge'.

In Johannesburg, the RSDF has ostensibly been influenced more by the business sector (capital rationality) and less by residents of the inner city. Apparently, an interpretation of poverty as a 'cross-cutting' issue by the IDP document is not interpreted in the similar way by the RSDF document.

In summary, Johannesburg municipal planners' power is to follow particular development policies that prioritise business interests and are not pro-poor. Policies are therefore earmarked to serve upper and middle classes and not struggling inner city residents. A result of this is that, existing policies lead to inequality within the socio-economic sphere.

2.2.2 Two-sided relationship between rationality and rationalisation

Flyvberg (1998) states that the relationship between rationality and rationalisation is often a two-sided relationship. The one side of rationality is open to public scrutiny. But this is not the whole picture, the other side of rationality is often hidden from public view (rationalisation). The hidden side of rationality does, however, not imply dishonesty. Through the findings for this research, I will show how the CoJ implements its power and rationality to show a two-sided relationship of rationality. This two-sided relationship

between rationality and rationalisation helps to clarify issues about planning for the CoJ RSDFs.

Regenerating the inner city's residential areas is part of the Region 8 RSDF strategy, managed and implemented by the Economic Development Unit (EDU), the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), Johannesburg Property company and the Metropolitan Trading company. Among the aims of regeneration, there is a Better Buildings Programme to turn bad buildings into better and healthier buildings for residents of the inner city. The Better Buildings Programme is presented as a beneficial activity for the poor. The open side of rationality here states that renovated flats (which fall under the inner city upgrading) are aimed at helping the poor. However, as a hidden rationality, the poor may actually be required to leave the inner city in order to make way for more middle class residents who can sustain higher rates. One author of the RSDF mentioned that the buildings development is based on the principle of 'user pays'.

On the open side of rationality, I argue that communities participate through meetings, ward committees and councillors, whereas this process does not appear to have an impact on existing plans. Planners mentioned that inputs from communities are 'discarded' if they do not fit well with the RSDF 'policies' (Interview with Ally, 2005). Thus 'policies' define realities of development, whereas communities do not. Discussions during community participation tend to be defensive on the side of planners, which helps in protecting the rationality of power. I therefore argue that, to the public, the RSDF/LIDP serves the 'public', whereas to the planners (hidden side) it serves the 'market'. This inevitably results in an economic injustice on the poor.

2.2.3 The powerless still possess rational argument as one of the few forms of power

Flyvbjerg notes that in democratic countries, rational argument is one of the few forms of power the powerless still possess. This research proposes that this claim has validity.

There are participatory frameworks established in the CoJ municipality. The ward system enables communities to voice their own concerns. Ward committee structures, led by ward councillors, are setup in all wards comprising the Region 8. The ward committees hold public participation hearings quarterly, before the IDP/Budget meetings are held for the whole region. Therefore, residents can submit their recommendations and other contributions through their ward councillors.

The city planners do not give adequate attention to concerns raised by communities. Beside meetings, communities are encouraged to submit written concerns to the council/local government. These concerns are based on certain rationality: that there is an expectation that development decisions will consider advancing the course of poor communities and prioritises taking care of those who afford to pay services well by reducing costs. However, this rationality does not seem to be well-accepted by policy makers within local government.

Local government development framework is not based on social investment. Instead its rationality is centred on the physical, ecological and economic redevelopment of the city. The rationality states that by specifying the investment areas, infrastructural upgrading, and support to the business sector in the inner city – the whole development will trickle down to the poor communities living in Region 8.

Nevertheless, the economically stressed inner city residents still possess rational argument as they are recognised as free constituencies entitled to make their proposals through democratic processes. The question remains on how far is the impact of this rational argument on development policies of the city. This limited impact may result in perpetual social exclusion of the poor, which has negative implications on social justice in the CoJ's Region 8.

2.2.4 Stable power relations shape politics, administration and planning

According to Flyvberg (1998), we need to remember that power relations are dynamic and reciprocal: stable power relations can, at anytime, evolve into antagonistic

confrontations, and vice versa. But still the issues shaping politics, administration and planning are defined more by stable power relations than by antagonistic power relations. Flyvbjerg (1998) argue that stable power relations, however, do not necessarily mean equally balanced power relations. In other words, stability does not imply social or economic justice.

There is a firm structural establishment of power relations within the CoJ. The CoJ council have traditionally had political power to pursue their agendas as elected representatives of the people holding public office. This may include any form of approach to development adopted by them. Business had always held a position of power in society, and additionally, remained a force behind the neo-liberal policies adopted by governments on a global level. The private sector has control over capital resources, which are needed by society for development purposes. Public-private partnerships, corporatisation and privatisation provide evidence for validity of this claim. Therefore local government has unsurprisingly been fulfilling the needs of business so as to access the resources of business for development purposes. Thus government has had to cater for business interests over interests of the poor. This government-business relationship had an impact upon academia – who formulate knowledge based on their observation of interaction between business and government. On the other hand, academics hold a position of power in society by virtue of having and producing ‘knowledge’. This academia have in turn influenced development in society through paradigms of understanding and theories.

I therefore argue that there is a solid relationship among the three powerful entities: government authorities, business and academia. This solid relationship has been against the poor section of society who often forms community-based organisations that attempt to influence development policies – which are ineffectively attempting to affect development policies.

CoJ is not separable from these global influences. The RSDF, IDP and Johannesburg 2030 are products of pro-capitalist approach educated by powerful entities outlined

above. Since the poor lack material resources, political authority, or ‘knowledge’, they are therefore in a position of no power. Hence the poor attempt to push their agenda only through open discussions that are themselves based on the agenda of government – which in turn is not prepared to compromise its own policy directions.

The above situation, in which society is not meaningfully part of the planning process, culminated into policies such as RSDF that have no specific redress to the plight of the poor. The Civil Society Organisations state that their aspirations are not fulfilled by authorities – which purportedly organise public participation for this purpose. Since this relationship of power between the poor public and authorities never seemed to have significant change across the period of years since political transformation in South Africa, I argue that this stable power relations are the cause of lack of progress for the poor. The poor remain socially excluded from ‘development’, inevitably resulting into socio-economic injustices.

2.2.5 Business influence on governmental rationality

Power relations demand constant maintenance, cultivation and reproduction. Flyvbjerg (1998) says that through decades and centuries of careful maintenance, cultivation and reproduction of power relations, business created a semi-institutionalised position for itself with more skill to influence governmental rationality than was found with democratically elected bodies of government.

As I mentioned already, business has been on a position of power to influence government rationality. Governments have been getting assistance from business, such as national and international bank loans. The business groomed itself into position of an institution in society – into what became known as the private sector. This has in turn influenced government’s development direction in Western countries, and globally resulted into neo-liberal or capitalist development policies.

Social and economic decay constitute problems for which RSDF is aimed to improve. In the CoJ, development have been corporatised into bodies such as Johannesburg

Development Agency (JDA), Johannesburg Water, Pick it Up, and City Power. These entities work to make profit while simultaneously fulfilling the government's goals of development. Skills development, which is geared towards uplifting the socio-economic resources of the citizens, is actually in the hands of business. The Doornfontein IT Hub is an example of business using its resources to empower the poor through skills development. Thus business is a partner in development with the government, as the government does not have these necessary resources. This is one example of the Skills, Education, and Training Authorities (SETAs) established by national government in collaboration with business. Whereas it is beneficial for government to work with business, it should not be a surprise that government development rationality has taken the character of business in that communities are expected to be self-sufficient to make their living in the vulnerable 'market' economy.

2.3 Developmental problems in City of Johannesburg, Region 8

Inequality, social injustice and economic injustice on CoJ Region 8 are some of the concrete problems facing the CoJ administration. Poverty is at the centre of these problems.

The society in Johannesburg is made of different categories – from upper classes to lower class. This is shown by different neighbourhoods which comprise the city. The RSDF identified residential areas that display social and economic decay as development priorities, such as Hillbrow, Berea, Joubert Park, and others. These areas have different social character to other areas of the inner city. They are characterised by slums, overcrowding, orphans, street children, homeless people, crime – all of which are a result of poverty in these areas. As it seems, the central problem in these areas is unemployment and lack of other means of survival (CASE, 2004). Full discussion of the case study is provided in the chapter 4.

However, the poor communities are not passive about their problems. They organised themselves into Community Based Organisations/Non-Governmental Organisations as self-help groups. These groups deal with problems such as skills development, provision

of shelter, and welfare activities. These organisations have necessary experience and expertise with issues of uplifting the poor in Region 8. As it seems, there is gap between what government does and what CBOs/NGOs do – necessitating co-optation of these organisations into local government planning processes. This may result into collaboration in planning for development, which I argue, that it might alleviate problems of poverty, inequality and socio-economic injustices perpetuated by power/rationality in planning.

2.4 Collaborative Planning Theory

Power and rationality problems facing planning resulted in inequality, social and economic injustices in society. I argue that collaborative planning has potential to alleviate these problems through systematically addressing the points raised under power-rationality debate. Communicative Collaborative theories of planning are used to guide this research. These theories are relevant because they deal with many narratives/views from different sectors of the population including civil society. The CoJ's views are reflected in the RSDF, however, civil society's views such as the Inner City Forum might be omitted from the City's policies. There should be collaboration between the inner city stakeholders in order to begin to adequately deal with inner city poverty realities. The last chapter of recommendations will propose such. As such, I will now briefly explain the underlying tenets of collaborative planning.

According to Healey (1997) collaborative planning seeks collaborative understandings and collaborative new ways of framing policy. This approach provides a policy driven approach to urban governance, grounded in value-laden dimensions of people's concerns about their local environments. The approach helps to build a proactive, developmental response to the conditions and relations of an urban region.

Healey (1998) mentions that through the processes of collaboration participants begin to engage in collective decision making. Participants of a collaborative approach also build new systems of meaning, new cultures, new organising styles and new social networks. These add to the loose relational networks of contemporary economic and social life.

Such processes are regarded as powerful co-coordinative tools. Coordination, according to Healey (1998: 40), takes place through shared meanings rather than the 'partisan mutual adjustment' of autonomous, self-centred, rationally calculating individuals. Collaborative strategy-making processes build up new institutional designs from the 'grass-roots'. Thus, Healey seeks a new and collaborative institutionalised approach.

A new institutionalist approach does not accept the notion that the social world is constituted of autonomous individuals each pursuing their personal preferences. The approach seeks to understand urban regions through collective action. It is also based on individual identities as socially constructed.

Through the particular geographies and histories of different contexts, attitudes and values are framed. It is these attitudes and values that frame meaning and everyday life. Diversity and difference, is thus not just about individual interests. The approach acknowledges that this active work of social construction is not undertaken in a 'neutral territory' as far as power relations are concerned. It is framed by forces that impose structuring imperatives on social relations, and state structures or economic relations shape our opportunities and our values.

Institutionalist social theory thus emphasises the way, we 'make' our identities and our relations with others (Perry, 1995, in Healey, 1997). It is in the theory of such relation-building processes that the idea of collaborative planning is grounded. It focuses attention on relational webs or networks in which we live our lives. Each of these relations links a person to others, to ways of doing, seeing and knowing. These relational cultures will vary in their spatial reach and temporal span.

Healey (1997) mentions that all relational webs have points of intersection or nodes. These include the household, where members share a common space and resources, formal organisations, such as firms, agencies or departments of government, focused around the production and delivery of particular goods and services, and associations, pressure groups and informal groups of friends and kin.

Healey (1997) discusses a search for a form of governance, which is pursued in relation to the management of local environments. This represents a normative agenda for local governance.

Collaborative planning efforts however, says Healey (1997) search for more than the win-win outcome of the conflict management field. It seeks to reframe how people think about winning and losing. It looks for an approach which asks: can we all get on better if we change how we think to accommodate what other people think? If this can be done then, the CoJ may begin to rethink its inner-city poverty policies.

Healey mentions that collaborative planning efforts involve attention to institutional design at two levels. The first focuses on the soft infrastructure of individual efforts in strategic spatial planning and environmental management. This kind of infrastructure refers discussions and debates by people using their intellect and knowledge. I argue that attention to stakeholders, arenas, routines and styles, discourses and the nature of agreement may help shape collaborative and inclusionary forms of collective reasoning and argumentation. But without attention to the hard infrastructure of institutional design, it will be difficult to challenge and change the power of dominant groups as this is embedded in the abstract systems of current governance. This infrastructure refers to structural setup of entities in society, including positions, sectors such as business, different government departments, as well as procedures and schedules for working together.

Collaborative attempts are directed to define and develop policy agendas and strategic approaches to collective concerns about shared spaces among the members of political communities. This serves to build up social, intellectual and political capital, which becomes a new institutional resource. It generates a cultural community of its own, which enables future issues to be discussed more effectively, and provides channels through which all kinds of issues, may be understood and acted upon. Such a relation-making and culture –building work takes place through dialogue, and its qualities and outcomes are

the result of the interaction between who gets involved in collaborative planning processes.

Healey (1997), however, mentions that the above approach may be seen as an idealistic vision. People live in a society deeply fractured by the power of class and capital, and recently fragmented by the force of a competitive neo-liberal government philosophy. Yet there is a plenty of evidence of collaborative governance, of efforts in redesigning the soft infrastructure of planning practices.

Governance processes generate relational networks, which may cut across relational webs. Governance activity may be aimed at sustaining relational webs, or at transforming them. Spatial planning efforts are inherently drawn into such processes. But there is no necessary interconnection between the relational webs which happen to exist in a place.

The concept of institutional capacity refers to the overall quality of the collection of relational networks in a place. It has been developed in the regional economic literature to refer to the social qualities which seem to make a difference to regional economic performance (Amin and Thrift, 1995, in Healey, 1997). There is an increasing recognition that the quality of this capacity matters, whether the collective objective is economic competitiveness, sustainable development, biospheric sustainability or quality of life.

Spatial and environmental planning thus becomes part of processes that both reflect and have the potential to shape the building of relations and discourses, the social and intellectual capital, through which links are made between networks to address matters of shared concern at the level of neighbourhoods, towns and urban regions. Collaborative approaches in this context are focused explicitly on the task of building up links across disparate networks, to forge new relational capacity across the diversity of relations that co-exist these days in places. Spatial planning efforts have the potential to become sites for urban region, town and neighbourhood 'link-making work'.

The above has implications for the current Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) in the inner city of Johannesburg as chapter 5 will demonstrate. From this chapter, lessons can be learned that development may be shared by different rationalities. These rationalities may not serve interests of society, despite being claimed that they do. Rationalities are normally in contest with other rationalities. As rationalities push development to a particular direction, they can be turned to the opposite direction by other rationalities. The problems arising from power-rationality dynamics in planning (RSDF) will be tackled through collaborative planning.

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter outlined the theory of power, rationality and collaborative planning. The components of the theories are outlined with application to the case of this research. Examples have been given to highlight the relevance of the theoretical meanings to the current research. Of supreme importance in the chapter is that, power and rationality discussion assist the writer to diagnose the problems about the RSDF and poverty alleviation in the inner city. On the other hand, the way to solve the above-mentioned developmental problems is provided by suggestions of collaborative planning theory. Detailed discussion on the RSDF is provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL SPATIAL

DEVELOPMENT

FRAMEWORK, REGION 8,

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

Chapter 3: Regional Spatial Development Framework, Johannesburg Region 8

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, planning processes can be plagued with issues relating to power and rationality, and Region 8 Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) is not excluded from these issues. In this chapter I will outline the nature of the RSDF. The chapter discusses issues such as the background towards the RSDF, the aims of the document, policy context and relevant legislation, preparation of the RSDF, and the implementation of the RSDF. It is in this context that problems of power and rationality during the planning process are highlighted. By examining the vision, aims, preparation process, implementation of the plan and the context in which the RSDF is founded, I reflect on how power-rationality dynamics in planning can result in development that promotes social exclusion and perpetuation of poverty on marginalized groups.

3.2 Essence of the Regional Spatial Development Frameworks

Originally formulated as the Local Integrated Development Plans (LIDPs), the RSDFs are one of the few high strategic documents providing guidelines to local development within the City of Johannesburg's eleven administrative regions (interview with Zain Ally, the RSDF author: 2005). The RSDFs, including region 8, involve communities in identifying specific development needs, opportunities and priorities for each area, as well as determining the arrangement of land use and infrastructure for a specific region. Involvement with communities is done through the ward council structures and public participation sessions held by the CoJ.

The primary aims of the RSDFs are arrangement of land-use and infrastructure associated with needs of specific communities within administrative regions of the CoJ. Various sectoral plans are assessed during the development of RSDFs, such as education, economic development, social development, residential development, transportation and

environment. RSDFs provide a plan for development of each area, which integrates all these aspects of development (Office of the Executive Mayor: July 2003:p.117). Each RSDF has identified specific concerns and areas that require urgent attention and intervention. Precinct plans are compiled to address the prevalent issues. The precinct plans more detail – including even a site-specific level.

3.3 The aims of the Regional Spatial Development Framework for Region 8

The Region 8 RSDF has a number of goals to achieve with regard to development within Region 8 (inner city). Here they are outlined as they appear in SDF/RSDF document (2004/2005).

Goal one: promote investment opportunity

In improving the economy of the inner city, the RSDF focuses on creating pulling factors for investment to come into the inner city. This would consequently calibrate economies of localisation. Objectives of this goal are focused upon creating conducive conditions such as low crime levels, marketing of special character districts, improvement of open spaces and transportation facilities, promoting Small to Medium Enterprises (SMMEs), establishing public-private partnerships, and liaising with relevant stakeholders to align with the city vision.

Goal two: investment into infrastructure and economy

Objectives of this goal are focusing on non-residential uses of nodes such as provision of informal trade areas and clean industries, as well as reinstating mobility function of arterials.

Goal three: revitalise bighted areas

Objectives are: to enforce council policy on overcrowding, investigate decline and stimulate employment opportunity and economic growth. Regeneration will succeed if

links between local businesses, government and private sector agencies are forged. Dissemination of market information for investors (data), and survey of bad buildings should be done to fulfil this goal.

Goal four: Optimise Regional recreational opportunities

Open spaces, nature reserves and other natural features should help unlock development opportunities for growth

Goal five: improving social service infrastructure to support residential developments

Partnerships with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) is seen as instrumental in this regard. Projects include provision of informal trading centres and health clinics, upgrading of informal settlements, upgrading of sports facilities, and upgrading of transport stations such as taxi ranks. These projects are seen as important, as they would provide supportive infrastructure for communities residing within region 8. However, they cannot be achieved without community based organisations and non-governmental organisations being involved as they are strategic stakeholders for development, according to the White Paper on local government (Republic of South Africa, 1998). As the level of development differs across different areas, the needs for such areas also differ. As the CBOs/NGOs work towards development with such communities, they are effective in mobilising the communities and providing the CoJ with resources such as information and expertise on social services infrastructure. As discussed in chapter one, the White Paper on local government states that CBOs/NGOs often have particular skills relating to facilitating development initiatives, which are needed by government (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

Goal six: operate and maintain engineering services in a sustainable manner

Objectives include limitation of risks and wastage, whereas improving availability, and providing preventative maintenance and programmed refurbishment.

Goal seven: optimise the long- term development potential of the area

Objectives in this regard include enforcement and monitoring of government policy, looking for ‘quick wins’ and consolidating land within the urban development boundary.

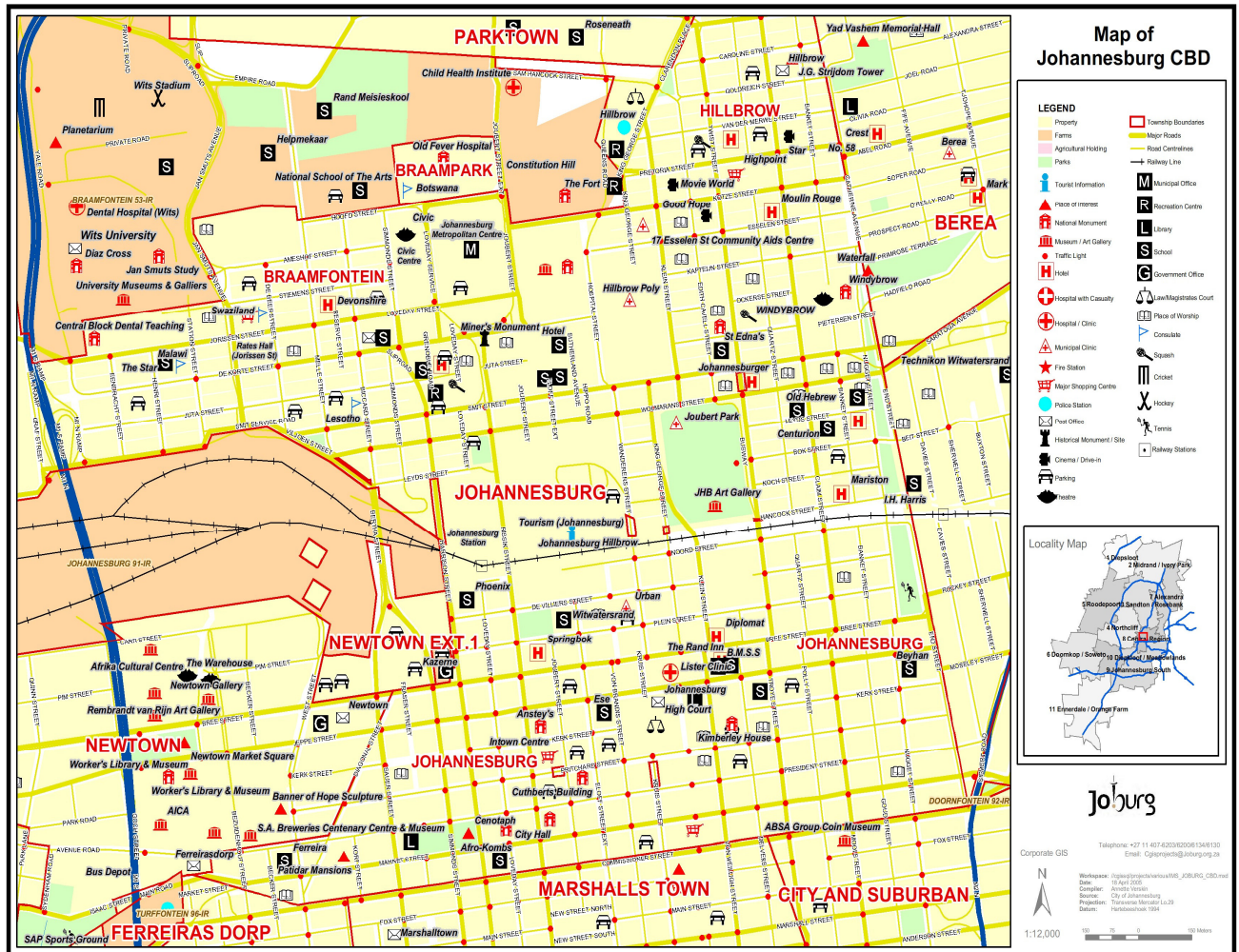
Goal eight: Unify the Land Use Management System

Objectives in this regard include development of a uniform land use management system, taking cognisance of existing land use rights.

In order to address the above goals, the Region 8 RSDF identifies six short-term programmes that detail urgent developments required for the region (Development Planning and Facilitation, 2004). The programmes are:

1. Upgrade, regeneration and settlements: to address squatting in vacant buildings and slum lording conditions. Areas where these should occur are Hillbrow, Berea, George Goch.
2. Opportunity areas: ensuring that investment in the region is increased at a steady rate. Directing development to areas that require it, such as inner city, Constitution Hill, Newtown, Greater Ellis Park.
3. Nodal management: to ensure that investment in the inner city becomes fruitful and is supported. Directing development in areas that require it. Ensuring that the CBD (inner city) becomes the major node of city.
4. Conservation areas: looking after and maintaining areas of conservation significance in the region (inner city parks, ridges, Jukskei bank and catchments).
5. Strategic roads: creating opportunities for growth and development in and through the region. (E-W corridor, N-S corridor).
6. Established areas: to ensure that standard of such areas is maintained. This should be done by providing funding to avoid decay/blight. The areas are Bez Valley, Forest town, Observatory, Killarney and Parktown.

Some of the areas mentioned in the programmes above are shown on the map for Region 8 (CoJ, 2005: www.joburg.org.za) on the next page.



There are several sub-programmes/projects that are earmarked for longer-term development direction of the city. Necessary implementing agencies (such as the Economic Development Unit) will determine technical specifications that are necessary for rollout of projects. The key focus areas for Region 8 are the inner city (core CBD), cultural arc, Ellis Park, Malvern/Denver informal settlements, Mayfair/Fordsburg. Major projects in the inner city are: Joubert Park, Park station, Faraday station, Ellis Park, Braamfontein, Wits University, Constitution Hill, Hillbrow hospital, financial district, Newtown. Key interventions include: upgrading markets, upgrade inner city parks and taxi ranks, crime alleviation, and station upgrading.

The formulation of the RSDF is not done in a vacuum, but within South African political and economic situation that can affect it. Below is a brief discussion of the South African context.

3.4 Policy context and legislation

Every policy that is done at a local level may have to be in line with the broader policy of government. South Africa has a macro-economic policy that gives a direction for development in the country.

3.4.1 Growth, Employment And Redistribution policy (GEAR)

South African government policy is directed by the macro-economic policy of Growth, Employment And Redistribution (GEAR). The overall objectives of GEAR are to promote economic growth and export orientation in the economy (ILRIG, 1998). GEAR had two convictions. Firstly, that increase in production is a highest priority in economic growth. Secondly, GEAR believed that economy should not be developed through state-led projects such as mass production of low-income housing. Thus development would be led by the private sector. Thus, this belief culminated into the need for creation of favourable conditions for growth of business sector (ILRIG, 1998).

South African GEAR strategy had used the following key policies of globalisation: fiscal

discipline, increased productivity, privatisation, and trade liberalisation (ILRIG, 1998). Through fiscal discipline, GEAR promotes cutbacks in government spending in order to reduce the state's participation in the economy as a producer. On the other hand, the measure is undertaken simply to reduce government expenditure so that South Africa can repay its debts to foreign and local banks. Increased productivity on South African workers would be indicated by production of more goods for less money paid out in wages. That is, greater output for less input. Trade liberalisation part of GEAR attempts to promote free trade, by reducing tariffs and taxes on investors. Through privatisation, GEAR had committed South African government to sell state-owned assets (e.g. services and functions) to investors (private sector).

Cities, as part of local government sphere in South Africa, have a responsibility of implementing GEAR policy. To achieve this, Johannesburg Metropolitan Local Government (comprised of 11 regions including Region 8) had formulated a long-term strategic plan called 'Joburg 2030'. The purpose of this plan is to develop Johannesburg city mainly through economic growth, which affects all administrative regions of the CoJ.

The RSDF is not only influenced by this economic vision of a world class city, but also influenced by the legislative context in South Africa, notably, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000.

3.4.2 The Municipal Systems Act (MSA)

The Municipal Systems Act (No.32 of 2000) placed a requirement on South African municipalities to formulate strategic development plans called 'Integrated Development Plans' (IDPs). This was based on the ideology that, for development to be sustainable, it needs to be integrated. Key issues within the concept of IDP include spatial development frameworks, performance management, strategic financial planning, assessment of socio-economic and service levels in a municipality, sectoral plans on water, transport, housing, waste and disaster management, as well as operational and development strategies.

The CoJ municipality has an IDP that is formulated annually. However, as the CoJ covers

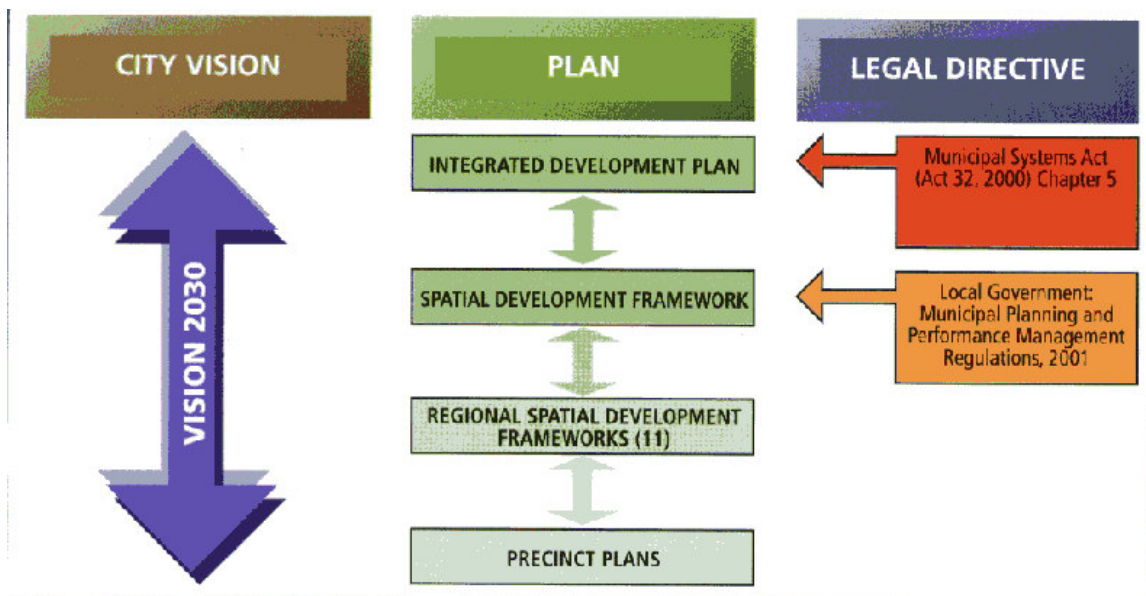
a huge geographical area, the city has been divided into eleven regions for administrative purposes. Each region has a Local Integrated Development Plan (LIDP), which is currently called Regional Spatial Development Framework. The RSDF for Region 8 (inner city) is amended annually. It is important to note that both IDP and LIDPs/RSDFs may contain the character of the preceding versions.

3.5 Preparation of the Regional Spatial Development Framework

Development Planning and Facilitation unit is responsible for development of RSDFs for all administrative regions. Using the so-called ‘RSDF team’ of planners; the unit is also responsible for developing a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) for the whole area of the City of Johannesburg. The Unit is an internal component of the Department of Development Planning, Transportation and Environment. In the formulation of the RSDF for Region 8 there are two sources of guidelines for the strategic plan. Information is drawn from the official economic strategy for the CoJ – called Joburg 2030. Joburg 2030 has been the highest guiding document for development in the CoJ, under which the IDP, SDF and RSDF are given direction (see diagram below). The second source for the RSDF formulation is Mayoral Priorities for five-year term of office, one of which is specifically on economic development. According to a senior official in the Department of Development planning (Interview with Zain Ally, 2005):

We draw on the official economic strategy for the city as a whole and specific to Region 8 that was approved in 1998. And we draw on the five pillar economic strategy and one of them is specifically on economic development. So those are the policies and guidelines that we use in poverty alleviation in any region and specifically in Region 8.

The diagram below reflects supremacy of the Joburg 2030 strategy in the CoJ development policy, as the long term vision for the municipality (Development Planning and Facilitation, 2004: 5). It also shows a relationship between plans and applicable legal directives



3.5.1 The Joburg 2030 strategy

The central tenet of the Joburg 2030 strategy is to produce the world-class city by the year 2030 – through several visionary goals as summarised here. Firstly, to uplift the quality of life (standard of living) of all Johannesburg residents through poverty reduction. This will be done through opening of more opportunities and hope for the poor to move away from their predicaments, increased housing and access to services whose provision would be aided by geographic clustering, increased government revenues and a smaller absolute number of poorer citizens and of social service sector, security and safety through reduction of crime, and decreased pollution on air and waste removal. Secondly, to create a productive labour force of white and blue collar workers with higher skills in numeracy, technology and high service standards produced from focused education and training. Thirdly, improvement of business environment through establishment of efficient infrastructure to support businesses. Fourthly, to uplift key economic sectors such as increased service industries in the city coupled with increased exports of goods. Fifth, densification and reduction of urban sprawl will be done to assist economies of scale, proximity to business opportunities, efficient transport and services. And lastly, the city council shall be a well governed agent of economic development for the city, an effective service deliverer and efficient administration as well as being the

city residents' access point to political and governmental representation. The ultimate goal of Joburg 2030 strategy is to improve economic growth of the city.

The 2030 strategy defines programmes, tasks and interventions required to achieve the above vision. Firstly it specifies the 'Conducive Environment Focus Areas' aimed at establishing good conditions by addressing crime and skills shortage in the city. Secondly, it specifies the Engine of Growth Focus Areas aimed at increasing corporate profitability, support investment, job creation and income generation for households. Thirdly, it outlines 'Acceleration of Growth Focus Areas' aimed at increasing business confidence and standard of living – which will also complement the second strategy.

The RSDF as a strategic plan for Region 8 (inner city), provides guidelines on how to implement the above vision and strategy on a local level – Region 8. The RSDF goals as discussed previously, provides details of that.

3.5.2 The five pillar strategy

Beside the Joburg 2030 strategy, the RSDF is also formulated from the six mayoral priorities designed to govern the CoJ and its eleven administrative regions. The priorities are: good governance, economic development and job creation, inner city regeneration, public safety, service delivery excellence coupled with customer care and batho pele, and HIV/AIDS.

The region 8 RSDF strives to fulfil all the priorities but placed a highest priority on inner city regeneration. The Region 8 administrative office is responsible to drive this strategy. The Inner City Regeneration strategy is based on five pillars (a five pillar strategy):

- 1.) Addressing sinkholes – designed to turn bad buildings that chase away investors into better buildings
- 2.) Intensive urban management – including law enforcement
- 3.) Inner city regeneration – to make the inner city a centre of business again

- 4.) Support to economic sectors – including an improvement of skills of the population and facilitate funding for business
- 5.) Maintaining and upgrading infrastructure – address issues such as sewerage, lights, storm water pipes, drainage and others
- 6.) Ripple pond effects – creating better buildings and better places such as the Mary Fitzgerald Square and Mandela Bridge, which attract investment around their vicinity

From the first pillar to the last pillar, the plan aims to move the city from one situation to another. Institutions such as Open for Business and CIDA educational campus are used to fulfil this plan. Some of these projects are identified by region 8 administration in cooperation with the Economic Development Unit of the CoJ.

3.5.3 The formulation process and community participation

3.5.3.1 Quarterly meetings on IDP review sessions for Region 8

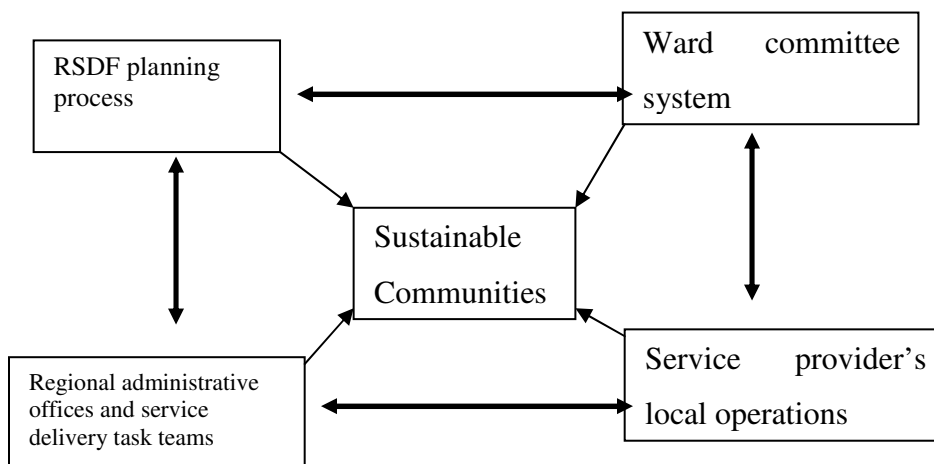
Public debate and community input are facilitated by quarterly meetings on IDP review, which are held four times a year (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). These meetings are advertised on government offices in the city, with a number of problems affecting them. The issues that need improvement are: ineffective advertisement, poor attendance, insufficient input as the attendees do not submit their contributions, discussions are filled with poor communication (communities do not understand what officials report on), questions by the public are evaded and not addressed well, presenters are hackled by the audience, and generally the meetings close with rejection and more animosity than understanding and contribution (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). These circumstances do not appear to be conducive to good governance, which is needed for government policies to be effective in poverty alleviation (Agere, 1996).

3.5.3.2 The ward system

Ward councillors in Region 8 organise their meetings on regular intervals to consult with their particular communities (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). Moreover, the ward

councillors are available for consultation with the ward communities as the councillors reside within the areas of their jurisdiction. Effective communication in this regard is a point of contention for non-governmental organisations (NGOs/CBOs) (Interview with Khumalo, 2005). Therefore the communities see this participatory system unsatisfactory.

Information from the public as well as their NGOs/CBOs that is obtained from the ward councillors and IDP review sessions, is only brought to RSDF authors (Development Planning and Facilitation Department) by the Department of Public Participation in the CoJ (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). However, the RSDF authors also cooperate with the Regional office in order to develop their community in a sustainable manner, such as the diagram shows below:



Adapted from Development Planning and Facilitation (2004).

3.6. Implementation of the RSDF

The Economic Development Unit (EDU), in collaboration with the Region 8 administrative office, implements the RSDF. The EDU is an institution established by the CoJ to assist in the implementation of Joburg 2030 strategy. The duties of the EDU are to identify and implement projects that expand the City's economy and ensure a better economic future for all our residents. The senior official at the Department of Development Planning puts it thus (Interview with Zain Ally: 2005):

We draw on strategies and its policies but we have an economic development unit. This unit for the city as a whole, they will then focus on economic development strategies and poverty alleviation and local economic development. So that is the department that goes into great details on policies and guidelines for the city. If you want to know what is contained in the RSDF is policy implications that are very strategic at high level – it does not go down to specific interventions, guidelines and policies etc.

Another responsibility of the EDU is to co-ordinate the CoJ's agencies/enterprises that were established to impact positively on the economy of the city as a whole. The agencies are:

- Johannesburg Development Agency, which undertakes area-specific economic development projects;
- Metropolitan Trading Company, which manages informal trading markets and taxi ranks on behalf of the City, and
- Johannesburg Property Company, which manages all Council-owned land and buildings.

Projects of the EDU are predominantly economic. Areas of concern covered by the projects include: skills development, urban regeneration projects and economic development.

The activities of the EDU and the development agencies are made area-specific (region-specific) by administrative offices of CoJ regions. Region 8 is specifically set to address the following issues in co-ordination with the EDU:

- Skills development of residents through partnership with a non-profit organisation called the Community and Individual Development Agency (CIDA) City Campus and the city's higher education institutions
- Development of individual business skills for establishment of small, medium or micro enterprises through the Small to Medium Enterprises Support(SMME) programme. This programme also provides skills for informal traders through

newly established informal trading programme. This is done mainly through the work of the two non-profit companies in which Council is a part owner. First is Open for Business (OFB), which is a Section 21 company, established in partnership with Investec Bank, serving as a walk-in advisory centre giving advice and counselling to individuals who are setting up micro enterprises or seeking to expand them. Advice includes legal, accounting, business planning and tendering guidance. Second is the Centre for Entrepreneurial Education and Development (CEED), which is a Section 21 company established in partnership with Technikon South Africa and providing specialist training for SMME operators at a subsidised cost.

- Economic regeneration for economic decline, through the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) and Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

Open For business

The Region 8 administration office took steps to help with income of the poor groups. The director for Region 8 (interview with Yakoob Makda, 2005) explains

So in terms of economy, when people want to invests in inner city, we ask them what is they invest in and can we give them an assistance. Like the educational institutions such as the CIDA campus, they said we are establishing here, these are the funding that we are getting now what can the city do for us. Then we have an organisation called upon for business, like if you are a young person who says I have got a plan but I don't have money to make a business plan and financial plans so that I can submit it to somebody. So then you would go to open for business and tell them your idea and your needs, can you assist me with skills to put a business plan together that I can take forward? The city subsidises that.

On establishment, the Community Based Organisations did not use the Open For Business for guidance and to develop their capacity (Interview with Khumalo, 2005). Instead they established themselves through their own capacity. The senior leader of Lamdino Anti-poverty and AIDS project revealed this

Our organisation since we have changed the status into section 21, we just bought Shafty company which was also meant to be Housing Development Company. Then we changed the name of that company to Lamdino Artists Anti-Poverty and AIDS project. We finance ourselves from our own pockets. Here we have a project called a people's housing for economic empowerment. In that one, that is where we put together a concept where all the people that are entitled for government housing subsidy, be put together so that we can then do the requisitions of their moneys – those 28 thousand.

In the same way, skills developments of the CBOs do not seem to be related to OFB. It appears that the CBOs are not aware of services offered by OFB, which would be beneficial to their members. The CBOs seem to be relying on their own capacity for skills development of their membership. The senior leader of Lamdino Anti-poverty project explains

Skills development, as you can see these new machines here, we are just coming from delivering uniform to schools. There are other stuff that you can see here which were sewn by these ladies, one is a designer the other is a machinist. What we did, we called more than 400 unemployed sewing group some of which are members of SACTWU. We called them through Jozi Fm radio, to discuss the development around poverty alleviation where we would engage all the sewing groups into one collective initiative to deal with sewing and and designing. Fortunately we managed to call in the SACTWU (South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union) to refer more of its members who are unemployed to us. We as the NGO we are the facilitators to make sure that these people can come together and exercise the business of clothing and textiles. And then we register them as cooperatives. Our heart is in cooperatives more than closed cooperations. Already it is happening there is a youth that has done three year and half Diploma in designing that are coming to us. We give them the material to do their own samples that they would like us to market and then we get big business for them. A reality has happened already because we have submitted lots of their designs to different sectors, municipalities and others who were highly impressed. We are waiting for a very big business form that. Also other structures in terms of sports ware, they got samples from these designers they are also promising to bring a very big business to us.

Neither does the above CBO have an established relationship with CIDA campus.

We communicate with it, we know people there including the head of the campus. They know me personally, we always discuss that we should have a partnership because they are also an NGO – a section 21 company like us. So it is healthy for us to get students from their campus and also from the university because we are looking broadly to make sure that we contribute a lot in socio-economic transformation of this country but using very strategic approach.

Metropolitan Trading Company

In the same vein, the Gauteng Hawkers Association (GHA) in the inner city was established as an organisation protecting the rights of hawkers. Neither is the GHA getting skills training from the OFB or CIDA. An interview with a leader of GHA at the metro mall provided an explanation:

We just do our businesses based on our experience, we understand how our businesses run. And nothing is complicated in any way. This government actually does not care much about us, what they do is putting laws around our businesses, and moving us from there to there, making our lives difficult.

However, the informal traders (GHA) are supposed to improve their business skills through business training from the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC). The MTC was established by the city to bring social and economic development of informal traders, by establishing retail markets for formal and informal traders, such as Hillbrow market and the Metro Mall. This is enforced with the help of the Metropolitan police which operate on the principle that provides restriction on trading in certain areas in the inner city of Johannesburg.

The MTC aimed to fulfil among other strategic objectives: promotion of economic growth and development of small entrepreneurs within the city of Johannesburg, as well as promoting job/employment opportunities for the people of Johannesburg. The Metro

Mall, has been housing 37 retailers, 447 traders, and 3100 taxis made up of seven associations (CPU, 2004: 275).

The balanced scorecard of the MTC include a key performance area of developing skills, with key performance indicator of increase in budget spent on skills development on a target of 0,3%. Interviews with hawkers reveal that they are not aware of any contribution of MTC to their trading skills. Thus the MTC does not contribute positively to the income of traders. However, skills development is not the only complaint the traders have about the MTC as an informal trader explained:

The design of the stalls inside the mall is not good for our productivity. Look at where we are situated, difficult for accessibility by customers. We asked the MTC to install the TVs so as to pull customers. They bought the TVs but refused to install them at our suggested place, stating that it would be expensive. So they installed them in a wrong place that does not attract customers to us. So people realised that metro mall does not make them successful they went out to trade outside on the streets.

We have problem of hawkers on the streets outside. They don't pay rent as they are not housed in here – but they take away many customers from us. This way they are destroying our businesses. We are making little profit because most of it is taken by the outside hawkers. In the beginning we agreed with the council that no hawkers would be allowed close to our building. But they are continually around our building and selling the things we sell here.

The other problem is the gas we use in cooking that often goes out of functioning. When we report this, they don't fix it quickly and we are in the mean time losing money as we don't operate our business. The MTC does not really understand us and they are insensitive.

The plight of informal traders is emphasised more by the inner city forum:

Informal traders, who are generally not on the streets through choice but in desperation to eke out a living, as is well known to the city, are brutally forced

off the streets, their minimal goods confiscated, and driven into areas with limited street frontage and market access and at rents that they cannot always afford. It is a policy that will not sustain itself without constant policing and conflict, similar to the policies that relate to credit control. (Inner City Forum, 2004: 191).

The Inner City Forum is a community-based organisation that was formed by the communities of the CoJ inner city. The organisation is focused on development issues that face the community of the inner city. The Inner City Forum has units that focus on specific development issues, such as: homeless children, sports and recreation, and housing (Interview with Mokgesi: 2005).

Johannesburg Development Agency

The Joburg 2030 strategy identifies developments, many of which fall within Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) as a multi-sectoral, area based development agency. JDA seeks to improve economic development in the CoJ by looking at five primary challenges: crime, creating an efficient business environment, address areas of decay, lack of adequate skills, address problems of unemployment. JDA directly focuses on two challenges. Firstly, creating efficient business so as to address the need for investment in the inner city and improve the infrastructure. Secondly, JDA sought to address areas of decay created by disinvestments, which is the focus of Economic Development Unit's (EDU) economic regeneration developments. JDA is accountable to the EDU at a broad strategic level.

Inner city regeneration is one of strategic areas focused on by the JDA. JDA achieved the following developments in the inner city: an increase in private sector investment in the area, reduction in vacancy rates, increased attendance at inner city cultural and entertainment venues, success in development of Newtown; constitution Hill; Braamfontein; as well as Jeppe and Faraday ranks (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2003). Reinvestment of the private sector into the inner city and increased marketability of the area appears to be the focus of the JDA (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2003). The inner city regeneration, which constitutes vision of JDA, appears to not

involve upliftment of poorer communities nor contribute towards poverty alleviation. The statement by the Inner City Forum reflects this issue:

It is true that there has been upgrading in Newtown and in pursuit of the 'cultural arc', attempts to facilitate the growth of culture linking Braamfontein to Newtown via the Mandela Bridge. In the process, institutions such as Kanya college and the workers' library used by working class organisations and social movements, and critical spaces for the education and mobilisation of those facing the brunt of the attacks, are threatened with eviction to make way for more coffee shops for the affluent. It is important to note that the majority of inner city residents do not find entertainment and cultural relaxation in Newtown or Braamfontein, since they cannot afford this. These are areas, which on the whole service the middle classes, with the Mandela Bridge providing safe, clean entry for those living in the north as well as for the tourists. People with lower incomes are told to be patient and await the trickle-down, which is unlikely to ever materialise. (Inner City Forum, 2004: 192).

Johannesburg Property Company

The Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) was established in 2000 to manage the property of the CoJ. JPC's vision is to be CoJ's provider of property management, property development and property asset management services. These are aimed at maximising the social, economic and financial benefit to CoJ and support the CoJ delivery objectives on competitive basis. The JPC's business plan reflects the overall objective to focus on strategic asset management of properties owned or used by CoJ and to maximise property portfolio values. For year 2004/2005, the JPC initiated service delivery performance improvements, one of which is that the ongoing Better Building Programme (BBP) will continue. JPC's role is to identify appropriate investors who can refurbish derelict buildings in the inner city so as to increase the value of such buildings.

The response of the Inner City Forum (under which the Inner City Tenants Association falls) reflects how this service delivery initiative of JPC is negative on the poor. The inner

city forum states in its response to BBP that the programme will worsen against poverty in the inner city.

The process of targeting Bad Buildings, so far some 235, that have 'little commercial value', avoids dealing with the problems of the tenants and the reasons that they live there. Council acknowledges that some 20 per cent of the inner city housing stock needs upgrading. It also acknowledges that housing is a huge problem more broadly in Johannesburg, but evicting residents who do not have adequate accommodation elsewhere is not the solution. Those evicted will not be able to afford the rent increase that will inevitably come to pay for the upgrading. On the other hand, the eviction and displacement of the poor is perhaps the city's only way to attract higher income earners and prop up the profits of the landlords through public subsidies and arrears concessions.

The Mayor of Johannesburg acknowledged this at a public meeting, stating that people earning less than R3 500 could not afford to live in the inner city. This is the logic of capitalist development: clear some slums in one area, restrict or contain them in others and through forcing lower income residents out of the city encourage future marginal slum areas far from the casual jobs and the "rich" dustbins that may sift to survive. Part of the process is eviction of tenants where they have illegally occupied empty buildings or office blocks. Yet many of these people were previously evicted precisely because of Council policies. And herein lies the biggest contradiction: vast and vacant office stock confronts huge numbers of inadequately housed or homeless people (Inner City Forum, 2004: 192)

The Inner City Tenants Association mentions that developments in the inner city residential flats are worsening the conditions under which the poor live (an interview with Dibakwane of the Inner City Tenants Association):

The common problems that we deal with on daily basis are: evictions, lock outs, attachments of flats, lease disputes, cut-offs of water and electricity. The communities are subjected to these problems and there is lack of peace. For instance, this letter is from the land lord and was just submitted to this

office, whereby the landlord says I am getting out and I want you out of my building.

These are actually illegal lock out and illegal evictions. If there was proper methods followed there would be a sheriff involved then there would be evictions. But basically is where there is a dispute between the landlord and the tenant and those disputes could not be resolved. Or the other party especially the landlord just decides to take the matter to the high court knowing fully well that the tenants cannot afford to foot the bill for a case or due to ignorance they don't even oppose. In some instances I find that people are evicted because when the sheriff comes they are at work. When they return they find that the notice is at the front door and they complain that they did not sign for those things which is ignorance. That is the service from the sheriff, he simply write what he had done with that summons and the court will regard it as a service maybe push it under the door.

Maybe with the understanding of the council it is a bad building because it owes a lot of money to them. Those happen to be properties that are being abandoned in a way. You find that the owner has long left the country, the buildings was left with a certain agent managing it, normally the agent does not care about services he just cares about grapping the money for himself. Indeed people were affected, whereby if council bring application to attach this, they bring saying this building is not fit for people to reside in. But that application will be directed to the owner, you as tenants are not given a chance to defend. Having attached that then they eject you. Now that is the action of the council through the courts.

But there is no clear line to say this is helping or not, because there is complication. Because it is illegal for council to order anyone to do whatever. But they can say from health department's point of view, this building is a health hazard. Not only to residents inside, but surrounding buildings and people. The disease can spread and must be dealt with, therefore they get rid of these people. The unfortunate part is that those tenants affected do not get a chance to hear as to when they will fix it for safety.

On the other hand, JPC focuses on other projects and programmes, namely: upgrading of Rissik Post Office, Braamfontein Werf Property, Newtown Precinct where JPC assists JDA, and Greater Ellis Park sports precinct.

Apparently the works of the JPC in the inner city focused more on area regeneration, ignoring the issue of poverty alleviation in the process. This reflects how an improvement of the living conditions of the lower earning groups does not form part of JPC's vision.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter identified the sources of the RSDF. The systematic perusal of the RSDF reveals a policy document whose direction is incongruent to the values of developmental local government. As the roots for the RSDF, policy sources indicate ideologies behind the RSDF, whereas participation processes reveal the quality of contributions by community through NGOs and CBOs. Whereas the Municipal Systems Act (32 of 2000) required the municipality to enhance integrated development as well as focusing on the needs of communities, the overall character of RSDF depict a contradictory policy – GEAR. Understanding of poverty on the communities within the inner city is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

POVERTY, THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG, AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Chapter 4: Poverty, the inner city and poverty alleviation

4.1 Introduction

“...while some academics list poverty reduction as a key goal for city administrators, others argue that concentrations of poverty in large cities are the unavoidable consequence of urbanisation and must be managed, without much expectation of actual poverty eradication” (Chesslike, 1999 and Brookings, 2000, in City of Johannesburg’s Corporate Planning Unit: 2002:6). This statement has been made in the long term economic strategy to make Johannesburg a world class city, Joburg 2030 strategy.

This chapter outlines poverty as a concept, and discusses the meaning of this concept as it refers to the current research. Poverty alleviation will also be discussed. The two concepts are then applied to the context of this research – Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality and its inner city.

Meaning of poverty

“At its simplest poverty refers to a basic lack of the means of survival: poor are those who, even in normal circumstances, are unable to feed and clothe themselves properly and risk death as a consequence” (Macpherson and Silburn, 1998:1).

Poverty is defined differently by various disciplines (Majola:1999:33). Economists look at aspects such as living wage, income and bread/poverty line. Sociologists focus on social barriers, social problems, coping mechanisms, human organisations, gender and education issues. Urban planners in turn tend to focus on physical manifestations of poverty: overcrowding, lack of services, unhygienic conditions and population movement patterns. However, these are not exhaustive approaches in defining poverty.

Definitions of poverty are not only attempted by disciplines. Three approaches to define poverty were formulated during poverty studies in Egypt by Korayem (1996), Kyereme and Thobecke (1991), and Van Praag and Baye (1990): relative income approach, sociological approach and basic needs approach.

Relative income approach defines poverty line relative to income per capita. This approach chooses the relative income (particular income level) as a 'poverty line' and assumes that it satisfies the basic needs of the individual (Van Praag and Baye, 1990). The weakness of this approach, is that it assumes that everyone has an income. This approach is clearly from an economists' perspective of defining poverty as discussed above.

Sociological approach defines poverty as conditions of people recognised by society as deprived, which necessitate social assistance by society. Thus this approach may intend to offer assistance to a category of people such as old age, the homeless, women, those in informal settlements and others (Korayem, 1996). The above researchers acknowledged that the weakness of this approach is that social assistance may be given to people who are not so deprived – such as those in the developed world. This approach is clearly from a sociologists' perspective of defining poverty as discussed above.

Basic needs approach defines 'income poverty line' by estimation of minimum food requirements needed for the individual and household such as intake of calories and protein. The approach also estimates basic consumption expenditure on non-food items and food items (Kyereme and Thobecke, 1991). However, the researchers acknowledged that this approach, whereas is more comprehensive, has weaknesses. Problems include that fact that prices depend on many factors such incomes, location, and social status. Moreover, estimation of individual calorie requirements has complexity of depending on age, sex, as well as bio-physiological dynamics.

Urban poverty, as the context of this research, includes the above perspectives on understanding poverty. Research on poverty in South Africa is not different from the

conventional understanding of poverty outlined above. The Palmer Development Group (2004) acknowledges that the international debate on defining poverty is also applicable in South Africa. SA Cities Network(2002) has identified a number of approaches to define urban poverty: income perspective, basic needs approach, social exclusion, sustainable livelihoods, locality, environmental justice, and human development. The World Bank(2004:1) views urban poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon where the poor suffer from various deprivations. The World Bank identified the following dimensions: income poverty, health poverty, education poverty, personal and tenure insecurity and disempowerment. The current research has identified particular perspectives of defining urban poverty as the subject of this research, discussed below.

4.2 Definition of poverty for this research: Case study of the Inner City of Johannesburg

This section defines urban poverty for current research and investigates inner city poverty in an attempt to explore possibilities of planning policies that may improve poverty alleviation in the inner city.

For this research, definition of urban poverty is understood to refer to forms of deprivation on a number of dimensions. Therefore, definition of poverty for this research takes five dimensions: income poverty, health poverty, tenure insecurity, personal insecurity, and disempowerment. Adapted from the World Bank Group (2005:488), these dimensions were developed from a wide research on the cities of the world. The five dimensions are relevant to this research as they characterise poverty in an urban context such as the inner city of Johannesburg. These urban poverty dimensions are summed up in the definition provided by South African Cities Network:

Poverty is more than a lack of income. Poverty exists when an individual or a household's access to income, infrastructure and social and political resources is inadequate or sufficiently unequal to prohibit full access to opportunities in society. The condition of poverty is caused by a combination of social, economic, spatial, environmental and political factors. (SA Cities

Network, www.sacities.co.za/downloads/urbanpoverty-definition.doc, as quoted in CPU, 2005: 25)

One dimension of poverty is often the cause of or contributor to another dimension: cumulative deprivations that often characterise urban poverty (World Bank Group:2005). For this research, income poverty is seen as the first deprivation leading to above-mentioned deprivations (dimensions) identified for this research. However, these poverty dimensions may vary across different contexts.

Wilson and Ramphela (1989) argue that geography determines the type of poverty endured by people. For instance, the character of the inner city poverty is different from poverty that is endured on the outskirts of the city such as informal settlements, townships and rural areas. Wilson and Ramphela (1989) elaborate on this matter by discussing the faces of poverty: which appears in forms of gender, age, race, urban or rural – among other aspects. With this in consideration, it is important to also provide a discussion on the inner city poverty. The Human Development Strategy for the City of Johannesburg acknowledges that existence of poverty in the inner city of Johannesburg is a documented phenomenon (CPU, 2005:35).

Nevertheless, it is claimed that urban poverty tends to be a similar phenomenon across the world (Narayan, Patel, Schaft, Rademacher and Koch-Schulte, 2000). The above poverty dimensions are discussed below. The dimensions assist the researcher in fulfilling the objective to investigate the inner city poverty, and have been supported by data collected for the current research.

Income poverty

Under this dimension, people tend to have dependence on cash for purchases. People living in cities have to rely on market exchanges to buy basic necessities such as food, water, electricity and transport (Baharoglu and Kessides, 2005). The ability to earn cash income is important in aspects of human well-being such as food security (Baharoglu and Kessides, 2005). Food expenditures among low income urban households, account to 60

to 80 of total income (Baharoglu and Kessides, 2005). Services such as water, sanitation and transportation may consume far higher shares of income in a household.

In Johannesburg Region 8, income poverty was assessed in the Census 1996 and 2001 respectively (www.joburg.org.za). Income poverty is reflected by level of income for each household, shown through the number of households per each income category. Households without income were 2,975 in 1996, which increased to 19,962 in 2001. Whereas households earning between 1-2400 were 1,060 and increased to 2,580. These households are considered to be within category of the poor. Below are the tables for 1996 and 2001 respectively.

Monthly household income (1996)	
Households	1996
None	2,975
R1 – 2400	1,060
R2401 - 6000	3,217
R6001 - 12000	5,956
R12001 - 18000	6,375
R18001 - 30000	7,255
R30001 - 42000	5,334
R42001 - 54000	4,284
R54001 - 72000	4,572
R72001 - 96000	2,812
R96001 - 132000	2,574
R132001 - 192000	1,543
R192001 - 360000	1,054
Over R360000	423
Unspecified	0
Not applicable	15,016

(Census, 1996 adopted from www.joburg.org.za)

Monthly household income (2001)	
Households	2001
None	19,962
R1 – 4800	2,580
R4801 - 9600	7,476
R9601 - 19200	17,931

R19201 - 38400	20,103
R38401 - 76800	16,620
R76801 - 153600	8,943
R153601 - 307200	3,723
R307201 - 614400	1,359
R614401 - 1228800	420
R1228801 - 2457600	261
Over R2457600	120

(Census, 2001 adopted from www.joburg.org.za)

Of possible significance relating to household income, may be household sizes. The sizes of the households are shown below. The households sizes grew between 1996 and 2001.

Household size			
Households	1996	2001	% change
1	20754	30,969	49%
2	18277	28,362	55%
3	10609	17,319	63%
4	7017	11,088	58%
5	3643	5,784	59%
6	1802	3,021	68%
7	912	1,479	62%
8	579	729	26%
9	500	369	-26%
10 and over	138	534	287%

(Census, 2001 adopted from www.joburg.org.za)

There may be constraints on the urban poor to earn cash income. These include employment insecurity and casual work, unskilled wage labour, lack of access to job markets and opportunities, macro-economic crises, and regulatory constraints on small enterprises. These dimensions have been reflected in the current research, and are discussed below.

Employment insecurity and casual work

Ruel (1999, in World Bank, 2005: 488) argued that the urban poor are likely to be engaged in casual and informal sector work, exposing them to problems of employment insecurity and income irregularity. Lack of work does not necessarily result in urban

poverty, but lack of well paying and steady jobs are. Practices of the urban poor include: selling of food or cigarettes on the streets, sweep streets, garbage dumps, drive rickshaws, or clean latrines. The following quote was taken from one of hawkers grouping in Johannesburg inner city, showing how the streets are assets to make a living for themselves:

We were taken from the streets, where we used to make profit. Now in this mall we are not better off from the traders on the street (Interview with Ndlovu, 2005).

Unskilled wage labour

Lack of skilled workers is one of the reasons for inaccess to well-paying jobs by the urban poor (Zackey, 1996). In the Johannesburg inner city, the unskilled urban poor include those who got schooling and who did not have schooling as the following statement shows:

We teach women to do sewing and then sell products. We always discuss that we should have a partnership with CIDA campus because they are also an NGO – a section 21 company like us. So it is healthy for us to get students from their campus and also from the university because we are looking broadly to make sure that we contribute a lot in socio-economic transformation of this country but using very strategic approach (Interview with Khumalo, 2005).

Census 1996 and 2001 looked at occupations in Johannesburg Region 8 (inner city). Among those who are employed, the table below show categories of occupations and therefore proportions of labour force employed in each category. The highest proportions of people are employed in clerks and service occupations, reflecting shortage of skills for higher income occupations.

Occupation			
Persons	1996	2001	% change
Legislators/senior officials	5,045	6,480	28%
Professionals	9,644	8,037	-17%

Technicians	7,775	8,868	14%
Clerks	10,034	14,229	42%
Service workers	21,322	29,784	40%
Agricultural/fishery	981	294	-70%
Craft/Trade	11,265	10,473	-7%
Plant/machine/operators	5,278	6,342	20%
Elementary	17,163	20,595	20%
Undetermined		0	

(Census, 2001 adopted from www.joburg.org.za)

Lack of access to job markets and opportunities

Lack of access to information sources exacerbates poverty. Lack of exposure to world of business and work, insufficient information on employment and market for products were discovered to be major determinants of high unemployment for young people. Having realized this, the City of Johannesburg started doing initiatives for the inner city, as the quote from the inner city official below suggests:

We also provide subsidies to educational institutes to start taking people and providing education like the CIDA campus for example. We also make our library possibly a centre of excellence so we gonna give people a whole world of access that they never had access to. Then we have an organisation called Open For Business, like if you are a young person who says I have got a plan but I don't have money to make a business plan and financial plans so that I can submit it to somebody. So then you would go to Open For Business and tell them your idea and your needs, can you assist me to put a business plan together that I can take forward? The city subsidises that.

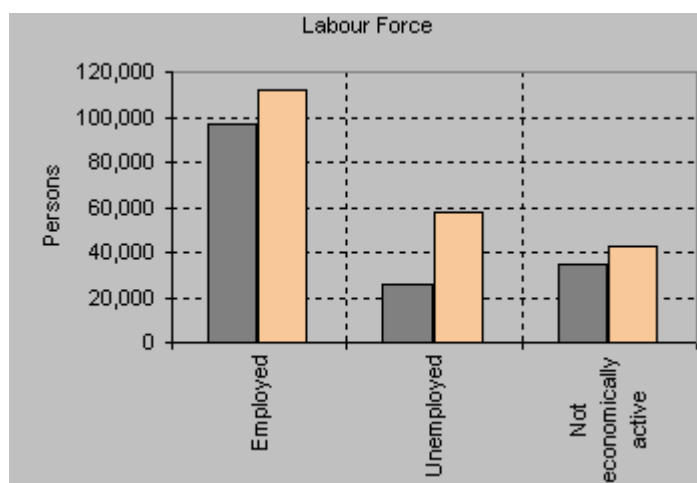
The NGOs for the poor are also attempting to improve above particular situation by linking people with necessary sources of information:

Both of them, we just evaluate them and see that yes they still need more training to able to qualify to do their job, then we refer them. And then we also have a link with Department of Labour, whereby we report most of the things that we do and then send the list of those artisans we have – those sectors. The department of labour sometimes need the letter of intent that if

they train those people, are we going to employ them. Yes of course we always sign letters of intent to say those people will be employed under the cooperative of their sector and become the share holders within that cooperative

The following table and bar graph show proportions of the labour force between 1996 and 2001 in the Region 8 (inner city). Between 1996 and 2001, there is an increase in the number of people who do not work, suggesting an increase in unemployment.

Labour force			
Persons	1996	2001	% change
Employed	97,294	111,702	15%
Unemployed	26,193	57,933	121%
Not economically active	34,894	42,909	23%
Total labour force	158,381	212,544	34%
Unemployment rate	21.2%		



(Census, 2001 adopted from www.joburg.org.za)

Macro-economic crises

Macro-economic crises may lead to loss of jobs in both formal and informal sectors. These crises may reduce real incomes but increase prices of essential goods and services, whereas reducing the demand for goods and services supplied by urban residents including the poor.

Regulatory constraints on small enterprises

Regulatory constraints on small enterprises perpetuate the informality of the work available to the poor, discourage asset accumulation and access to credits, and increase the vulnerability of workers. The experience of informal trader association is summarised in the statement below:

We have problem of hawkers on the streets outside. They don't pay rent as they are not housed in here – but they take away many customers from us. This way they are destroying our businesses. We are making little profit because most of it is taken by the outside hawkers. In the beginning we agreed with the council that no hawkers would be allowed close to our building. But they are continually around our building and selling the things we sell here. Those street traders continue their business even when they are troubled by Metro police because they make profit without paying.

Health poverty

Health poverty is caused by the following factors: inadequate cash incomes that normally lead to, overcrowded and unhygienic living conditions, insufficient sanitation and water, mixture of residential and industrial areas (Osteria, 1991). The World Bank (2005) argued that inadequate cash incomes contribute to food insecurity, which may be worsened poorly performing run-down markets. It is stated that there is evidence suggesting that malnutrition is increasing in cities. About 75 % of countries surveyed, it is reported that the absolute number of underweight children in urban areas is increasing according to nutrition data.

The urban poor are exposed to environmental hazards more than other groups. This is caused by the occupation of most polluted environments near factories, waste sites, hillsides and river beds (Baharoglu and Kessides, 2005). The World Bank reported that a wall of refuse collapsed on squatters' houses in the city of Manila, Philippines. The Johannesburg inner city official puts it thus:

Overcrowding results in shocks that you encounter for a life-time when you enter some of the buildings here, we got a court order that we got in November

last year. The entire infrastructure in that building had broken down, it was a makeshift, a building that was awaiting something really bad to happen. Eventually we got a court order and people were evicted – everything done legally and we then had to secure the building. When we went into the basement, when we pumped out the sewerage from the basement, there were three cars that were under that sewerage, now that was a disaster waiting to happen (Interview with Makda, 2005).

Noise pollution also contributes to health poverty in urban areas. Neurosis was one of the diseases reported resulting from noise pollution of suburban railway tracks in Dharavi (Swaminantham, 1995, in World Bank, 2005: 490). Emphasising the need for appropriate land use in terms of residential areas, the author for RSDF for Johannesburg Region 8 explained:

The RSDF for region 8 helps a lot in the sense that, someone wants to open a business here, it is a panel beating business and they want to run their business 18 hours a day and they want to do spray-painting, knocking off vehicle metals –it is quite a noisy activity they are making. We use our policies from the RSDF for all the town planning perspectives to assess those applications. We consider objections from those people or we use our in-house expertise to say that is not the use to support these use. There are children who sleep there, there are children who study there. There are people who come home late from work and they need their sleep. So you can't have business of that nature. So the policies in RSDF from town planning level once you implement them will benefit the poor that are living there. You don't get sporadic hazardous development going on there you get co-ordinated development

Housing policy and institutional frameworks that are unsound, which are used for providing public services such as water, sewerage, and refuse collection, may force the poor into unhygienic living conditions (Baharoglu and Kessides, 2005). That is, regulations and procedures that do not facilitate hygienic housing services. The urban poor may suffer more as inferior services undermine informal sector businesses such as food processing. Such businesses rely on reliable supplies of services like water.

Tenure insecurity as a form of poverty

The Human Development Strategy for the CoJ states that:

Many residents in rental flats in the inner city and elsewhere do not have security of tenure because they are not the legal tenants. Rental agreements are often informal and tenants have no access to legal services should they be evicted. Tied to these contexts of vulnerability is a lack of access to basic services – tenants in rental agreements are vulnerable to exploitative landlords who do not pay for municipal services. Again tenants have no recourse to action (Corporate Planning Unit, 2005:35)

The majority of the urban poor tend to not have sufficient tenure security (World Bank: 2005). The houses for poor people may be built on private property belonging to someone else, built on shared title property, built without occupancy or construction permits, or rented in slums without formal renting contracts. In addition, policies and regularizations are not conducive to regularization of tenure or tenure security. One of the causes of resistance, is that issuing land documents can create considerable conflict, mostly in instances with multiple forms of property rights. Another cause is that informal occupation provides sufficient grounds for eviction. The World Bank (2005) report that observations from many countries in the developing world show that the processes of obtaining occupancy permits are complicated, not well-understood by the poor and costly. The result is invasions of state property or purchases of unplanned land from illegal agents. Absence of clear policies and enforcement by government characterise tenure insecurity in Johannesburg inner city, as the inner city tenants association representative in Johannesburg inner city explains:

They are charged even more than. I will give you an example of one building called Parkmuse where people were evicted yesterday morning at Hillbrow. At one stage there were documents that tenants have bought the building but no one knew what he had bought whether he is the owner or not. I make an example of the 'Seven Buildings' which was registered under the section 21. The first of those buildings were used, none of those residents is an owner

there, they were chunked out and Stanrope is empty now – one of the seven buildings. How they got it right nobody knows now. it is given to Johannesburg Housing now. so there is actually a lot of corruption going on now.

Consequences of tenure insecurity may include damage to social and informal networks for jobs and safety nets, and loss of sense of security. Several million urban dwellers are forcibly evicted from their homes this year, in most cases, without any form of compensation. Apiyo (1998: in World Bank: 2005: 492) explains that in Nairobi, consequences included children missing out of school and being forced to streets as parents ponder where and how to start life afresh. Social consequences may include people's ability to organise themselves and to reinvest in the communities.

One of the consequences of tenure insecurity may include inability to use the house as a resource when other sources of income are reduced. A house is a very important asset that can be used productively by the poor in times of economic hardships. Common strategies are renting out a room or creating a extra space for income generating activities. However, because of costly procedures, the urban poor in Johannesburg opt for hawking (CASE, 2004). Kellet and Tipple (2000: in World Bank:2005:492) show how research confirms that the struggle to increase household income is closely linked to the process of gaining and improving shelter.

Personal insecurity

Personal security of the urban poor may be affected by a number of threads including: family breakdown often caused by drug and alcohol abuse, visible income inequality and social diversity, eviction due to tenure insecurity, institutional and social exclusion, as well as lack of assets and opportunities. Violence in families and community may often result from these problems. "Lack of jobs, inability to continue schooling, and lack of opportunities for constructive activities are the underlying factors behind violence and delinquency" (World Bank:2005:493). On crime in the inner city of Johannesburg; the director for region 8 put it this way:

Other problems that we had was also the bad buildings and the criminal elements in those buildings. We had to make sure that together with the South African police services, the national defence force, the department of home affairs, we organised a number of raids into this places, I mean there were four one nine scams that we got rid of, there were drugs that were confiscated by the police, there were illegal activities that were stopped. There was also the issue of people running ever closing buildings, which is unhygienic. We had to attend to those (Interview with Makda, 2005).

Social diversity in cities tempts the poor to commit crime and increase tensions (Pernia, 1994). Evictions organised by private or public landlords threaten personal security in low-income settlements. Developers have been given opportunities at the expense of tenants. Social and institutional exclusion make the poor vulnerable, especially when they cannot exercise full rights of citizens.

Certain residential areas in cites are seen as centres of crime and desolation, resulting from lack of communal and personal assets, services and opportunities. Moser and Holland (1997, in World Bank:2005:493) argue that violent crimes tend to be geographically concentrated in poor communities/neighbourhoods, wherein about 80% of murders and shootings take place. In the inner city of Johannesburg, the poor suffer insecurity in the areas such as Hillbrow (Makda: 2005: Personal Communication). Breakdown of moral codes within such communities are often noted and sexual offences against women and children are common.

Disempowerment

Isolation, exclusion and disempowerment had shown that non-material factors can contribute to poverty. Forms of disempowerment on the poor take the following: illegitimacy of their residences and their work, insufficient channels of information, not being treated as citizens, and negative contact with authorities. In terms of work and residence, most of the urban poor are likely to be engaged in casual and informal sector work, whereas they are likely to live in informal settlements (Devas and Korboe, 2000). Policy and regulatory frameworks regarding service provision, housing, land, labour

rights and safety nets do not address these residents. Thus this urban poor have been socially and institutionally excluded in work and residence. “Equally worrying is the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly’s arbitrary response to the informal sector, which probably represents more than 70% of employment in Kumasi. The assembly has adopted a ruthless approach toward informal traders in the central area and regularly leads raiding parties on them. During these raids the traders, who often are among the poorest of the poor, routinely lose equipment and stock” (Devas and Korboe, 2000, in World Bank, 2005: 494).

The urban poor are also disempowered by inadequate access to information, and knowledge of their rights to services. The World Bank (2005) argues that asking the poor to express their needs and demands is insufficient to empower them.

The urban poor normally interpret their experience with authorities as negative. The World Bank argues that the urban poor see government as an oppressive bureaucracy that attempts to regulate their activities without understanding their needs. The urban poor are vulnerable to corruption with public officials as their work and residence are illegitimate. This undermines the impact of government policies on poverty alleviation. This form of disempowerment was also experienced in the inner city of Johannesburg (Interview with Ndlovu, 2005):

The other problem is the gas we use in cooking that often goes out of functioning. When we report this, they don’t fix it quickly and we are in the mean time losing money as we don’t operate our business. The MTC does not really understand us and they are insensitive. During our discussions with government, the informal traders are patronised in a sense that our leader is an extension of government’s hand as he comes from the council. The informal Business Forum was established by council to help with leading the informal traders in negotiations with government last year. This person is actually working for the council.

4.3 Poverty alleviation in the City of Johannesburg

Poverty alleviation may be defined as a process that improves the conditions under which the poor live (Wilson and Ramphela: 1989). This is not the same as poverty eradication which may imply a complete removal of poverty within society.

As discussed above, poverty may be defined in a number of ways. These ways dictate the ways of intervention in approaching the problem of poverty (Africa Governance Forum, 2002). Thus, economic approach may look at options such as employment opportunities and programmes of job creation. Whereas sociological approach may include social assistance to the marginalized groups such as provision of social grants and other welfare activities. Under this approach, provisions such as free education, free health care, and subsidised housing can be found. On the other hand, planning may focus on the settlement of poor people, and environmental considerations related to this.

In South Africa, poverty alleviation measures have been related to macro-economic strategies. These included the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment, And Redistribution (GEAR) (DeSatge:2002). The goals of the RDP aimed at improving the lives of the poor by improving housing, electricity, water and access to land. With regard to housing, the goal was to provide well-located and affordable shelter for all by 2003, and build one million houses in five years. With regard to electricity, the goal was to supply 2.5 million more households and all schools and clinics with electricity by 2000. With regard to water, the goal was to supply 20 to 30 litres of clean each day gto every person in two years and 50 to 60 litres a day within five years from a point no more than 200 metres from their dwelling. With regard to land, the goal was to redistribute 30% of a specified land by 1999, and provide tenure security and restitution.

The above approach was social in perspective. The government moved from this welfare based approach to an economic approach focusing on the growth of the economy – GEAR. This approach aimed to increase the levels of income of the population by

increasing the employment opportunities. However, GEAR strategy hoped to reduce government expenditure by putting development into the hands of private sector, who in turn would grow and employ more people as a result. Criticisms were levelled against this strategy, “GEAR tries to capture the high moral ground by claiming to be a strategy aimed at redistribution and poverty alleviation, yet government only aimed at cutting social expenditure by reducing child and family welfare benefits as well as other welfare activities” (Nattrass, 1998:13). These policies affected strategies adopted by municipalities in South Africa.

The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) as a municipality cannot be excluded from above. Poverty alleviation statements appear in the Local Integrated Development Plans, namely, the CoJ’s Regional Spatial Development Frameworks (RSDFs). However, there appears to be lack of specific strategies on poverty alleviation for the inner city. The RSDF for Region 8 focuses on improving sanitation, investment in the form of business into the inner city, area regeneration, and location of certain developments such as construction of clinics and skills development facilities. This policy framework does not specifically tackle poverty alleviation and neither does it adequately address the issue in the document. The RSDF, according to its authors in the CoJ’s Department of Planning, was also influenced by the CoJ’s long-term economic plan called Joburg 2030. This vision aims to uplift the economy of the city that will make it a ‘world class city’. As it appears, this long-term vision does not outline specific strategies to achieve ‘poverty alleviation’. Similarly the five-pillar strategy of the mayor does not specifically explain how poverty will be addressed, but only vaguely mentions poverty alleviation. Nevertheless, it is not surprising, as the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) explained that poverty alleviation must be addressed as a ‘cross-cutting issue’, meaning that there may be no specific anti-poverty strategy but the poor will gain from all other developments taking place.

On the other hand, the City of Johannesburg’s Department of Social Services does provide measures towards poverty alleviation, by indirectly assisting people with deprivations. The department provides social funding to community based organisations

and non-governmental organisations pursuing development of social nature, such as poverty alleviation. The CoJ provides the budget for this purpose. Criteria used in the awards of social funding to organisations are that their programmes/projects should be in line with the mayoral priorities, which have huge influence on the CoJ's departments. The mayoral criteria for support include the following: street children, homeless people, child headed households, elderly people, early childhood development, HIV/AIDS, and orphans. However, the criteria does not appear inclusive or exhaustive with regard to dimensions of deprivation (poverty) in society. In addition, the Provincial Department of Social Development provides social security to people who are deprived, in a form of social grants for old age, children and others. Similar to the mayoral criteria of support, the social security have its own insufficiencies with regard to poverty alleviation.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter has outlined poverty as a concept and briefly discussed the perspectives of defining the meaning of poverty. In describing the sample of this research, the chapter specified five dimensions of describing poverty. It has also been acknowledged on how poverty may be multifaceted. Consequently, the concept of poverty alleviation was discussed, and the absence of poverty alleviation as a priority in the RSDF is acknowledged. The critique of the RSDF as a framework under which poverty alleviation may be achieved is done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

REGIONAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK: POTENTIAL FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Chapter 5: The Regional Spatial Development Framework's potential for poverty alleviation

In further analysing whether the RSDF for Region 8 alleviates poverty in the inner city, the propositions of power and rationality theory are used as tools. This chapter provides more analysis of issues discussed in the previous chapters.

- Power defines and creates concrete physical, economic, ecological and social realities. I argue that the RSDF 'realities', as displayed through its written goals and programmes, are products of 'power aims' as they are not representing the realities of the poor. The realities of the poor would appear in the RSDF document, in a form of community needs being one of highest priorities. Community needs are resources that provide for the forms of deprivations (World Bank Group, 2005: 488), as discussed on the definition of poverty in Chapter 4. For instance, clear strategies on how to provide housing for low income groups who may be affected negatively by the Better Buildings Programme (tenure insecurity), clear strategy for skills development of semi-literate people who may find it difficult to access the services of Open For Business, and lastly, regulation of informal trading should be done with objective to enhance profitability of low-income traders – not only for creation of conducive business environment.
- Two sided relationship between rationality and rationalisation. I argue that the CoJ appears with a rationality of being developmental with values such as Batho Pele and poverty alleviation, whereas in fact only exercising its own 'rationalisation'. Similar to the highest strategic vision, Joburg 2030, the RSDF proves in its goals that business growth is regarded as a critical area of intervention. The RSDF goals one, two and three are specifically identifying business growth in the inner city. Other goals are supportive to the first three, though not specifically on business investment.

- The powerless still possess rational argument as one of the few forms of power. I argue that the voice of the poor to engage with CoJ is a 'rational argument power'. However, this power does not bear fruits, as its fruition is dependent upon warm reception and cooperation of local government. That is, for the poor to truly impact on the RSDF, the CoJ must truly value and seek their contributions. Therefore, here lies the reason why the poor are always involved in 'participation' whereas development policy, such as RSDF for Region 8, does not prioritise development of the poor.
- Stable power relations shape politics, administration and planning. Stable power relations do not mean equally mean equally balanced power relations. In other words, it does not mean social or economic justice. Power relations between the CoJ development planning and the inner city residents cannot be changed overnight as they are entrenched within structural system of political set-up.
- Business has influence on governmental rationality. Business has for long time created a semi-institutionalised position for itself to influence governmental rationality more than democratically elected bodies of government. The fruit of this is a development framework that is driven by capitalist policy. In this case, CoJ did not only prioritise business growth but introduced corporatisation towards development, such as Johannesburg Development Agency, Pick it Up, Johannesburg Water, City Power, Johannesburg Property Company, Metropolitan Trading Company and others (see table below). Again it would take willingness of the CoJ to work closely with residents to change this situation.

The table below shows an example of the CoJ development rationalities, and actions taken to fulfil them. These actions involved an establishment of several business companies owned by the council. However, the rationalities explained here do not represent all the functions of the companies listed below.

Rationalities of the CoJ	Skills development: educational and business	Small to Medium Enterprises growth (SMMEs)	Economic reinvestments through property management. Programmes include Better Buildings Programme	Efficient business environment to meet the need for investment in the inner city, as well as improving existing infrastructure.
Actions taken to fulfil rationalities.	Open For Business	Metropolitan Trading Company	Johannesburg Property Company	Johannesburg Development Agency

A brief elaboration on how community participation is not effective in the CoJ as seen through the theory propositions discussed above, would provided here. Any issues the CBOs raise to the Department of Development Planning are said to be ‘noted down’. One CBO member complained during one of the IDP input meetings that such ‘noted down’ issues never materialise into any form of plans and projects for many years (IDP Review Meeting, 2005).

Issues discussed during community participation process are not sufficiently broad

The issues presented to communities tend to be fewer and narrow. For instance, budget and finance were dominant issues discussed during the April IDP review session (IDP review meeting, 2005). Thus I argue that, within the time-limit of discussions, the overall strategy direction is not unveiled to communities, instead only a few ‘important issues’.

The importance and the choice of such issues were readily determined by officials before this meeting/discussion, whereas the community must concentrate on such issues.

Planning process is separate from participation process

I argue that the RSDF (LIDP) is formulated by planning officials away from communities. The RSDF document is written and produced by planners within the context of professional competencies (Interview with Ally, 2005). The input brought by civic organisations at ward level are forwarded by ward councillors to the Department of Public Participation. If relevant to Department of Development Planning, they are then forwarded to it (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). However, when the issues arrive into the hands of planning officials, the RSDF already exists. The concerns from communities are then weighed against priorities set for the RSDF and a Capital Investment Management System (CIMS model) (Interview with Nhlapo, 2005). Thus, concerns from the CBOs are not taken into consideration. If community concerns (contribution) are incorporated into plans, that is only if they are similar to what planners have decided already.

Conclusion

The chapter has used the theory of power and rationality to understand and provide a critique on whether the RSDF can alleviate poverty. To provide insights into the fruits of the RSDF, power and rationality theory provided tools of analysis. Values of the RSDF, seen as forms of rationality, reveal how 'development policies' may be dependent on the whims of power. Such development policies may include the policies of a developmental local government. Furthermore, the participation process is shown to be not adequate to turn the RSDF into a good tool for poverty alleviation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 6: Conclusion and recommendations

Conclusion

This research has shown that planning for the RSDF is technocratic and detached from the communities whom it is supposed to serve. The urban poor as shown through the dimensions discussed in Chapter 4, still depend on state assistance in the form of welfare and do not benefit from developments that take place in the inner city. There seems to be no conscious inclusion of the poor into development plans. The factor underlying these problems is the traditional practice that sees planning as a technocratic exercise separate from 'community development'. This puts planning officials into position of power, who among other ways, use high technical rationality in planning to keep CBOs away from planning processes. This situation needs a way forward for improvement.

In investigating poverty in the CoJ inner city, specific forms of deprivation were shown to exist in the inner city. Such forms of deprivation appear to be unchangeable by actions emanating from the RSDF for Region 8 (inner city).

The paper concludes by suggesting that the only way for improvement is through the following: the poor have to be inherent participants in the planning process through a number of recommendations. This will pave the way forward for collaborative planning. In turn, it will fulfil what Healey argues is a way of valuing communities' knowledge in planning process.

Recommendations

The RSDF for Region 8 does not have poverty alleviation articulated as one of the main priorities. I argue that improvement on this situation is only possible with willingness of government to incorporate Community Based Organisations into its planning processes. As discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, the CBOs (particularly those sampled for the current research) hold high value to development as poor communities created them and they continue strong links with such communities. This would put CBOs in a similar position occupied by business, as well as overturn problems of power and rationality in the CoJ.

Recommendations to improve the above situation are adapted from the theory of collaborative planning. Healey (1997) mentions that when collaborative planning is done, focus must be on two institutional designs: soft infrastructure and hard infrastructure.

Soft infrastructure of institutional design looks at collaboration facilitated by communication between people based on intellect and knowledge. Here I suggest that the CoJ should begin to value contributions by the CBOs. This will create policies which have value laden dimensions of people's concerns about their localities. This will in turn lead to collaborative new ways of framing policy in the CoJ.

Hard infrastructure focuses on structural set-up of entities in society, such as government departments, business and even positions in society. I argue that contributions of CBOs into the CoJ development planning should no more be in a form of 'participation' only. There should be internal processes that widen the scope of participation. For instance, participation should not only be in a form of review sessions held four times a year, but there should be an established internal office that provide constant access by the CBOs. Furthermore, African languages such as Zulu, could be used to explain the terms used during discussions in order to expand on the English language 'barrier' that characterise most government documents. The 'RSDF team' should conduct its planning process in

the presence of CBO members. This will create an institutionalised approach of collective meaning, which is a condition for successful collaborative planning. Here the way of seeing and knowledge will be shared planners and CBOs. However, it should be noted that success in this regard will not be automatic, but government will have to honestly value CBOs contribution.

However, there are certain implications for planning resulting from above. Healey (1998) warns that it may be difficult to achieve collective governance within competitive neo-liberal government philosophy. That is, if the CoJ aspires to fulfil the requirements of collaborative planning, the national macro-economic policy of GEAR may have to be compromised at the local level (CoJ).

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Appendix A: List of Interviewees

List of Community-Based Organisations

1. The Inner City Tenants Association
2. The Gauteng Hawkers Association (Inner City Branch)
3. The Lamdino Anti-Poverty Association

List of City of Johannesburg Officials

1. Mr Zain Ally: Specialist Local Area for RSDF of Region 8
2. Yakoob Makda: Director for Region 8 Administrative Office
3. Pat Nhlapo: Director for the Public Participation under the Office of the Speaker

IDP Review Meetings Attended for Region 8

1. 02 April 2005
2. 01 October 2005.