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APPLYING THE SYSTEMS OF INNOVATION APPROACH TO NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING

Assessing Local Development Analysis through an Appreciative Study of two South African Townships

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JoAnne Wangechi Karuri-Sebina

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2014

Declaration

I, **JoAnne Wangechi Karuri-Sebina** hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Town and Regional Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

Signed on this the 25th day of September 2014.

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JoAnne Wangechi Karuri-Sebina

Abstract

This thesis presents an appreciative application of the Systems of Innovation (SoI) approach to local development analysis (LDA) practice as applied in the context of a transformative approach to neighbourhood planning. The study's point of departure is in interrogating what "lenses" conventional planning applies in making sense of neighbourhood-level realities in the first place, and therefore to recognise what it is that planning might "see" or fail to see in its analyses and prescripts. The researcher proposed to test this by undertaking an appreciative application of the Systems of Innovation (SoI) approach to neighbourhood planning to explore whether SoI contributes any additional perspective or insight beyond what conventional practice may have seen or found.

The research undertaken was exploratory and inductive, involving data collection through intensive local observation and interviewing in two South African township neighbourhoods: T-Section in Mamelodi Township, and Saulsville node in Atteridgeville Township. The data was then analysed using an SoI model.

The study found that the application of the SoI model identified additional key development considerations which were not previously recognised by conventional plans. Specifically, the findings highlight key social, economic and institutional factors which distinguish the two neighbourhoods from each other, and suggest different development intervention opportunities. The study also in addition identified an enhancement to the SoI model by introducing a spatial dimension which would strengthen the model's application for planning and neighbourhood analysis. At the same time, however, the study also demonstrated the difficulty of applying the SoI framework to relatively deprived neighbourhood contexts, such as those in South African townships (or of describing these places as "systems of innovation" in the conventional sense) due to characteristic gaps and weaknesses, particularly their low technology base.

The results of this study suggest that there are possible gaps in how conventional planning practices see local development contexts. It concludes that consideration should be given to what planning could glean from other disciplines which are grappling with similar transformational challenges, and adopting a transdisciplinary approach is motivated. Further research to support this continued exploration would have to address the main limitations of this study, which include the lack of generalizability, and limited interrogation of the limitations of SoI itself.

Keywords: Local development analysis, System of Innovation, planning and transformation, neighbourhood development, township economy, transdisciplinarity

Dedication

For the many for whom I hope my work might genuinely matter

For all the women for whom I realised I had to make it through this

And for all the men in my life who kept reminding me that I could do it.

> The average man can't prove of most of the things that he chooses to speak of/ And still won't research and find out the root of the truth that you seek of/ Scholars teach in Universities and claim that they're smart and cunning/ Tell them find a cure when we sneeze and that's when their nose start running/ And the rich get stitched up, when we get cut Man a heal dem broken bones in the bush with the wed mud./ Can you read signs? can you read stars?/ Can you make peace? can you fight war?/ Can you milk cows, even though you drive cars? huh?/ Can you survive, Against All Odds, Now?/ Sabali, Sabali, Sabali, yonkontê… Patience.
>
> ~ Nas & Damian Marley "Patience" 2010

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I salute all the people and movements, popular and intellectual, who believe that *yes we can* really bring change, and that development is not – cannot be – just another industry. The journey begins with asking the questions. *A luta continua.*

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List of Acronyms

ABD	Area-based Development
ABI	Area Based Initiatives
ABM [DP]	Area Based Management [and Development Programme]
ANC	African National Congress (South African political party)
CBD	Central Business District
CMDP	Cato Manor Development Project
COT	City of Tshwane
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (South Africa)
DEMOLOGOS	Development Models and Logics of Socioeconomic Organisation in Space
EU	European Union
FET	Further Education and Training institution
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy
HET	Higher Education and Training
IAD	Integrated Area Development
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDP	Integrated Development Plans
IDRC	International Development Research Centre (Canada)
IS	Innovation System / System of Innovation
LDA	Local Development Analysis
LED	Local economic development
NDP	Neighbourhood Development Programme
NDPG	Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSI	National System of Innovation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SIPPs	Special Integrated Presidential Projects
SM[M]E	Small, Medium [and Micro] Enterprises
SoI	System of Innovation / Innovation System
STI	Science, Technology and Innovation
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats framework
TOD	Transit-Oriented Development
UDZ	Urban Development Zone
UN	United Nations
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
US[A]	United States [of America]
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

Preface

This thesis is divided into three sections:

Section One is entitled *Preparation* and includes four chapters. Chapter One introduces the study and presents the rationale, conceptual framework and aims of the study; Chapter Two explains the research design and methodology; Chapter Three presents a survey of the existing literature; and Chapter Four locates the study within the application context (South Africa).

Section Two is entitled *Findings* and includes four chapters. Chapter Five introduces the case study areas and presents the conventional planning view of the neighbourhoods; Chapter Six presents the findings from the researcher's own appreciative observations of the study areas; Chapter Seven is discursive, comparing the conventional and appreciative findings based upon the study's initial reasoning and critiques; and Chapter Eight places the available contextual information into the Systems of Innovation framework.

Section Three is entitled *Interpretation* and includes the two final chapters. Chapter Nine presents the appreciative theorising linked to the original conceptual framework; and Chapter Ten concludes the thesis with a systematic reflection back to the study aims, and forward to what the implications of the study might be.

APPLYING THE SYSTEMS OF INNOVATION APPROACH TO NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING

Assessing Local Development Analysis through an Appreciative Study of two South African Townships

SECTION I: PREPARATION

Chapter 1: Introducing the Study

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents an appreciative application of the Systems of Innovation (SoI) approach to local development analysis (LDA) practice as applied in neighbourhood planning. The research is based on the case study of LDA undertaken within the context of a public development programme intended to transform South Africa's former black townships. The researcher considers the role and approach of planning theory and practice, and of local development analysis practice in particular, in neighbourhood-level redevelopment.

On a theoretical level, the study seeks to contribute to Franco Archibugi's call for planning theory to focus on "what [do] we know about our needed know-how" (Archibugi 2004, p.439) rather than what he describes as an increasingly dominant tendency for planning to function as a mere a-theoretical form of general or specific troubleshooting (ibid, p.438). This contribution will not be made by simplistically conflating planning with other disciplinary theory, which Archibugi cautions against, but rather by applying other disciplinary lenses heuristically towards elucidating what it is that practicing planners appear to know and not to know (or not valorise) using their conventional approaches, and then reflecting back on possible implications for planning theory and practice.

Based on the South African case which is utilised, the researcher identifies that a range of planning-based programmes that have been implemented towards transforming townships in South Africa have not met their transformative objectives. She attributes this to a range of general challenges and specific critiques that have been reflected by various analysts and practitioners. Rather than attempt to analyse or respond directly to each specific challenge and critique raised, and recognising the complex nature of the issues that planning is seeking to engage in in its process of local development analysis, the researcher proposes an appreciative approach through

which she seeks to understand the impediments and opportunities for current planning practices. The appreciative approach means that the concern is with bottom-up theory-building based on grounded observations and emerging understandings about how planning sees things, rather than the testing and proving theories about planning per se. The researcher locates this overall enquiry within a critical realist perspective which recognises both the significance of independent local realities, as well as the usefulness of conceptualising and theorising about the social contexts in which planning is seeking to intervene.

The Systems of Innovation (SoI) approach – is a framework which refers to the dynamic system of linkages and interactions that take place among actors (such as government departments, political structures, companies, academic and research institutions and civil society organisations) which result in systemic learning, distribute knowledge throughout the system, and lead to strengthening of developmental capabilities (Lundvall, Joseph, Chaminade and Vang, 2009). It has not been explored in relation to planning theory or practice in South Africa. Following an evolving body of SoI-linked empirical and theoretical work undertaken on social inclusion and spatial planning mainly in the European context (Moulaert, 2000; MacCallum et al., 2009), the researcher seeks to determine whether, applied appreciatively rather than dogmatically, the SoI approach could add value by providing different or enhanced insights and conceptualisations for local development analysis. This, it is proposed, could contribute to recognition of how some of the identified critiques of the more conventional planning practices might be addressed through insights from other disciplinary approaches such as SoI.

The study design includes: i) undertaking new empirical work to establish a grounded perspective of township socio-economies and local realities; ii) interrogating the products of "conventional" local development analysis (LDA) as undertaken within contemporary planning-led township development programmes; and iii) exploring the application of the SoI approach in reflecting and analysing the township socio-economy.

1.2 Problem-in-Context

As the project is presented as one that is deeply about appreciating the importance of context, it seems appropriate to present the statement of the problem investigated in contextualised terms. Although it does not seek to limit its findings and theorisations to one country or type of neighbourhood, the redevelopment of former black township areas in South Africa is the context in which the researcher's interest and starting point lies, and it is therefore used to illustrate the problem framing.

There has been broad acknowledgement that South Africa has not succeeded in significantly transforming townships from their legacy of spatial and economic polarisation and inequality in the post-apartheid era (Turok, 2001; Pieterse, 2004; Godehart, 2006; National Treasury, 2007a; Parnell, 2008; COGTA, 2009; SA Cities Network, 2011). The literature reveals a level of scepticism about the prospects of the townships being "transformed" – in the sense of fundamentally restructuring apartheid's socio-spatial legacy towards a more equitable social order as described by Williams (2000) – in the foreseeable future. There are various reasons for this: their deep, structural origins in South Africa's apartheid history (Mabin & Smit, 1997) to more contemporary and specific challenges of municipal and institutional capacity (Williams, 2000; Godehart, 2006; Harrison et al., 2008), an inadequate, uncoordinated or incoherent planning focus on townships (Godehart, 2006; Harrison, et al., 2008; National Treasury, 2007a), a lack of political will by municipalities who are not willing to interfere with private sector investment (Mabin, 2005; Smit, 2005; Godehart, 2006) and the deficient role of social movements (Ngwane et al., 2012; Bond, 2004). Also, South Africa has lacked the relevant policy and planning instruments to steer spatial change and investment in what are increasingly complex and evolving contexts (Godehart, 2006; Parnell, 2008), and so forth.

Rather typically, planning is sought after to help to address a pervasive challenge of the city (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Harvey, 2008). Over the two decades following the dismantling of South Africa's apartheid state and system, at least three major national planning-led programmes have attempted to focus on redeveloping or transforming townships: the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs, 1994-2004), the Urban Renewal Programme (URP, 2001-2011), and the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG, 2006-2017). All of these have "privileged" planning by looking to the planning profession to analyse the intervention areas (sub-city or neighbourhood level), and to develop the plans and interventions that would determine investment towards achieving the desired redevelopments or transformations.

Turning attention then onto the privileged planning practice and how it has engaged with its task, in spite of critiques of the scientific model of planning with its associated comprehensive rationality and master plans (Friedman, 1993; Lik Meng, 1995), planning processes and activities do not appear to have evolved much beyond them. The researcher focuses her attention on the aspect of local development analysis (LDA) which is found to be fairly standard and deterministic (Moulaert, 2000). From her own experience working with one of these national township development programmes, the NDPG, administered by the National Treasury, the author identified a set of recurrent critiques of the planning approaches and perspectives on townships that emerged out of planners' local development analyses as depicted in their submissions ("status quo studies," "business plans" and "township regeneration strategies") to the NDP. In summary, the critiques are that the submissions have generally depicted: a "one size fits all" or "cookie cutter" approach in their uniform depiction of townships and consequent standard analyses and solutions; a skewed, top-heavy power relationship, lacking genuine participation and empowerment of local communities; an over-focus on economic and physical aspects to the exclusion of, in particular, social and human development considerations; a lack of reference to endogenous solutions or potentials as a foundation to build upon;

and either an intolerance or inappropriate approach to dealing with the reality of informality (informal housing or trade) in townships.

In reviewing critical literature on planning and development, these same challenges recur with disconcerting regularity as evidenced by writings over the past three decades by Chambers (1995), Forester (1999), Yiftachel (1998), Moulaert (2000), Flyvbjerg (2002), among others. Planning-practice theorists have highlighted the need to develop a much deeper contextual approach and understanding of local dynamics and interactions in urban development contexts than the planning practice currently has (Moulaert, 2000; Miraftab, 2005; Harrison et al., 2008; Doucet, 2008; Watson, 2008). Urban historian, Christine Boyer, has specifically argued for "a more interdisciplinary approach and for inserting economic, social and geographical knowledge into planning" (Doucet 2008, p.50). Studies by Godehart (2006) and Watson (2009) have also indicated that there is still a need to interrogate and enhance South African planning approaches to complex urban spaces, and spaces of exclusion such as townships in particular.

1.3 A Rationale for Introducing "Systems of Innovation"

Doucet (2008) calls for planning to expand its lens to consider other important factors and perspectives, and suggests that an interdisciplinary approach could add value. In fact, planning is one of the fields in which an even more radical concept – transdisciplinarity – has been broached and explored. Cassinari et al. (2011) indicate that:

> Interest in participatory processes in planning arises from critique of technocratic and rationalist planning approaches, which consider the planner as a neutral agent able to achieve the common good through a top-down decision making process (Healey, 1997 and 2007; Gonzalez, Healey, 2005; Hillier, 1999; Balducci, 2010; Friedmann, 1987 and 1992)...

> There is a need for a way of thinking that is: "capable of establishing feedback loops in terms of concepts such as whole/part, order/disorder, observer/observed, system/eco-system, in such a way that they remain simultaneously complementary and antagonist" (Max-Neef, 2005; Ramadier, 2004) and, above all, "dynamic" (Cassinari et al., 2011, pp.9-11).

As such, the researcher draws upon the approach of transdisciplinarity which posits that the complexities of the modern world – for example the challenges of spatial development – require that we venture beyond the boundaries of traditional disciplines and practice fields in pursuit of the connections of knowledge forms and methods that can enable holistic understandings of the world (Nicolescu, 2002; Mobjörk, 2009).

Transdisciplinary thinking is supported by suggestions made that planners are not typical social scientists, content to revel in theory (Friedmann 1998), but are also forced to live in the real world of translating knowledge into action as a practice profession. Ferreria et al., (2009) suggest that this requires planners to adopt a "polyrational approach":

> The way for planners to inhabit more than one world is to develop their capacity to be 'polyrational': we will define this as the capacity to flow freely from one form of reasoning to another. The theory of polyrationality 'suggests that we may watch others' rationalities and listen to different voices, as soon as we are prepared to let go a bit of our own rationality'" (Davy, 2008, p. 310). "In our view this requires two skills from planners: firstly, a certain capacity to see the relative value of each perspective on a certain issue; secondly, to have achieved (or at least being aiming at) a certain level of expertise in planning theory and practice (Ferreria et al. 2009, p.41).

Motivated by this push for planning to be open to other ideas and perspectives, the researcher explored ways of addressing the planning challenges identified, or at least of viewing the planning contexts involved. The literature on transformative development, which is examined in this thesis, revealed an emerging area of scholarship that has been used to link the examination of spatial planning challenges at different scales (local, national and regional mainly) to alternative development planning approaches which better account for "different meanings and visions of the

economy" beyond narrow neoclassical definitions (MacCallum et al., 2009, p.1). This theorisation has been based on evolutionary perspectives – a relatively young school of economic thought which emphasises that economic activity, broadly defined, is shaped by systemic forces – dynamic systems and systems behaviour. It is a critique of classical economic theory, and has been ascribed most prominently to the works of Schumpeter (1934) and Nelson and Winter (1982). The evolutionary approach expands the understanding of "economic development" to seeking "to improve the quality of living of a country's population. Its scope therefore includes the process and policies by which a country improves the economic, political, and social well-being of its people" (Maharajh et al., 2011, p.199). Cassiolato and Lastres (2007) also emphasize that economic performance cannot be understood separately from social, political and cultural dimensions of contexts (p.154). Evolutionary perspectives, in this way, have extended development thinking beyond orthodox, classical perspectives on development and economics with their narrow focus on the agent-and-market environment, towards a focus on the complexity and dynamism of socio-economic contexts, processes and outcomes (Lundvall et al., 2009; Amstéus, 2011). Indeed, they have come much closer to the scope of planning thinking and intervention.

The evolutionary perspective spawned a relatively new approach within development theorising: that of systems of innovation (SoI). Broadly defined, SoI refers to the systemic roles and interactions of *ideas*, *actors*, *institutions* and *incentives* in the dynamic processes of development economics and technological change (Baskaran and Muchie, 2010). The approach suggests that theoretically, development is both a process of production as well as one of innovation. The notion of "exclusion" in this context would refer to economies (for example countries, cities, regions) that are neither innovators nor diffusers (absorbers) of knowledge (Muchie and Baskaran, 2006). In the context of South African townships, this conceptualisation would reframe the township transformation challenge not only as a

physical one, but also as having to do with their relative inclusion or exclusion in the systemic processes of production and innovation.

The concept of SoI is increasingly referred to in relation to ideas about transformative development (Muchie & Baskaran, 2006; Lundvall et al., 2009). While SoI may in the past have been used almost exclusively to refer to the impact of technological innovation on industrial societies, there is an increasing recognition that the technology-oriented paradigm has had a declining functionality, and broader definitions have been sought that highlight the importance of actors, knowledge and learning (Moulaert, 2000; Cassiolato & Lastres, 2007; Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010). These directions have made SoI more relevant for planning application in a developing world context where agency, time and space have not perhaps received the requisite attention to enable transformation (Martinelli & Novy, 2006; MacCallum et al., 2009). Susanna Godehart (2006) for example has argued that an approach to transforming underdeveloped contexts (such as South Africa's townships) should support the existent development trends, which:

> …require(s) the acknowledgement of residents as important actors of change, and the acknowledgement of a large number of small scale activities as the dominant method of change. To utilise this development potential numerous small interventions that target individuals are required. The analysis of currently used instruments has shown that they are geared towards formal and often large developments primarily supporting investors and groups of residents with higher incomes (Godehart 2006, pp.195-196).

Sue Parnell (2008) has also indicated that spatial and economic polarisation and inequality has remained a fast challenge in post-apartheid South Africa, and proposes a re-examination of the institutions of governance that create and maintain spatial inequality. These arguments call, not only for a physical or economic perspective on local development, but also for conceptual approaches that foreground the critical importance of local agency and context.

SoI, which has been applied internationally at various spatial levels since the mid-1980s (as traced in Baskaran & Muchie, 2010), has recently extended into a

framework for development analysis in the developing world which could prove useful as a conceptual approach (Lundvall et al., 2009; Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae 2010). Prior research has intimated that the broad SoI approach "can provide an alternative framework to the study of development and underdevelopment" (Baskaran & Muchie 2010, p.37). Its flexibility, sensitivity to context, and broad accounting for the dynamics of development are cited in this regard, and various applications have been presented to evidence this (MacCallum et al., 2009; Lundvall et al., 2010). Muchie and Baskaran (2006) have also suggested the effective use of SoI both:

i) As a *heuristic* concept: where SoI "helps to focus on knowledge and learning activities among various actors and institutions that provide competitive advantage in the long-term" (p.32); and

ii) As a *metaphor*: where SoI "orientates actors to integrate knowledge, innovation and learning to solve problems based on their own resources with self-reliance rather than resorting to dependency" (p.33).

For all these reasons, SoI has been specifically proposed as possibly providing a useful lens for empirical and theoretical research on spatial planning and development (Moulaert, 2000; Moulaert & Sekia, 2003; Moulaert et al., 2005; Martinelli & Novy, 2006; MacCallum et al., 2009). However, there no evidence was found connecting the evolving SoI concepts and approach to planning research in the South African context to date.

It is necessary to clarify, however, that the application of the SoI lens in the study does not presuppose that the case in which it is applied (South African townships) can in fact be effectively defined as innovative or as "systems of innovation". The research has to be open to the possibility that the SoI framework may not apply to or fit the contexts it is being tested on. In this case, it will be useful to determine why and of what significance such a finding might be.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a representation of the researcher's conceptualisation or organisation of the ideas to be engaged in which then defines her broad approach to the study.

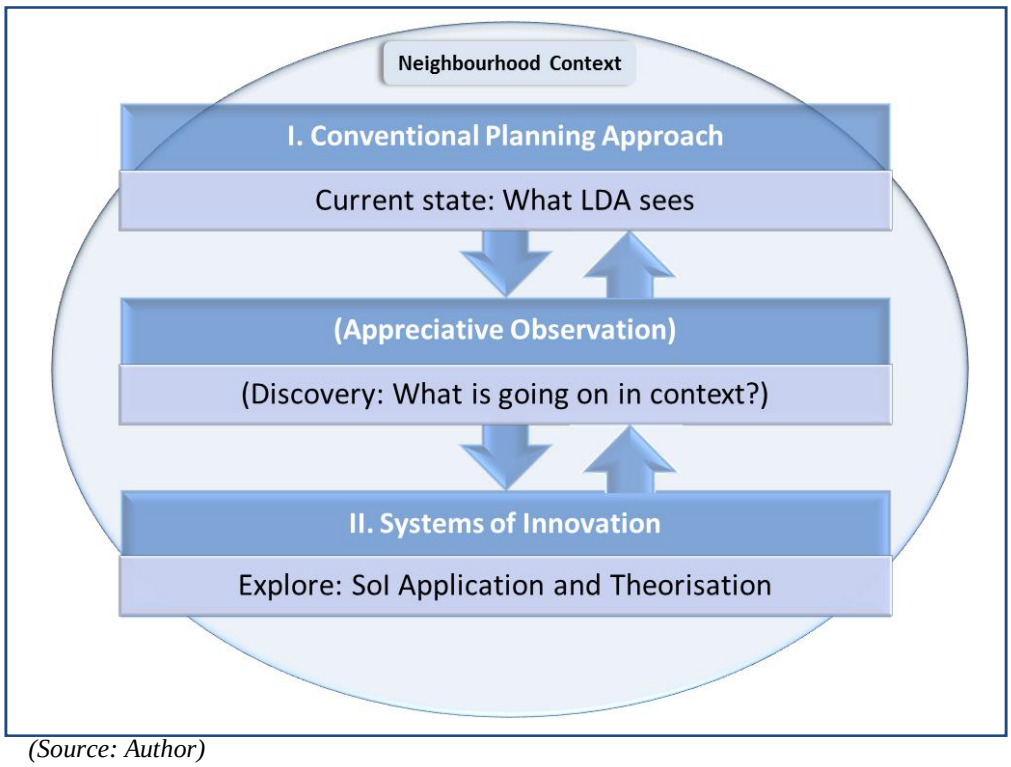
> It is the researcher's own position on the problem and gives direction to the study. It may be an adaptation of a model used in a previous study, with modifications to suit the inquiry. Aside from showing the direction of the study, through the conceptual framework, the researcher can be able to show the relationships of the different constructs that he wants to investigate (Khan 2007).

The constructs themselves – the "concepts" – are symbolic representations of the abstract ideas or formulations to be studied. The framework is useful in directing the selection of research design and methods to best answer the proposed research questions.

In this study, the researcher proposed to juxtapose various perspectives on a neighbourhood as a means of understanding the effect of the "lenses" used for LDA. The three lenses applied would be those of 1) conventional LDA; 2) the researcher's appreciative, direct observations of the same; and 3) of the SoI framework. As heuristic devices, the lenses try to establish what planning LDA sees, what the researcher sees "in reality," and what or how SoI translates the grounded descriptions into an LDA framework.

The representation of the conceptual framework in Figure 1 depicts that there are two major frames applied to the neighbourhood context: 1) how the current LDA practices view the area, and 2) how the SoI framework might view the same area. The appreciative observation of the neighbourhood is used as a common empirical base to inform the assessments and comparisons.

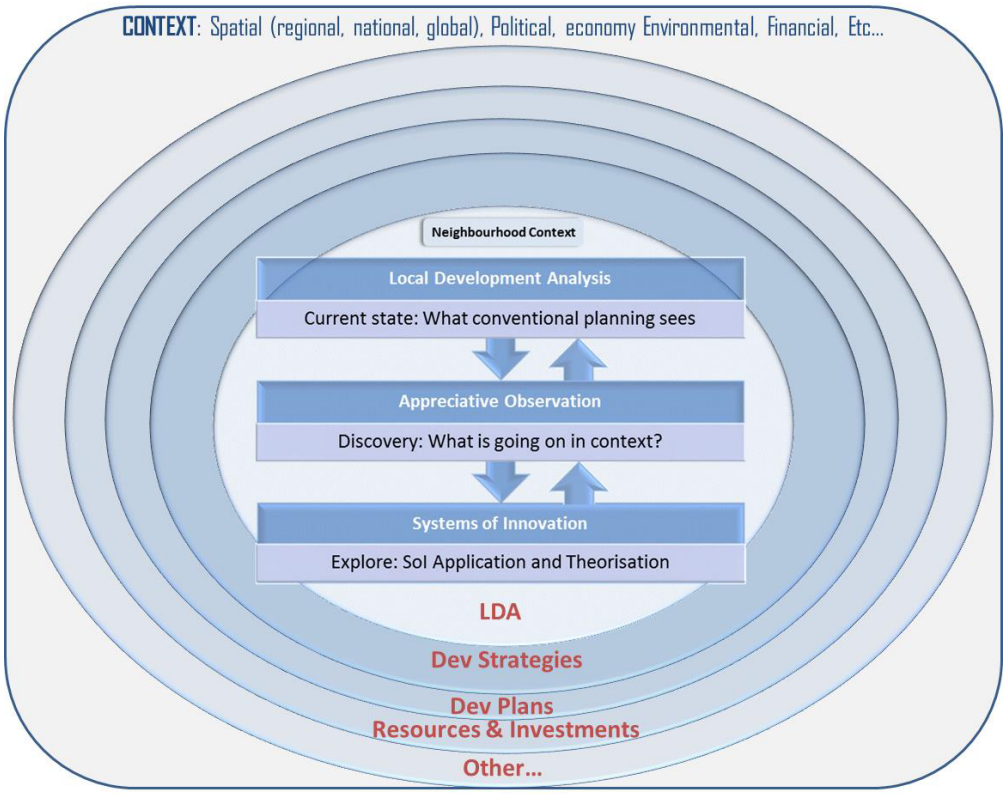
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework illustration



(Source: Author)

While the study focuses on the issue of LDA, this is not to suggest that transformative development would be magically achieved simply by addressing this aspect. As shown in Figure 2, LDA is posited as but one of a range of interrelated inputs and processes that feed into the development project, in addition to which a range of other key contextual factors and development influences cannot be ignored. The thesis will argue that the study's prioritisation of the LDA aspect as the focus of study is justifiable given the privileging of planning products, informed by LDA, in directing local development policies, strategies and investments.

Figure 2: Contextualised view of the Conceptual Framework



(Source: Author)

1.5 Study Aim

The aim of this study is to explore how conventional approaches to local development analysis could be enhanced through the SoI approach.

1.6 Research Questions

The following research question is defined for the study:

In what ways can the Systems of Innovation approach enhance conventional approaches to Local Development Analysis for neighbourhood-level planning?

The following sub-questions apply:

1) How has conventional Local Development Analysis practice approached and conceptualised local socio-economies?

2) Will the Systems of Innovation approach produce different results than the conventional Local Development Analysis approach?

3) How might the systems of innovation approach contribute to (e.g. supplement, complement, or combine with) conventional Local Development Analysis approaches?

1.7 Chapter Outline

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first section is entitled *Preparation* and includes four chapters. *Chapter One* introduces the study and presents the rationale, conceptual framework and aims of the study. It explains that the researcher seeks to determine whether, applied appreciatively rather than dogmatically, the SoI approach could add value by providing different or enhanced insights and conceptualisations for local development analysis at a neighbourhood level. It indicates that the research methodology undertaken is exploratory and inductive, involving data collection through intensive local observation and interviewing in two case study neighbourhoods: T-Section in Mamelodi Township, and Saulsville node in Atteridgeville Township, both in South Africa. It also explains that the data is then analysed using an SoI model towards answering the research questions.

Chapter Two explains the research design and methodology which is rooted in critical realism and undertaken through an appreciative approach. It explains the choice of qualitative research methodology and the case study method as being best suited to the research design. The details of the empirical work and key research practice considerations are also presented.

Chapter Three locates the study within existing literature, starting from the developmental basis for local-level planning intervention, discussing the role and critiques of planning in advancing transformative development, foregrounding the role of LDA as one important influence, and presenting key critiques that ultimately question the ability of conventional LDA practices to adequately help us in understanding and analysing neighbourhoods within their unique historical (time), geographical (space), and dimensional (complexity) contexts in order to develop relevant and effective plans. On this basis, the researcher presents the rationale for seeking solutions beyond the theories and tools of the planning discipline, and then introduces and contextualises the SoI approach as heuristically useful for the study's examination.

Chapter Four introduces the study context and, importantly, locates Chapter Three's theoretical discussions of transformative development, planning, and planning practice critique within the South African context. Specifically, it articulates and evidences a "six-point critique" of planning which is posited as part of the study rationale. The chapter also begins to point to gaps in the literature. In particular, applications of SoI to urban planning practice in the context of developing countries were found to be absent.

The second set of chapters in the thesis is grouped into the *Findings* section. *Chapter Five* introduces the case study areas and presents, based on key documents, the conventional LDA depictions of the neighbourhoods. The LDA documents for the two areas reflect generally undifferentiated depictions, and recommendations only for capital (physical) improvements and further, mainly technical, studies.

Chapter Six then presents the detailed observations and findings from the researcher's fieldwork. These reflect two neighbourhoods that, on the face of it, have many similar issues and qualities which relate to their legacy of exclusion and underdevelopment. However, the rich descriptions also depict much that is unique and textured about what is going on in these areas.

Chapter Seven reflects on the relationship between the LDA findings and the observations using the study's initial "6-point critique" as a frame. The chapter also draws in additional information and insights gained through supplementary interviews and studies. The general as well as the nuanced aspects of the contexts, and how these are treated or seen, begin to emerge as being significant in considering the efficacy of LDA in relation to transformative development goals.

When the local characteristics are placed into the SoI framework in *Chapter Eight*, what emerges is differentiated development planning opportunities for intervention in the two neighbourhoods. While both neighbourhoods emerge as very weak SoIs in terms of their performance against the framework's criteria, particularly in technological terms, the two neighbourhoods demonstrate different relative strengths. This is considered to be a significant finding. In addition, the process of applying the SoI model concludes with the identification of an important gap in the model for planning application, this being that of spatiality.

Finally, there is a concluding section on *Interpretation*. The appreciative theorisation that follows in *Chapter Nine* narrows back to the study's conceptual frame, specifically seeking to determine what the contribution of the SoI application might be, and what has emerged about how planning theory and LDA practice see neighbourhoods.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis with a systematic reflection back to the study aims, and forward to what the implications of the study might be. Overall, it concludes that the application of the SoI model identified additional key development considerations which were not previously recognised by conventional plans. Specifically, the study demonstrates that LDA overlooked some key social, economic and institutional factors which distinguished the two neighbourhoods from each other, and suggested different development intervention opportunities. At the same time, however, the study also demonstrated the difficulty of applying the SoI framework to relatively deprived neighbourhood contexts, such as those in South

African black townships (or of describing these places as “systems of innovation” in the conventional sense) due to the gaps and weaknesses they suffer, characteristic of a legacy of underdevelopment. This manifests itself in fundamental challenges such as a low technology base and weak human capital base.

The results of this study confirm that there may indeed be gaps in how conventional planning practice sees local neighbourhoods, and begin to identify examples and implications of this. The study concludes that consideration should be given to what planning could glean from other new and evolving development theories and methodologies which are also grappling with the complexities of neighbourhoods and the big transformational challenges. Further research to support this continued exploration would have to address some of the main limitations of this study, which include the lack of generalisability, and limited interrogation of the limitations of SoI itself as a framework for analysing underdeveloped contexts.

1.8 Significance of the Study and Contribution to Knowledge

The study aims to contribute both to planning theorisation and practice by identifying specific gaps and opportunities that might enhance their efficacy. Specifically, the general urban concern with driving transformative development from a neighbourhood level up requires critical reflection and understanding of the kinds of contextualised, robust planning processes and analyses that can deliver meaningful answers to development questions. The identification of the need and some specific opportunities to enhance LDA is therefore a significant finding.

To achieve an understanding of the complex realities of development contexts and challenges, modern scholars have proposed the contravention of disciplinary boundaries by advocating transdisciplinary approaches. While this study does not claim to be transdisciplinary in its methodology or research design, it does contribute to the desired openness and holism of the approach by synthesising research and

integrating knowledge from different disciplinary perspectives. Applying the SoI approach to urban planning in South Africa is also a unique and important contribution. It also opens new trajectories for further research by proposing alternative conceptual approaches for analysing low-income neighbourhoods.

The study also makes a contribution to empirical research. Various scholars have written about the need for greater understanding and learning on an empirical and practical level in order to ground our developmental theorizations in context (Nelson, 2007; Muchie & Baskaran, 2009). The study provides a rich set of study data from its appreciative fieldwork and explorations.

Chapter 2: Research Design and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Easterby-Smith et al. (1990, p.21) define *research design* as "... the overall configuration of a piece of research: what kind of evidence is gathered from where, and how such evidence is interpreted in order to provide good answers to the basic research question[s]". This section outlines the key approaches that the researcher proposes to employ in conducting the research study towards answering the research questions through the proposed conceptual framework.

2.2 Epistemological Foundations

Epistemology in research refers to the ways of knowing; how the nature of knowledge is determined, and how it is acquired. In this study, where the researcher is seeking to understand how a practice could be improved by considering other disciplinary perspectives, it is considered that the knowledge will be derived through an inductive approach – that is, using observation and experimentation as the basis for interpretation and theorisation (Babbie & Mouton 2010, p.273).

Three main foundations have been used in constructing the research design: critical realism as the philosophical basis, appreciative theorisation as a principal approach, and an experimental methodology – *DEMOLOGOS* – as a contributing element to the analytical frame.

2.2.1 Critical Realism as the Philosophical approach

Influenced by the works of Frank Moulaert and his contemporaries, the researcher adopts a critical realist approach as being integral to understanding socio-economic development as complex and multidimensional (Martinelli & Novy, 2006).

Critical realism, a philosophical approach to science based on the writings of Roy Bhaskar, insists that reality, but also some concepts, matter (Bhaskar, 1991; Archer et al., 1998). It rejects approaches that are purely deductivist (that is, that use "top-down" reasoning that draw inferences about particular instances from generally-held laws or principles) and empiricist (that is, the theory that knowledge is derived only from observation and experience). It does this on the basis that there are social realities that exist independently of our human knowledge (that is, that there are realities beyond the objects and events that we can sense and experience; this for example explains the failures of mainstream economics to account for economic realities as discussed by Fleetwood, 1999). At the same time, critical realism recognises the possibility and value of socially produced knowledge through experimentation and the study of causality, towards conceptualisation and theorisation (Archer et al., 1998).

As a philosophical approach, critical realism insists that context matters and that social contexts are particularly complex. Therefore data collection should preferably be multidimensional, including observable data as well as the continual pursuit of meanings and significance (Pawson & Tilley, 2004). Importantly for this researcher critical realism also posits that objective critique can be used *to motivate social change* (Collier, 1994; Pawson & Tilley, 2004). This is ultimately the objective of the transformative planning project described by Williams (2000).

In contrast to other approaches (for example positivist, empiricist, deductive, or formalist), the critical realist approach taken considers the generation of knowledge to be a social activity that demands different kinds of reasoning (inductive, deductive, abductive, retroductive) in order to recognise and analyse the various domains of reality and identify or explain the relationship between experiences, events and mechanisms (Jeppesen 2005; Pawson & Tilley 2004).

Critical realism is adopted for this study as what Pawson and Tilley refer to as "a 'logic of inquiry' that generates distinctive research strategies and designs" (2004,

p.10) rather than as a research technique. It on the basis of this critical realist approach therefore that the appreciative approach is motivated as being relevant to the research design.

2.2.2 An Appreciative Approach

The appreciative approach is further proposed as an important principle to ensure a grounded interpretation and framing of what is going on in a context. An appreciative approach enables a useful, co-evolutionary search for a subject's potential by taking as a starting point that asks "what is there" of intrinsic (endogenous) value in that local area before superimposing a particular theoretical or disciplinary lens which may assume that a clear goal and accepted means (that are defined exogenously) exist (Cooperider, 1986). This kind of bottom-up approach to theory building is an important alternative to abstract theorisation. Appreciative theorisation creates the potential to explore phenomena that are complex, deeply context-specific, sometimes expressed only in qualitative terms, and inadequately captured by formal models (Patrucco, 2002). However, it also does this without leaving the theorisation at an entirely abstract and subjective level by converging ultimately into the mode of formal theorisation.

The approach is consistent with the critical realist tradition within which the study is located in its openness to the importance of both independent reality and concepts within a dialectical perspective (Martinelli & Novy, 2006). Appreciative theorisation appears to be important from the perspective of ensuring contextually relevant study *which can inform positive or transformative social change* (Muchie & Baskaran, 2009), again a requisite part of the development agenda.

Appreciative theory is suitable for dealing with relatively complex systems problems such as those typically studied by economics and by the social sciences, where existing theories from pre-existing disciplines are found to be limited, and

accurate instruments of measurement and modelling are lacking. In the early phases of study of new phenomena, the reliance will therefore tend to be dominated by qualitative exploratory research which will progressively contribute to the development of more formal models and theories (Saviotti 2003, p.19).

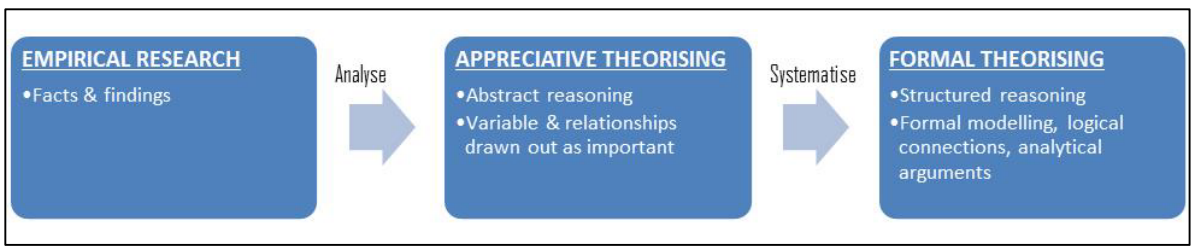
Nelson explains the link between appreciative theorising and the rigours of more formal theory as:

> Appreciative theory, starting from a scan of the data, provides the somewhat vague, but believable, account of what is going on. This account in turn provides a challenge for formal theorising to come up with models that seem to capture the essence of the verbal theorising. In turn, exploration of those models, and their sometimes surprising implications, provides new angles from which to look at the data and new directions in which to take appreciative theorising… a lack of consonance between appreciative theorising and formal theorising is an indication that the attempt at understanding is foundering (Nelson 1986, p.136).

As an exploratory process, appreciative theory is thus expressed mainly verbally and descriptively as empirical phenomena are studied and interpreted, while the process of formal theory will tend to greater abstraction "often in the form of a mathematical model, and more amenable to logical exploration and manipulation" (Nelson 2007, p.21).

Nelson & Winter (1982) explain the process of appreciative theorisation as one that is mainly inductive as shown in Figure 3, building towards formal theorisation from empirical work.

Figure 3: An approach to appreciative study

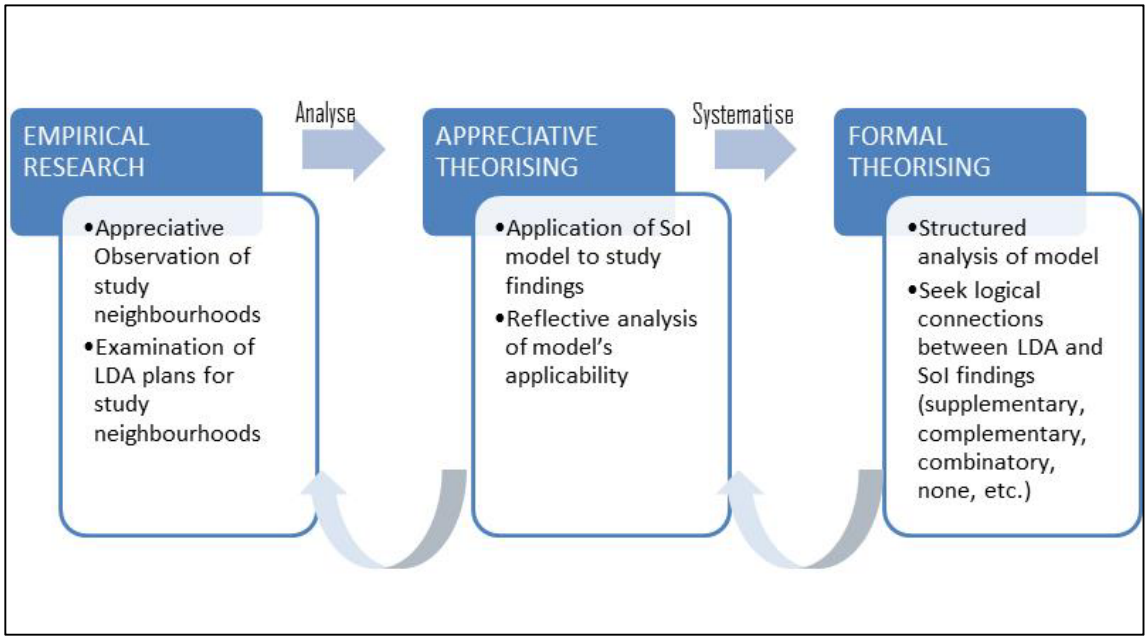


(Source: Adapted from Nelson & Winter 1982, Nelson 1997, and Patrucco 2005)

As reflected in the conceptualisation of this study, the issues to be explored are complex, subjective and dynamic. This would require a process that is not simply linear, but that combines inductive reasoning (a view built up from empirical observations and local study) with deduction (going from general or formal planning perspectives to specific application of planning and SoI approaches). The study's critical realist approach suggests that these different streams of reasoning, which feed into the proposed appreciative theorisation, can legitimately be reflected upon through scientific study and also through the reflections and experiences of participants – including the researcher herself – within the social systems.

Based on the Nelson & Winter framework, as well as demonstrations that critical realism could also be based on a traditional hypothesis-testing research design (Pawson & Tilley 2004, p.10, 24), this study therefore adopts an appreciative approach with consideration given to iteration as depicted in Figure 4. It does so by taking stock of both the field (empirical observations about experiences, events and mechanisms) and "conventional" (planning documents produced by professionals through formal processes) view of the same planning context in order to consider how the views compare. Then it considers whether additional perspectives and models from the SoI literature could help to fill in gaps or provide new insights. A systematic process of reasoning and theorisation can then ensue. However, these processes inevitably overlap and influence each other.

Figure 4: Application of appreciative approach to study



(Source: Author's adaptation from Nelson & Winter 1982)

2.2.3 Grounded Theory

The appreciative approach chosen for this study relates to the grounded theory approach developed in the social sciences by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. Like the appreciative approach, grounded theory contains both inductive and deductive thinking. It is methodologically specific as it seeks to systematically generate theory from data using a specific "grounded theory method" comprising four key elements: codes, concepts, categories and theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

A basic tenet of grounded theory – as with the appreciative approach – is that the researcher "does not know what it is that they do not know" and may thus sometimes have to build theory "from the ground up" (Babbie & Mouton 2010, p.499). Therefore,

> A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.23).

Rather than a deductive approach where previously generated theory is tested through research, in the grounded theory approach, theory is:

> …inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.23).

An important criterion for research quality applied through the phases of grounded theory building (research design, data collection, data ordering, data analysis and literature comparison) is the test for external validity which "requires establishing clearly the domain to which the study's findings can be generalised. Here, reference is made to *analytic and not statistical generalisation and requires generalising a particular set of findings to some broader theory and not broader population*" (Pandit 1996; Emphasis added). This clarification of scope is significant because it locates the value of appreciative studies such as this which do not seek to generalise their findings in a quantitative, nomothetic sense (as referred to later in this section). Rather it contributes to an understanding of how local contexts with their unique and complex realities seem to relate to disciplinary models and theorisations. The concepts that are identified, and which are "grounded" through an analytical process, are the key.

2.2.4 Drawing from DEMOLOGOS

A fourth methodological reference point for this study was drawn from an experimental project, Development Models and Logics of Socio-Economic Organization in Space (DEMOLOGOS). This was an experimental, partnership-based

European Commission project conducted between 2004-2007, led by the Global Urban Research Unit (GURU), a planning research unit at the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape in the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The DEMOLOGOS project sought to design a new methodology that would be comparative, historical and multi-dimensional in order to improve the analysis of socio-economic development paths and models. The project would then apply the methodology to case studies in a variety of industrialised countries, regions and cities (the case applications were ultimately: Pearl River Delta, China; London, UK; Reggio Calabria, Italy; and Chicago, USA).

Of significance for this project, the methodological endeavour during DEMOLOGS began asking the question "are (bottom-up) endogenous development strategies able to ensure convergence better than (top-down) Fordist national regional policies?" and exploring concrete means of starting to answer the question (Barillà et al., 2007). In doing so, the project began to promote theories and strategies of historically and geographically contextualised socio-economic development.

The multi-dimensionality of the DEMOLOGOS project, as well as its departure from more linear, grand, positivist assumptions about place and about development trajectories were considered to be a useful basis for this study which is concerned with the lenses applied to analysing local contexts. Importantly, the project also got down to specific research principles and methods, and not only theorisation. This made it possible to derive specific elements and framing which could be used to define

As presented by Martinelli and Novy (2007), the project eventually defined three analytical pillars for study:

1) Space-time sensitivity, meaning the recognition of geographical-historical specificities;

2) Relations between accumulation, reproduction and regulation; and

3) A focus on agency, specifically the institutions mediating between structures and actors, and the role of discourse. A framework based on the combination of Agency, Structure, Institutions, and Discourse (ASID) was effectively used (Moulaert & Jessop 2006).

These translated methodologically into the following principles to be applied in the project's case study analysis:

1) "Story telling", based on periodisations, scalar articulation of trajectories, and recognising key turning points.

2) Understanding the dialectics of path dependency, path-breaking and path-paving.

3) Unveiling the "politics of the possible", in terms of strategies and visions for alternative socio-economic development

The DEMOLOGOS framework was rooted in the critical realist tradition, and appreciative in its application. It provided an important basis for conceptualising key lines of enquiry that could be pursued in this study, particularly in the detail of how the case studies could be interrogated.

2.2.5 Hermeneutics / Role of the Researcher

Finally, in considering the basis for knowledge development in this project, it is also important to acknowledge and locate the role of the researcher herself given her inevitable influence on the project as its interpreter. In his writings on ethnographic research, Mafeje (1993) comments on the critical nature of the sociology of knowledge. One part of this is acknowledging researchers and their role in the understanding and interpretation of information.

The theory of hermeneutical knowledge (Gadamer 1975) posits that an advanced understanding and interpretation is necessary in order to fully understand a situation (an action, a statement, and so forth). As such, it proposes that understanding of a whole is always in reference to its parts, and to one's understanding of each individual part by reference to the whole. It further recognises that the researcher's own pre-knowledge and learning about the subject, and theory and practice will influence the interpretation.

In this case, the researcher's own experience is unavoidably and legitimately being brought to bear on this research. The researcher in this case has over fifteen years of experience with neighbourhood-level planning and development, and five years studying township economies in particular. She has also worked directly with the NDP for three years in support and evaluative roles, in which time she interacted directly with the study neighbourhoods, as well as the key LDA actors. It is through this experience that she developed a deep frustration with the slow pace of neighbourhood transformations in spite of large scale planning efforts and public investments. She thus began questioning the efficacy of the approaches taken and seeking different ways of understanding and approaching the problem which might increase the chance of much-needed development impact.

As a scholar and a practitioner, her own experience therefore inevitably informs and influences the study, even though objectivity is sought to the greatest extent possible. Specifically, in Chapter 3 the researcher explicitly begins to correlate her own experience with the literature in articulating the "six-point" critique. The valorisation of hermeneutics in research methodology is consistent with this study's critical realism philosophy in that both recognise that knowledge is fundamentally socially produced.

2.3 Methodological Paradigm

Mouton (2011) refers to the *methodological paradigm of research* as the broad approach to conducting research, and he generally categorises this as the choice between qualitative and quantitative research.

The study applied qualitative methods and analysis as it sought to develop an interpretive understanding of phenomena for which no universally valid laws or theories had been identified that could be directly or meaningfully applied to the study as framed. Within the qualitative paradigm, "the goal of research is defined as describing and understanding… rather than explanation and prediction of human behaviour" (Babbie & Mouton 2010, p.53). Consequently analysis employs more inductive analytical strategies and approaches to theorisation. Whereas the study's theorisation seeks to reflect back onto broader planning practice and theory, the study did not seek to generalise the specific empirical findings to other townships or contexts, nor did it intend to test or validate particular theories about local development in general. Rather, it focused on interpretive understanding, which it proposed should be obtained through more grounded and open methods.

These choices classify the study as being idiographic (aiming to contextualize) rather than nomothetic (aiming to generalize) according to the objectives classification of Babbie and Mouton (2010, p.272). This is appropriate and in keeping with the study's principle assumption that local areas or communities are embedded in contextual realities which are a necessary starting point for appreciative research and theorisation.

2.4 Research Methodology

Babbie and Mouton (2010) describe *research methodology* as focusing on the research process in terms of the various methods and tools to be utilised, and the

objective procedures to be employed. Other authors have defined methodology much more fundamentally as a subfield of epistemology, focused on the approach to be taken to the creation of knowledge (Baxter and Babbie 2004). This requires the deliberate consideration of what appropriate approach can be taken to creating knowledge, recognising the role of the researcher (the knowledge creator) and the existence, for example, of risks and ethical considerations.

Following from the critical realist tradition and the appreciative approach adopted, this study's methodology is described as explorative in that it investigates a field where different domains of reality must be recognised (Jeppesen 2005, p.6). In this case, these are perspectives of phenomena that might vary in various actors (for instance, government officials, politicians, professionals, NGOs, community residents, businesses). Explorative research has been associated with Sayer's "intensive research design" (1992), and has successfully been the basis of other relevant research, such as Jeppesen's study of small and medium enterprises and their environmental practices in South Africa, an area which he found to be under-researched and therefore requiring the application of a combination of explorative techniques.

The exploratory and descriptive nature of the study requires contextual grounding and depth and case studies are well suited to this (Mouton 2011). The *case study method* is therefore selected as being most appropriate for the empirical study where in-depth investigation of place-specific activity is required (given that the study is seeking to describe and interpret township contexts and realities through an appreciative approach). The case studies can then be described and analysed through explorative questions and techniques, guided by the DEMOLOGOS framework.

This choice excludes alternative approaches such as survey methods, whose aim is to enumerate or generalise to a larger population, therefore favouring breadth over depth. Other methods such as archival methods (interrogating secondary sources, and local newspapers) could be used secondarily.

According to Yin (2003, p.13), the case study is a "form of empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". The approach lends itself to flexibility in variable selection (particularly where they may extend beyond standard data points), multiple sources of evidence, triangulation, and the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Mouton 2011). All of these are anticipated in the course of this particular study.

Given that the aim of the study is to contextualise and discover rather than to generalise and validate, a small number of cases is considered to be appropriate (Yin 2009; Mouton 2011). The cases will not therefore be deemed representative of the larger universe (of neighbourhoods or even of townships). However, the rationale is that if the study exposes either weaknesses or gaps in the dominant approach in the selected cases, then a more general application may be justified or warranted. Saviotti (2003) supports this approach in the early stage or explorative research, indicating that:

> New phenomena are likely to be studied in small numbers at the beginning and not to have a statistical representation. In a sense the availability of statistics is itself a form of institutionalisation of the new phenomenon. If the process of institutionalisation is what one wants to study, a different approach has to be used (Saviotti 2003:26).

2.4.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is proposed to be the "*neighbourhood*," defined as an identifiable socio-geographical unit within a broader sub-city area. As "township" and "neighbourhood" are key analytical units referred to in this study, some definition of their use is necessary.

"Townships"

This study refers to neighbourhood units within a "township". "Townships" here refers to the formal residential settlement areas, mostly built between 1950 and the mid-1980s, which were planned and designated exclusively for black race groups in South Africa's apartheid-era governance and planning system (Godehart, 2006; COGTA, 2009). These racially segregated urban areas to which black African populations were restricted were also referred to as "locations". It is acknowledged that "township" also has an alternative global legal planning definition in relation to referring to the subdivisions made up of stands constituting human settlement establishments (for example, "township establishment" as referred in South Africa's Less Formal Establishment of Townships Act of 1990). However this usage is not applied in this study.

"Neighbourhoods"

This study engages at a sub-township level which it refers to as a "neighbourhood". These units are defined through development planning processes in municipalities as "localities" or "precincts", and typically define a functional settlement area or economic zone. A typical unit of area-based planning, these areas are constituted variously across contexts, possibly including a mix of residential, commercial, community, open space, transport, and even industrial areas. These neighbourhood units have evolved over the years as an increasingly relevant scale of for analysis and policy (MacCallum et al., 2009, p.3, 16).

Although they are generally not distinguished as administrative or political units, neighbourhoods tend to be socially distinct geographic areas and their recognition as planning units dates back to the 1920s in America (Godehart, 2006). Lewis Mumford wrote that neighbourhoods

> …in some primitive, inchoate fashion exist wherever human beings congregate, in permanent family dwellings; and many of the functions of the city tend to be distributed

> naturally—that is, without any theoretical preoccupation or political direction—into neighbourhoods (Mumford 1954, p.258).

With or without specific formal demarcation, this study argues that the localised unit (below the level of a township or city) has particular normative salience in South Africa. In South Africa there continue to be communities that are spatially distinct, located within "neighbourhoods" (sometimes referred to as "communities") structured through apartheid and post-apartheid processes which have determined their effective differences in constitution, development, empowerment, access, and prospects of transformation (Mafeje 1993; Godehart 2006; COGTA 2009).

2.4.2 Selection of Cases

A multiple case selection is proposed, not for generalisability but rather to reflect an incidence of more than one, and to enable some level of comparability beyond a single case[1]. Two cases are opted for due to the depth and intensity of engagement envisaged to address the study questions: depth is favoured over breadth in this study.

Based on an initial review of current data and sources on township strategies and LDAs in the Gauteng city region, T-Section in Mamelodi and Saulsville in Atteridgeville are purposively selected as the two cases. An important consideration is the inclusion of both areas in the NDP, which means that the areas meet the "township neighbourhood criteria" and have current LDA work underway which can be assessed. The researcher has undertaken preliminary work in the areas to establish access to the case study areas, resources and stakeholders. While a deliberate effort is made to select neighbourhoods from two different townships, a decision was made to minimize the number of additional variables and influences by selecting them within

[1] Yin, 2009, comments on the weakness of single-case studies.

the same municipality, that being the City of Tshwane in Gauteng Province of South Africa.

2.5 Research Methods

The approach towards operationalising the study is deliberately exploratory and appreciative in that it seeks to ground the analysis and theorisation in contextual realities (meaning in what is there). To this end, the research methods planned for the study were informed by the DEMOLOGOS framework, and determined by a combination of the research topic and available resources.

From the DEMOLOGOS method, some general principles were derived about how to go about interrogating a socio-economic context in depth. Of essence was the need to recognise the significance of space, time and multiple dimensions or issues all simultaneously. While the scale aspect was already designed into the research questioning, the methods chosen would have to deliberately consider:

- The relationship between the neighbourhood being studied, and the broader scales that they relate and interact with – that is, the township, the city, the province, the country.
- The history of a place and its influence on the context, and specifically seeking to identify or recognise any significant or "emblematic" events that may be considered to have had a particular influence on the evolution of the neighbourhood.
- The perspectives and roles of local actors and institutions in the neighbourhoods, including their respective interests, aspirations, discourses, agency, influences, and power relations.

Methods such as storytelling and following up on emerging threads about discourses, timelines or networks were also already emerging out of DEMOLOGOS as being well suited to such socio-economic studies.

The importance of in-depth knowledge of the context under study had also emerged as being quite essential. It was from this perspective that the researcher early on secured an experienced Fieldwork Assistant who was born and raised in one of the study neighbourhoods, and who also had an extensive knowledge of the second. He was also fluent in all the local dialects (mainly Sotho-based languages) which made it possible to engage locals in much greater depth than the researcher could have achieved if communicating only in English. So, although the researcher also came into the process with basic knowledge of the neighbourhoods (both professionally and socially) and also carefully maintained her primary role and responsibility as the research designer and implementer, the fieldwork assistant was an important sounding board and complement to her in the day-to-day decisions and interpretations during the fieldwork stage. The Fieldwork Assistant also assisted with data collection and local organising meetings. Late in the process it became necessary to replace the initial Assistant. The same principle was applied in securing the second Assistant who lived in the other neighbourhood and had sound local knowledge and experience.

2.5.1 Methods for Data Collection

The direction from DEMOLOGOS combined with the researcher's structuring of detailed methods around a set of five sub-questions that were derived from the main research questions.

1) *What main elements and patterns can be observed and described as defining the neighbourhood socio-economy?*

This sub-question was the principal one used to define the process of appreciative observations to be undertaken in the neighbourhoods. These were done in a combination of unstructured and structured methods. Firstly, the researcher "walked the areas" to observe and take note of what was going on in each of the neighbourhoods. This was done through short (3 to 4-hour) pre-visits to prepare and strategise for fieldwork, followed by seven-day observations, generally during day-time, of each neighbourhood. The observations involved moving around the area chatting to various people, and noting any points about the area's appearance, social life, livelihood activities, role-players, and so forth. A total of over fourteen days was spent in the study areas, and the information gathered was organised into an "area file" which included field notes, photographs, and in some cases secondary documents acquired from various local actors.

In addition to the general observations, the researcher and her assistant went about entering (starting or joining) impromptu conversations with people in the areas, as well as asking willing people to give interviews. These were in-depth, unstructured interviews with various community members selected based on convenience. Interviews were used to collect local stories and narratives about the neighbourhood. Additional people to be spoken to were identified through snowballing. As appreciative questions were asked, respondents were encouraged to refer the researcher (or fieldwork assistant) to other key persons or institutions that might help the project to understand the neighbourhood's development – past, present and future. This kind of approach could be associated with the theoretical sampling method described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) which is widely used in grounded research studies.

In addition to individual interviews, in Mamelodi (T-Section's township) it was possible to convene a focus group which nine people attended and participated in enthusiastically. This proved to be impossible in Atteridgeville, possibly due to on-going conflict between residents and the municipal authority. However, it was possible to conduct the individual interviews there. In total eighteen (18) local people

from T-Section were interviewed, and nineteen (19) from Saulsville. The identified interviewees and focus group participants are listed in Annex 1, the participant selection guide that was used to ensure variety is in Annex 2, and Annex 3 presents the discussion schedule that was used for the focus group.

Follow-up investigations in the form of supplementary interviews, visual surveys or tallies (to count or quantify any particular phenomenon), and acquisition of any referred documents or local media articles were also undertaken. Tallies and short surveys were conducted in each neighbourhood to establish key data points such as numbers of formal and informal businesses, qualifications of employees, other economic activities, and business aspirations and challenges.

2) *How has conventional LDA approached and defined these neighbourhood socio-economies?*

This question was primarily answered through document analysis. Documents for NDPG were treated as the proxies for LDA, given that they reflect the planning processes and outputs that were developed officially for the two neighbourhoods based on the public funding that had been provided to conduct LDA and define local "business plans" (which were the consolidation of specific planning recommendations and plans for public and other investment into the medium term).

The documents were mainly identified and sourced through the NDP unit section responsible for the City of Tshwane. The researcher focused only on the key strategic documents: the city urban development frameworks, NDPG "status quo" preparation documents for the precinct, the city's "High level business plans" for the area, and additional studies conducted by the provincial government (Top Twenty Townships Programme) and other consultants (DEMACON Market Studies in particular, who had prepared the data reports for both of these townships). More than ten documents were interrogated in total. Specifically, the documents were being examined

regarding their planning aims, process, results (analysis: response), and theoretical foundations if any.

In addition to the specific documents relating to the two neighbourhoods, the researcher informally accessed and reviewed NDPG reports and plans for at least twenty additional township neighbourhood grants from around the country during the course of the research project. This was significant in giving her perspective on the general state of LDA beyond the selected City of Tshwane examples. These are not specifically reported on as data points.

3) *What differences or gaps are there between the neighbourhood socio-economy observations and the LDA representations?*

This was an analytical and discursive process which involved comparison of the findings from the two prior questions. For this, the documentary and appreciative findings were supplemented with key informant interviews and secondary documentary reviews through which specific information and expert opinion was solicited in relation to the "six-point" framework of critique identified from the literature and researcher's experience. The researcher interviewed six key planning role-players, five of whom had direct involvement with NDPG, and one who has had vast and related experience. Specifically, the informants comprised the former NDPG unit head, two of the City of Tshwane's project directors, two of the planners who had been involved at key stages of developing the NDPG plans and studies for the two areas (one early participant in local planning for both areas, and one who was brought in later to help develop a broader regeneration strategy for the city upon NDP's insistence). For objectivity's sake, a sixth planner with many years of experience in one of the biggest township flagship programmes in the same province (though for a different city and township) was co-opted from a different city (Johannesburg).

The informants are listed in Annex 1. Each informant was contacted by email to introduce the project, and in-person appointments scheduled with them. The length of interviews ranged from two to four hours, averaging about two-and-a-half hours, and aimed to obtain the informants' views on the state of planning and LDA as applied to townships and their transformative potential. Although the interviews were semi-structured (the guiding questions are presented in Annex 4), they were treated conversationally and typically tended to snowball into issues of particular interest or emphasis for the respective respondent.

In addition, evaluations of prior area-based initiatives were reviewed. The focus was on three key programmes: the Special Integrated Presidential Projects, the Urban Renewal Programme, and Area-based Management programme in eThekwini (these programmes are introduced in Section 4.4).

4) *Can the Systems of Innovation approach be used to effectively depict township neighbourhood socio-economies?*

This was an experimental process in which the neighbourhood information sourced from the LDA and appreciative findings were used to populate a pre-existing SoI framework. The SoI framework selected for the application is one developed by Muchie and Baskaran (2010) who explored the development of a unified conception of SoI towards strengthening its explanatory analytical power. Their representation of regional, metropolitan and local innovation systems which is presented and discussed in Section 3.3 was found to be a useful generic and usable framework for experimenting with the neighbourhood SoI mapping

5) *What differences or gaps are there between the LDA representations and the Systems of Innovation Modelling?*

This was an analytical and discursive process which involved comparison of the findings from the SoI application with the LDA representation. As this was an

experimental step, it was undertaken quite literally in terms of reviewing the findings to identify whether and where the SoI application offered any additional explanatory potential. Specifically, where the SoI framework showed up an aspect or variance that the LDA had not highlighted, then this was identified as a finding.

The thesis concludes with the process of formal theorising which sought to comment on the nature of contribution that the SoI approach seems to bring to planning's LDA conceptualisation. The research design aimed to test whether SoI could, for example, complement, supplement or augment LDA.

2.5.2 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The empirical work undertaken for the study produced three different forms of data: interview recordings and transcripts, key documents, and illustrative survey data. The neighbourhood-specific data was progressively captured into electronic area files. The methods of data analysis used on these were primarily qualitative, including content analysis, descriptive and comparative analyses across the three analytical perspectives applied (empirical study, review of conventional LDA and systems of innovation application). Also, inferential analyses were undertaken to link the findings back to the study propositions.

The intention of analysing the NDPG documents was to focus on their LDA content in terms of how (process and output) they assessed the area planning need / opportunity, and what their prognosis was for intervention. The nature and extent of analysis undertaken can by no means be regarded as an evaluation of the studies and plans, but as a rapid extraction of key information. The documents were systematically examined in terms of the following themes: aims, method, problem definition, and solutions / interventions.

The document content analysis was ultimately done manually using basic spreadsheet software (MS Excel) to track themes. The original intention to use qualitative analysis software (Atlas.ti) was not eventually deemed to be necessary given a relatively small set of documents which did not warrant the extent of setup required to enable automated analysis.

For the interviews, the emphasis lay in soliciting expert opinion on some of the assumptions and claims made by the researcher herself, as well as other study informants. Recordings (where permitted) and extensive interview notes were taken by the researcher, and these were then thematically analysed to relate to, or to define, emerging recurrent study themes. The same process was applied to the review of the secondary documents (ABI evaluations) that were reviewed. Basic techniques of narrative inquiry were employed, using narrative categories to understand and order the local issues and values (Riley and Hawe 2005, citing Young 1984).

The short surveys and inventory data were also captured into MS Excel spreadsheets and basic analyses (counts and patterns) determined using the software's standard functions.

2.6 Limitations of Method

The selection of case studies in this research design could be considered to suffer the typical weaknesses of non-probability samples: limitation with regard to generalisation, and the potential for bias. On the first point, the researcher justifies the selection approach by reaffirming that the study is idiographic and does not in fact aim to generalise findings. The second critique poses a more real risk. It could be argued, for example, that the selection of townships or areas is done deterministically in order to present a particularly weak example of a development context or of LDA practice, thereby prejudicing the findings through bias. The researcher's main defences in this regard are that, firstly, she has ensured that the selected cases are in

two township areas both located in a single and typical metropolitan municipality funded under the NDPG (that is, not an area or city that exhibits or is considered to have any extraordinary advantage or disadvantage). Secondly and perhaps more significantly, the inclusion of key informant interviews and secondary documentary sources in the study method was, in part, an effort to correlate main aspects or findings to expert perspectives and other documented cases in order to establish any significant variance in what the study is finding, and to report candidly on any evidence of such. No such inconsistencies were found.

A second limitation stems from a risk that was recognised from the start of the study. Both townships were facing local tensions which required particular sensitivity in trying to conduct a research project on local development. It had been identified that tense relations between the communities and local authorities might affect locals' willingness to participate, and also create suspicions about the intentions of the research. In Mamelodi, there had been on-going frustrations and politics regarding outstanding land claims. In Saulsville, there had recently been skirmishes about the allocation of housing and recent evictions of informal traders. Such dynamics are unfortunately typical in many South African townships, and therefore difficult to avoid. The research mitigated this risk by being transparent about the study's purpose and design, as well as by securing formal approvals from National Treasury, and by seeking the advice and endorsement of other local informants and stakeholders. The selection of local fieldwork assistants was also important in securing access and navigating the research in a contextually sensitive way.

While these tactics generally worked, it did not always allow for the desired engagement. The most significant deviation was that it was ultimately not possible to secure a planned focus group session in Atteridgeville because local people were not willing to participate in it. This seems to have been related to recent conflict between the community residents, local representative structures, and local authorities. However, there were enough people willing to give individual interviews instead.

2.7 Ethical Considerations

The study's empirical work was carefully planned to address any ethical risks, mainly that of participants misunderstanding the scope of the study and expecting benefits or official interventions to follow. No direct or personal risks were envisaged for study subjects and participants.

Two rounds of ethical review were undertaken to clear the project and its detailed methods and instruments:

1) An Ethical Clearance Application was submitted and approved unconditionally by the Wits Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). The approval details are: **Protocol Number H120617 (Karuri-Sebina) Clearance Certificate, Date issued: 08 August 2012**.

2) In addition, as part of fieldwork funding support received from the Institute for Economic Research on Innovation at Tshwane University of Technology and the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC) for the study, an application review for ethical considerations was also undertaken and approved.

Some of the specific measures undertaken in the study as standard good practices for ethical research included: institutional notifications and approvals, informed consent, and non-attribution.

Chapter 3: Reviewing and Locating the Literature

> "Who wants smart technocrats sitting in their offices telling us what is best for us? Planning is a violence visited on the individual, forcing them into parameters devised by planners."
>
> ~Steven Friedman, at launch of Marie Huchzermeyer's *Cities with 'Slums'*, 2011

3.1 Introduction

The following set of sections presents a survey of literature relating to the subject of this study which is seeking to explore how urban planning approaches could enhance their transformative potential in the context of analysing low-income neighbourhoods. This is undertaken in three sections.

The first section relates to developmental theories and approaches to local planning. It begins by considering perspectives on the role of planning in thinking about neighbourhood development and local transformation. This is taken further to consider the lens(es) that planning practice has used in the process of local development analysis. The relative strengths or successes and weaknesses of these are considered in relation to the consequent transformative potential of planning-based intervention. This section concludes with a motivation that an appreciative examination of alternative lenses might be instructive, based on arguments for the relevance of a transdisciplinary approach in this circumstance.

In the second section, the researcher introduces the systems of innovation approach as a theory, and also as offering a useful heuristic device for the exploration.

In the third and final section, a motivation for an appreciative approach is made within a cautionary discussion.

3.2 Transforming Urban Neighbourhoods through Planning

This section presents a developmental discussion about the role of urban planning in neighbourhood development planning. A range of associated literature is drawn upon to indicate and situate the role, challenges and opportunities for Planning in relation to the notion of transformation. It is necessary to open this presentation with the recognition that there exists a vast literature on development, largely outside of the Planning discipline. Other development fields such as sociology, economics, and development studies have tended to emphasise the broader development discourses. It is not a realistic goal, nor is it the intention, for this section to seek to summarise this rich and long diversity of development theorisation and from all possible perspectives, but rather to reflect on the aspects of it that speak to the thesis subject.

3.2.1 Perspectives on [Urban] Development and Underdevelopment

The challenges and failures over the past four decades of national and international policies and interventions intended to reduce poverty, exclusion and inequality or, alternatively, intended to enable the agency of those that might seek to do so have been widely written about (Scott 1999; Moulaert 2000; Davis 2004; Watson 2009). Esteva (1992) and Ranis (2004) have systematically mapped through the landscapes of development thinking and associated development policy from the second half of the 20th century in seeking to understand why. Starting from the invention of "underdevelopment" (US President Harry Truman's "point four" in 1949[2]), the story spans from classical notions of "trickle down" theory in the 1950s

[2] "…fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas… the old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit – has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing" (Harry S. Truman, Inaugural address, Thursday, January 20, 1949).

(the idea that the development of the wealthier segments of the economy will eventually pass down to the poorer echelons of society by improving the broader economy), to a focus on basic needs in the 1960s and 1970s, the misguided promises of structural adjustment in the 1980s, to the protracted duel between human development and growth agendas, coloured with sustainability concerns, over the past two decades. Authors such as Richard Chambers (1987), Manfred Max-Neef (1991) and Amartya Sen (2000) have developed influential ideas and theories in the more recent periods regarding the critical importance – and absence – of human-centred, outcome-based approaches to development.

The broad categories of influence on development thought alongside the broad evolution of planning approaches are summarised in Table 1. Although the exact theoretical and philosophical associations may be arguable, what is evidently depicted in this range is that the analyses of the meanings of development, and correspondingly the reasons for pervasive underdevelopment, vary widely depending on the perspective taken. Embedded in the theories and their underlying world views are a set of assumptions or concepts about what is important and navigable in the fundamental notions of progress and a better life. These range from positivist and functionalist ideas about development framed in terms of economic growth and capital formation, or development as being staged through scientific and technological advancement, to notions about the social construction of meaning and knowledge, to more normative approaches that consider broader equity and societal concerns, to approaches that emphasize plurality in outcomes and approaches. Also, while some of these clearly focus on the means of development (the *instrumental* role, referred to by Sen, 1999), others such as the more classical approaches clearly focus more on the ends of development (Sen's *terminal* role).

Table 1: Headline development perspectives and planning approaches

BROAD CATEGORY	KEY THEORISTS / DISCOURSES	PLANNING APPROACHES
Classical & Liberal theories	Adam Smith (Utilitarianism) Emile Durkheim (Modernisation) John Maynard Keynes (Keynesian economics) Milton Friedman (Monetarism)	Rational-Comprehensive planning (Mannheim & Banfield) Incremental Theory (Lindblom) Communicative planning (Habermas)
Structural theories	Karl Marx (Political economy) Raul Prebisch, Hans Singer **(**Dependency)	Planning as policy analysis (Forester) Advocacy (Davidoff)
Post-structuralist / Alternative development	Michel Foucault (Critical theory) Sustainable development (UN WCED) Amartya Sen (Capabilities approach) Manfred Max-Neef (Human-scale Development)	New Urbanism (Calthorpe, Duany) Critical planning (Flyvbjerg) Pragmatism (Hoch) Radical planning (Grabow and Heskin) Transactive planning (Friedman)
Anti-development	Wolfgang Sachs, Arturo Escobar, Gustav Esteva (Post-development) Mogobe Ramose (Ubuntu Economics)	Participatory planning (Innes) Just-city (Harvey) Appreciative enquiry (Cooperrider)

Source: Author

3.2.2 Development as Transformation / "Transformative planning"

This study is founded on the idea that planning can be transformative. The notion of "transformative planning" does not appear in the literature to be established as an actual or independent theory of planning. However, there are significant references to the idea of it which are useful for this endeavour.

In defining radical planning, John Friedmann refers to its grounding in an open and evolutionary "transformative theory" which he defines as:

"A set of complexly related statements about the world that:

1) Focuses on the structural problems of capitalist society viewed in a global context – problems such as racism, patriarchy, class domination, resource degradation, impoverishment, exploitation, and alienation;
2) Provides a critical interpretation of existing reality, emphasizing those relations that, from period to period, reproduce the dark underside of the system; Charts, in a historical, forward-looking perspective, the probably future course of the problem, assuming the absence of countervailing, transformative struggles;
3) Elaborates images of a preferred outcome based on an emancipatory practice; and
4) Suggests the choice of a "best" strategy for overcoming the resistance of the established powers in the realization of desired outcomes" (Friedmann 2011, p.62).

In relation to planning practice in particular, Friedmann suggests that it is through continuous reflection on the transformative theory that the planner "breaks through the traditional boundaries of hierarchy, academic discipline, parochial viewpoint, and the theory/practice dichotomy" (ibid, p.70).

From an applied rather than a scholarly perspective, Zoe Brooks reflects that "Transformative Planning theory recognises the inherent tension between the need for systems and accountability (planning) and the fact that regeneration is really only ever sustainable when it takes on a life of its own (transformative)" (Brooks 2006, p.1). Very similarly to Friedmann, she is reflecting in this upon the instrumental role for planning where a position of control has to interact with a context that is itself legitimately complex and creative.

But what does "transformation" mean when it comes to planning? Internationally, the concepts of urban "development" or "redevelopment" are generically applicable to various aspects of area planning, growth management, improvement, and so forth across a range of city or local area circumstances. An additional range of interventions referred to as urban "regeneration", "revitalisation", "renewal" or "reconstruction", typically refer to reformative, restorative or cosmetic urban programmes mainly in response to urban decay, destruction, crisis, or potential.

These concepts have mainly evolved from their North American and European applications from the mid-20th century where they referred largely to complex spatial deprivations emerging from economic restructuring, technological innovation without redistribution, and globalisation (Moulaert 2000, p.6-9). So although there exists a vast international literature on urban renewal (UK Government 2002; Sutton 2008; Klemek 2011), it has typically been in reference to cities in the northern hemisphere which, challenged with decline or distress largely due to deindustrialisation, had to consider how to stimulate urban growth and development by revitalising CBD and neighbourhood socio-economies. The question is: Are these concepts synonymous with "transformation?" This study locates its concern in a much more fundamental concern with "transformation." John J. Williams (2000) advances a theoretical and empirical clarification of the urban "transformation" concept as uniquely applied to post-apartheid South Africa. He describes transformation in this context as aiming to facilitate the process of "fundamental socio-spatial change" from the historically-ascribed, racialized character of apartheid era land use patterns to a new, more equitable social order. In other words, the challenge of urban transformation is dealing with spatial challenges which were "by design" rather than "by decline" as might apply in any generic urban place. Any development intervention in this context is therefore not starting from neutral or legitimate socio-economic foundations that can largely remain intact, as Williams pointedly states; it entails a "…directed effort to change the unequal access to and occupation/ownership of socio-politically differentiated space in South Africa" (Williams 2000, p.169). This reinforces Friedmann's definition of a transformative theory that is critical and that engages at a structural level.

Transformation, as further explored by Williams, is a multi-dimensional concept. Spatially defined, it encompasses a series of "materially-driven practices, whereby the form, substance and overall dimensions of urban space are purposefully changed" (ibid, p.169). His discussion of these transformation dimensions includes reconfiguration of power imbalances; spatial justice and equity, deracialisation and

de-ethnicization of places, institutional transformation, building organisational and managerial capability, and programmatic interventions and practical measures to restructure space. The task of urban transformation therefore is quite radical and fundamental, to unravel rather than to "tweak" apartheid's spatial and social forms and relationships.

It is necessary to acknowledge that "transformation" is not always discussed positively in the literature. David Harvey's analysis in his popular piece *The Right to the City*, for example, depicts urbanisation as a class phenomenon whose main role is surplus absorption for the capitalist system (Harvey, 2008). In his analysis "transformations" of scale, infrastructure, production, consumption, and overall lifestyle have been both the cause and consequence of massive urban re-engineering as by Georges-Eugène Haussmann in Second Empire Paris; then later by Robert Moses in New York after the Second World War; and most recently by US property markets and their globalised financing system.

According to Harvey, the city is defined through dynamic interactions and human agency. Therefore:

> "The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights." (ibid, p.23)

The abuse and / or denial of this right is the subject of Harvey's critique of particular transformations. His attribution of these phenomena to modernist, anti-poor visionaries backed by governments is supported in the arguments of James C. Scott (1999) who refers to the same lethal combination of factors in the engineering of a range of large-scale development disasters internationally.

These challenging views are reflective of one of the foundational divergences in development theories historically on the principle of who does development best;

even within the broadly classical tradition, the question of the government's role in "doing development" became a distinguishing factor in the emergence of neo-classical schools. Here, the contention is less who drives the transformation, than the fundamental identification of the need for it.

3.2.3 Planning and "Transformation"

Planning dates back to civilisations, social organisation, and settlement forms in ancient times. It was really only in the early 20th century that modern planning began to emerge and evolve broad theoretical foundations with the rationalist approaches of master planning evolving over the years into systemic, communicative, radical and other approaches (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones, 2011 provide a useful mapping of this evolution in planning thought and theory). Taking a broad definition of planning as an attempt to link scientific and technical knowledge to processes of societal guidance or social transformation (Friedmann, 1987), it is to be expected that the planning discipline builds upon strong practical foundations and has a very tangible impact on society.

Planning also occupies an important role in influencing and directing physical development interventions and investments in places; this is referred to in this paper as the "privileging" of planning. Therefore a significant role is played by planning in contemplating the kind of holistic transformation concept expressed by Williams.

The role of state-driven or state-supported planning is well recognised in its transformative role. Frank Moulaert (2000) reflects historically that different spatial outcomes in the European context could have been possible if different development practice and policy models had been employed.

Failure to transform

However, the need and capacity for planning to transform have not translated into its implementation. So, while planning is considered to have the potential to be both formative and transformative, it is often critiqued for not having actualised the outcomes desired of it, or even of having had detrimental outcomes (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Winkler, 2009; Hall & Tewdwr-Jones, 2011). Critiques include specific as well as general failures – for example specifically failing to achieve development in particular locations, or failing to meet the expectations of stakeholders or generally producing ineffective standardized plans and policies, or failing to consolidate national planning processes.

Vanessa Watson observes that "a significant volume of literature argues that urban planning in many parts of the global South fails to address the primary urban issues of the 21st century and, further, that in some regions it is directly implicated in worsening poverty and the environment" (Watson 2009, p.172). This claim is supported by various critiques that have been levelled against authoritarian, modernist, orthodoxy-bound inclinations evident in contemporary planning approaches which have generally failed to achieve positive development impact (Scott 1999; Moulaert 2000).

Planning theory as diffuse, weak and separate from practice

If planning is so important, how does it derive its knowledge for action? The literature shows that planning theory and planning practice have broadly been epistemologically guided by the traditions of positivism, idealism, rationalism, and realism (Collins & Bailey 2010). While it is apparent that most progressive planning theory since the 1970s has ventured in critical and progressive directions (Fainstein 2000; Hillier & Healey 2008), there are indications that planning theory is in fact relatively weak and poorly linked to planning practice.

Abukhater has commented on the weakness of planning theory in general, in spite of growing demand for planning approaches to address complex urban challenges. Broadness of definition, scope, and theoretical foundations are referred to in the literature as contributing to this. He comments on the diffuse nature of planning as being a particular challenge: "Planning is unique and its uniqueness stems partially from the inability to be defined in a single, narrow definition that fits it all" (Abukhater 2009, p.65).

In their review of empirical studies in planning theory internationally, Lauria and Wagner (2006) confirm that the field of planning theory appears to be characterized by diversity rather than the dominance of any particular theory. The broad terrain that planning covers can be considered to make it unwieldy and confused, as reflected by another theorist who indicates that

> The roots of planning theory… are the entire social and political thought of the last two centuries… under the heading of planning theory, we find people who deal with a huge range of themes, from political science to sociology, from economics to psychology, and also any kind of social movement…; the same range that we can find under any other heading of knowledge (Archibugi 2004, p.420).

This difficulty in bedding down clear theories and paradigms makes theoretical work in planning quite difficult. Abukhater (2009) calls for greater definition of a clear planning theory on the basis that "the defining differences that strongly characterize planning personify an enduring tension, and sometimes an overlap, between planning and other disciplines. Due to the fact that there is no such thing as indigenous planning theory, planning tends to borrow ideas and principles from other practices" (p.65). According to his analysis, the tri-factor of tensions, overlap, and confusion in planning demand a well-defined planning theory, which is deemed to be lacking.

Besides planning's breadth and ambiguities, de Neufville (1983) has also referred to planning as "a paradigm 'in crisis,' in that theory does not mesh with experience". Lauria & Wagner (2006) refer to the gap between planning theory and

practice. This "practice/theory gap" – referred to as "a curious divorce" between theory and the practice in urban planning and development which emerged in 1970s and 1980s (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones 2011, p.265) – refers to the relative autonomy of planning theorisation and planning practice.

In addition to the literature reflecting that "practitioner planners tend to generally view theories as useless in their practical endeavours" (ibid), the existence of the gap is supported by the practical experience of the researcher herself and her preliminary interviews with local planners who offered little or no theoretical basis or perspective about their practical work. Mostly, guiding references made are to "learning by doing" following some foundational planning principles (mainly technical) from university training, and more importantly – from practitioners' experience. This tendency corroborates the view that planning has strayed into being a form of troubleshooting: the pursuit of "how do I" rather than "what do I know" (Hu Thomas and Patsy Healey (1991, as cited by Archibugi 2004).

One explanation for this gap may be a question of the relevance of planning theory as argued by Isabelle Doucet. Planning theory's overbearing tendency to rational systematisation (Doucet 2008, p.54) and rational knowledge processes (ibid, p.57) often excludes approaches that seek to understand and engage with contextual realities and complexities. Practically, the practising of planning seems to be more akin to Charles Lindblom's incrementalist "muddling through" (Lindblom, 1959) than to the neat order and comprehensiveness that rational theory might suggest. From a normative perspective, planners also need to find ways to see and understand what the city *is* rather than what we conceive it to be through the usually biased classifications and simplifications of theorists (Doucet, 2008).

Furthermore, most planning theory discussions emanate from the British and American experience over the past century or so. The extent to which the dynamics of "third world" rapid urbanisation decoupled from industrialisation and from development "both recapitulate and confound the precedents of nineteenth to early

twentieth-century Europe and North America" according to Mike Davis (2004, p.11) who raises important questions about the salience of Western theoretical perspectives on development planning in the global south. Discussions by African intellectuals about the need for more contextualised ontologies and epistemologies have long been discussed and debated in other social sciences (the works of scholars such as Archie Mafeje, Dani Nabudere, and Catherine Odora-Hoppers are examples).

In spite of these challenges, Jean Hillier (2002) argues that planning theory should be grounded in practice, and vice versa. According to her, planning theory has to address practice as it is encountered in the world of planners if it is to be of use to practitioners. Hillier advocates the importance of "practice-centred theorizing" which uses the experience of practice to strengthen theory. Such theorizing, she argues, is a blend of individualistic interpretation, paradigm and a practical context.

Planning needs to be scrutinised

The normative foundations and objectives of planning require careful review and consideration if they are to be the instruments of transformative development. Williams warns that a transformation process will have to facilitate spatial change by, among other things "the departure from a linear approach of space determinism, and the inculcation of an overall concern for people and their needs and not merely the mechanistic deployment of projects of spatial intervention" (Williams 2000, p.167).

While planning practice remains largely reductionist and deterministic, systems theorists like Bossel (1998) and Østreng (2007) warn against the seductions of these kinds of simplifications when dealing with social systems. Reductionism is based on the idea that complex phenomena can be explained by simply studying the properties and sum of the system's parts based on the scientific assumption of parsimony (McLeod 2008). Determinism offers a simplistic "cause and effect" word view. These cornerstones of positivism and scientific method may have their

place; however realism calls for a more holistic perspective on knowledge. Holism suggests that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" and that "the properties of the parts contribute to our understanding of the whole, but the properties can only be fully understood through the dynamics of the whole" (ibid).

Along the lines of Linblom's legendary "science of muddling through" notion (1959), modern theories of chaos, complexity theory, and quantum physics have helped to make more believable and less threatening the idea that reality is messy. This recognition requires a planning response that is holistic at least in perspective if not in response. This systemic view of planning is the basis for a transformative form of planning. As stated by Østreng,

> ….what is required is the curiosity to explore what is on the other side of the 'fence', the courage to jump over it, and the willingness to make deliberate and patient investments in terms of time and effort after touchdown (Østreng 2007, p.14).

Archibugi argues that the core of the next planning theory should focus on what he calls the "what do we know about our needed know-how" problem – which he defines as core epistemological and deontological (ethical professional) problems facing planning as a technical discipline. He reflects that:

> Planning theory would work much better in the neglected direction of the integration of the approaches (trying to bring into the discussion many type of scholars involved in many different types of planning, which presently is not the case). In searching for such an integration of approaches, planning theory could discuss how to make connections, logical and methodological, among the different scales of planning (suburban, urban, metropolitan, regional, national, international, global), among the different sectors of planning (agricultural, industrial, commercial, services, governmental), and among the different units of planning (communities, unions, associations, 'stakeholders', political institutions) (Archibugi 2004, p.435).

This more holistic and integrative approach in the more radical direction of transdisciplinary planning is discussed further in section 3.2.5.

But in addition to having more relevant theoretical and methodological grounding, planning also needs to be appreciative of context. Friedmann has argued

the need for planning to be practised in a normative way with an appreciation for the culture in which it is being pursued (Friedmann, 1996). In the broad context of urban development studies, there is increasing acknowledgement of the need to develop a much deeper contextual approach and understanding of local dynamics and interactions in urban contexts than we currently have (Jenkins, 2004; Watson, 2009; MacCallum et al., 2009). Theorists such as Vanessa Watson, Jane Jacobs, and Richard Chambers have also echoed the need for planning and development practice that is appreciative; grounded in practice-based learning, context, and a people-oriented approach.

Abukhater suggests that the concern about inadequacies of planning demands of planning a higher level of engagement with contextual influences:

> Undesired consequences often happen not because of lack of planning, but because of inadequacy in planning processes, decisions, policies, and outcome. This inadequacy includes intentional or unintentional separation of planning from the political process, planners' unawareness of power structures, inconsistency of decisions and segregation of planning specializations that tend to alienate different planning practitioners from one another (Abukhater 2009, p.78).

Isabelle Doucet (2008) uses the work of urban historian Christine Boyer to argue the need to transcend the disciplinary constraints of planning and architecture that "block innovative, practice-oriented research" (p.57). She reflects on planning as the means and not the end of urban development and challenges formalist and abstract planning theory: "In our explorations of the city, we seem to trust our categories, terminologies and methodologies so strongly that we often tend to forget to listen to what the city is actually trying to tell us" (Doucet 2008, p.48). Boyer, she demonstrates, supports a more realist approach to urban studies and analyses – one that demands greater self-reflection than convenient theoretical and disciplinary categorising and organising. Boyer has argued for "a more interdisciplinary approach and for inserting economic, social and geographical knowledge into planning and architecture" (ibid, p.50). She also argues for planning that has "a stronger cultural approach, with more attention to time and space" (ibid, p.53).

This study seeks to contribute to this pursuit, not by merely conflating planning theory with other social, economic or developmental theory (which in fact Archibugi [2004] warns against as resulting in further confusion and de-professionalising planning), but by transgressing planning's disciplinary boundaries using other lenses and a heuristic approach in order to take a small step in the direction of elucidating the question of what we seem to know and what else we should consider adding to our sense of needed know-how (adapted from Archibugi). In addition to attempting to take stock of what planning practice seems to know or "see" in its analyses, this study has attempted to consider aspects that the authors above have already identified as important gaps in planning: systems, contexts, structure, time, and agency.

"How You Look Determines What You Might See": Paradigms and Disciplines

In their article "Some things can't be true but are" (2001), Cornell researchers Norman Uphoff and Jerry Combs explain their fascinating experience of "paradigm blockage" while conducting field research in Africa and Asia. Their observations led them to conclude that "the way that we organize and communicate our knowledge can keep us from responding to significant needs and opportunities" (Uphoff and Combs 2001, p.2).

The authors cite two specific experiences: one in which the "well known fact" that rickets does not occur in the tropics was used to ignore the fact that 1 in 10 children in a Bangladeshi district had rickets, and a second where locally-developed rice cultivation practices which greatly intensified rice production without costly modern technological inputs were dismissed as being too good to be true. They propose on this basis that:

> A paradigm is a set of concepts, linked by some specified set of relationships, that dominates and thus shapes thinking in a field of endeavour… We found ourselves in situations where a significant problem or a remarkable solution was being overlooked or dismissed by scientists and other professionals because of what can best be described as

> ‘paradigm blockage’. In both cases, something that could be seen, literally in broad daylight, was being discounted and even denied because, according to standard ways of thinking, it was not possible (ibid, pp.1-2).

Uphoff and Combs go on to suggest that while paradigms are necessary and useful in general for perceiving and making sense of the world, and for constructing and sharing knowledge, they can be also used negatively to impede further advance of knowledge by constraining scientists and scholars in conventional wisdoms, turning a blind eye to many other problems and solutions. Like Østreng, they conclude that open-mindedness to knowledge generation is critical to avoiding paradigm traps and being accepting of the evolutionary nature of knowledge. They refer to the need for researchers to maintain an “appropriate but not immobilizing scepticism” (ibid, p.21).

In the context of planning and local development analysis, this discussion is relevant in explaining that indeed the lenses applied to studying a problem will undoubtedly affect what one sees or can see in a context. In the context of local planning, this may not refer only to seeing the kinds of “impossible things” that Uphoff and Combs relate per se, but also perhaps to some of planning’s own default (and questionable) logics such as “if you build it they will come” or “if you plan it, it will happen” which have been stubborn paradigms in planning practice about how development happens. That there are facts on the ground showing up many other dynamics and potentials can be overlooked by a profession in which it is most critical that context and reality are engaged robustly. This concern forms the basis for this study’s insistence on critical realism and an appreciative approach.

What is “Conventional” planning practice?

This study refers to “conventional planning practice” broadly within the context of the discussion above. It refers to a planning practice that is generally divorced from theorisation, and largely positivist (meaning that it has been inclined to a doctrine that

holds that knowledge can only be affirmed through a precise scientific method which is objective and value-free, as does the rational-comprehensive planning in which modern practice seems to be most strongly aligned with its master planning approach). A useful parallel is the discussion of Robert Chambers (1986) on what he refers to as "normal professionalism" versus "new professionalism". Chambers describes "normal professionalism" as the "thinking, values, methods and behaviour dominant in professions and disciplines and reflecting 'core' or 'first' biases" (Chambers 1986, p.ii). So it is the product of traditional disciplines, and is thus stable, conservative, and specialist. These are descriptions typically attributed to neo-classical ideology.

The "new professionalism", Chambers proposes, is more dynamic and puts people first. It offers room for intuition, subjectivities, and contextualised dynamics.

Given the preceding critiques of planning practice, coupled with the researcher's own critiques to follow in Chapter 4, the term "conventional planning" is used in this study to refer to the general state of planning practice as observed in the context of the case studies in the study. It is presumed to be analogous to Chambers' "normal professionalism".

3.2.4 Neighbourhoods and area-based approaches

The neighbourhood as a legitimate scale for planning is already introduced in section 2.4.1. As a useful reinforcement, the role of neighbourhood-level considerations and interventions in transformative development is chronicled by Parry (2012) in his article on the "The neighbourhood effect" reflecting on the US experience. Parry presents a series of writings starting with William Julius Wilson's 1987 book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, which demonstrated the spatialised nature of underdevelopment poverty in contexts of concentrated poverty in socially isolated urban ghettos. Parry then presents Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's 1993 classic,

American Apartheid. Here, he explains its focus on segregation as a key force for the vulnerability of African-Americans to the erosion of manufacturing and the rise of poverty. Next, he explains how Mary Pattillo in Black Picket Fences (1999) showed that the black middle class remained "separate and unequal", often living in places "characterized by more poverty, higher crime, worse schools, and fewer services than white middle-class neighbourhoods". He concludes with quoting Robert J. Sampson's *Great American City* of 2012 on the durability of inequality. "Through all that," Parry relays, Sampson states that "it's really quite remarkable how neighbourhoods really, for the most part, retain their spot in the pecking order of the city. In other words, poor neighbourhoods at one point in time are very likely to be poor neighbourhoods at another point in time" (Parry, 2012).

An area-based development focus also dates back several decades in Europe. Regional programmes there have focused funding on research into strengthening inclusion within European cities through a range of programmes since the mid-1990s.[3] The UK has also concurrently had numerous government approaches to tackle social exclusion (UK, 2002).

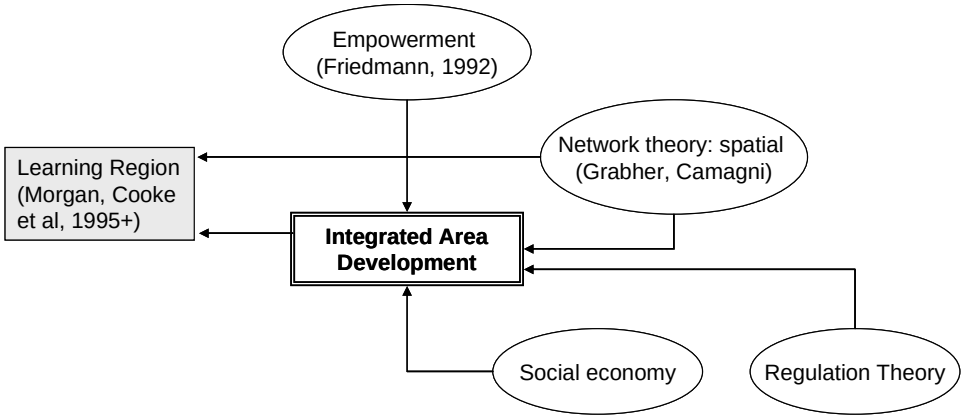
Cameron et al. (2004, p.315) explain that globally, "Growing urban inequalities and social exclusion since the 1980s have underpinned the search for more effective forms of area-based development. In addition, on-going economic restructuring has led to the development of a range of support initiatives aimed at urban regeneration."

Area-based approaches in their various forms (Area-based development – ABD; Area-based initiatives – ABI; Integrated area development – IAD) have been posited as "an alternative form of economic development to conventional approaches… based on an understanding of and engagement with local histories, dynamics and

[3]Mainly European Commission FP Programmes: Social Polis (Social Platform on Cities and Social Cohesion, 2008-10); Katarsis; DEMOLOGOS (Development Models and Logics of Socioeconomic Organisation in Space; 2004-7); SINGOCOM (Social Innovation, Governance and Community Building, 2002-2004); URSPIC (Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarisation in the City; 1997-1999): See Moulaert and http://www.socialpolis.eu/

needs… [involving] local social mobilisation and grassroots democracy, economic interventions to promote local employment and integrated approaches to interventions in various domains" (Cameron et al 2004, p.315, citing Moulaert 2000). The approaches are typically spatially-focused holistic frameworks, as depicted in the Moulaert and Sekia (2003) representation of IAD in relation to its range of theoretical foundations in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Integrated Area Development model



(Source: Moulaert & Sekia 2003, adapted in MacCallum et al. 2009)

While the area-based approaches and concepts have largely been focused on developed countries, there have also been developing world experiences and initiatives in Latin American, Asian and African countries.

The Significance of Local Development Analysis

Planning design is generally "informed by a process of understanding which develops out of analysis and problem formulation" (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones 2011, pp.252-254). As proposed in the earlier section on paradigms and lenses, an understanding of a problem is a fundamental determinant of how the problem is defined, and thereby also of the efficacy of the solution. And this idea that analysis is of critical importance to sound practice is not unique to the field of planning; indeed

there are numerous and increasing references to the same in other disciplinary fields including health, education, law, management and leadership.[4] While planning practice – and LDA in particular – is obviously not the only influence on local development outcomes, at the core of this study is an assertion that a better understanding of local dynamics and development potentials may lead to more successful – or at least fewer failed – community interventions.

Local development analysis (LDA) is foregrounded as a key stage of the development planning process which serves to inform the Planner's understanding of contextual realities and prospects of a place (Moulaert, 2000). As such, it is one key determinant of development approaches and, ultimately, of outcomes. Following a discussion of the role of planning, the researcher develops an argument that one of the reasons for the inefficacy of planning in enabling township transformation possibly lies in the limitations of the discipline's theorisation about and conceptualisation of local development analysis, strategies and plans. Moulaert (2000) has offered an exposition on this subject in relation to local area planning in the European context.

Numerous critiques of conventional approaches to local development analysis have been levelled internationally, many of which may be applied in thinking about the prospects of these approaches contributing to the achievement of township transformation. In summary, these are: a "one size fits all" approach (Friedmann 1996; Chambers 1986; Doucet 2008); a top-down, authoritarian approach (Chambers 1995; Scott 1999; Miraftab 2004; Williams 2006); economism (Mahmoud & Nayab 1995; Watson 2009); a physical bias (Chambers 1995; Watson 2009); an exogenous approach (Chambers 1987; Mafeje 1993; Mkandawire 2000; Odora-Hoppers 2010); and a tendency to formalism or rejection of the informal (Davis 2004; Jenkins 2004;

[4] A detailed per-sector listing is offered at http://appreciativeinquiry.case.edu/practice/organization.cfm, and Riley and Hawe (p. 233, 2005, citing Thompson et al., 2003) offer a robust public health reference.

Godehart 2006; Huchzermeyer 2009). These critiques inform the study, and are discussed further in a contextualised discussion presented in Chapter 4.

3.2.5 Crossing Boundaries: Transdisciplinarity

> Transdisciplinarity is about understanding the problems of the world
> ~ Nicolescu, 2007

Given these insinuations that planning may need to look beyond its own boundaries and lenses, the opportunity arises to introduce the notion of "transdisciplinarity", a concept that has become increasingly focal in recent decades. Sue McGregor (2010) describes it as a philosophical movement. By its nature, planning in practice [already] traverses a range of disciplines and development aspects (such as settlement planning, urban design, infrastructure provision, economic development, public services delivery, human and social development, resource and environmental management). However, arguments presented previously suggest that it has also tended to be strongly positivist (that is, subscribed to the Comtean doctrine that knowledge can only be affirmed through precise scientific method which is supposedly objective and value-free). Further to the advocacies of Doucet and others earlier in this chapter for a more holistic and integrative planning approach, this section engages with the even more disruptive suggestion of transdisciplinarity as a consideration for planning.

Current authors such as Mobjörk (2009) and du Plessis et al. (2014) relate the rising attention to transdisciplinarity to emerging calls for a new relationship between science and society in modern theories of knowledge production. The concept of "Mode 2 knowledge production" describes contemporary knowledge production as a problem- and solution-orientated approach that includes participatory approaches for addressing societal problems (Gibbons et al 1994; Mobjörk 2009). Jamison (2009)

among others has extended beyond Mode 2 to describe the phenomenon of Mode 3 knowledge which he describes as a hybrid of the prior research cultures which serves to produce change-oriented research. His functional representation of the evolution of the changing modes of knowledge-making is shown in Figure 6. Carayannis and Campbell define "Mode 3" knowledge production as "A hybrid, or situated form of knowledge making based on experiential and collective learning processes and combining engagement and competence, theory and practice, professionalism and citizenship can perhaps help to reconnect science and technology to the needs and concerns of the broader society" (2012, p.3).

Figure 6: "Mode 3" as a synthesis of preceding knowledge-making systems

	Research Cultures		
	Traditional **Mode 1**	**Commercial** **Mode 2**	**Hybrid** **Mode 3**
research ideal	enlightenment	entertainment	empowerment
main methods	analysis/ measurement	simulation/ codification	synthesis/ assessment
organizational form	Academic disciplines	competitive networks	Cooperative alliances
type of knowledge	theoretical/ objective	instrumental/ constructive	situated/ collective
form of education	disciplinary	professional	experiential

(Source: Adapted by author from Jamison 2009, p.14)

This hybrid knowledge system is also associated with the "Triple Helix" innovation model which refers to the shift from the industrial era industry-government dyad, to the emerging university-industry-government triad as the foundation for innovation and economic development in the so-called Knowledge Society (Stanford 2013), wherein cooperation between researchers and practitioners becomes an essential feature of knowledge production. The Triple Helix has been

treated as just the core model, and extended into the "Quadruple Helix" (to include civil society) and even the "Quintuple Helix" (to further include the natural environments of society and the economy) in pursuit of greater contextualisation (Carayannis and Campbell 2009). These evolving ideas about knowledge production have inevitably also advanced the conceptualisation of knowledge types beyond disciplinary boundaries.

In addition to the scholarly demand for a new way, there has also been a pragmatic demand for new ways of doing things. It has been argued that the nature, complexity and urgency of problems that are being faced in the world today simply cannot be fathomed and adequately dealt with "using routine expertise and professional knowledge and judgments, sans values" (Funtowicz and Ravetz 2008, as cited in McGregor 2011, p.3). These problems or crises have been referred to variously as "mega crises", because of their scale (Lagadec 2009), and as "polycrises", referring to their complexity, being a series of "overlapping, interconnected problems" (McGregor 2011, p.3). There have been deep, underlying causes which go beyond a single expert solution, and the multiplicity of actors involved inevitably leads to conflicts and contradictions on a value level. Therefore advocates of transdisciplinarity conclude that "Solving complex problems depends on many different knowledges and understandings functioning in dialogue with each other as actors continually explore the existing and possible relationships between contending knowledges and perspectives" (McGregor 2011, p.3).

Mobjörk (2009) gives a historical account of transdisciplinarity, explaining that while specialisation has driven the development of the disciplines which today are neatly delineated by their distinguishing sets of theory, methods and conceptual frameworks, this has been through a reductionist division and structuring of the world aimed at achieving control and knowledge claims. However, this division "undermines the possibility of acquiring knowledge on the whole." (ibid, p.13). The emerging arguments for cross-disciplinarity, transcending the specialising and fragmenting disciplinary boundaries, have been argued based upon "a conception that

societal problems are complex and need cross-disciplinary investigations in order to be better understood and managed" (ibid).

Transdisciplinarity is a relatively new approach, emerging initially in the 1970s when Swiss philosopher and psychologist Jean Piaget (1896-1980) mentioned the concept, seven centuries after disciplinarity had already evolved (Nicolescu 2010). As a modern movement, it is based on French philosopher Basarab Nicolescu's *A Manifesto for Transdisciplinarity* of 1996 which delivered a critique of modern science and its reductionism, arguing for a more broad-based, contexutalised and inclusive process (Nicolescu 1996). Transdisciplinarity's definition is both simple and complicated. Cassinari et al. argue that:

> Transdisciplinary research… literally means research between, across and beyond disciplinary boundaries. It recognises the dynamics of similarities across disciplinary knowledge (for example community development, social work, social planning). And disciplines here refer not only to scientific disciplines, but equally to practice fields also. Its goal is the holistic understanding of the world through the connections and unity of knowledge (Cassinari et al. 2011, p.40).

In other words, researchers modify or adapt their approaches to make them more appropriate to the issues studied, in the course of which sometimes a new "discipline" may emerge, for example political ecology, cultural geography, complexity (physics, philosophy, cybernetics). Essential to transdisciplinary research is cooperation between scientists and those practitioners working outside academic communities (Cassinari et al. 2011, p.40).

Transdisciplinarity is a pursuit of a new scientific and cultural approach which can cope with the world's complexity, and with multiple levels of reality (Mobjörk 2009). As presented in the simplified illustration in Table 2, it represents an important epistemological shift in science and focus squarely on research methodologies and the role of values and researchers themselves (McGregor 2011, p.15).

Table 2: Distinguishing Transdisciplinarity

Branches of Philosophy	Pillars of Research (Axioms)	Newtonian science approach E.g. empirical methodology	Quantum physics Transdisciplinarity
Epistemology – nature and ways of knowing	Knowledge	Knowledge is out there to be discovered	Knowledge as complex and emergent
Axiology – role of values and researcher in knowledge generation	Values	using value-neutral scientific method of	Integral value constellations (emergent & engendered transvalues)
Logic – valid argument forms, ways of reasoning	Logic	deductive logic which leads to reliable descriptions	"The Included Middle" (the principle of non-contradiction)
Ontology (Metaphysics) – the nature of being and becoming (existence)	Reality	of a single reality	Multiple levels of reality

(Source: Author, derived from McGregor & Murnane 2010; and Cicovacki 2009)

The contemporary need for a transdisciplinary approach has been argued on the basis of at least three modern developments: the knowledge economy, an environmental imperative, and engaged population (Mobjörk 2009). These, it is argued, have called for both realism (not separating from life-world through specialisation) as well as pragmatism (focusing on solving pressing and complex societal problems). McGregor argues that:

> Transdisciplinary work, back dropped by values, is intended to address the complex, wicked problems facing humanity (e.g., climate change, unsustainability, poverty)… these problems have their cause in social-political-technological developments. To address these problems, people need to bring science, politics and technology together (interconnect them) with society in a way that respects the survival of humanity in a future that is worth living. These types of connections necessitate a focus on values that informs the interactions among various disciplines, governments, industries, non-government agencies and citizens at the interface of transformative dialogues (McGregor 2011, pp.2-3).

Table 3: Categorisation of cross-disciplinary approaches

	Multidisciplinarity	Interdisciplinarity	Transdisciplinarity
Definition	"a side by side of disciplines" - different disciplines cooperate to analyse the same subject matter but they do so independently of each other, maintaining their disciplinary approaches and perspectives	Emerged 1920s and 1930s. A cooperative research practice which involves "a shared problem formulation and… a common methodological framework for the investigation of the different themes or aspects of the research problem." (p.23)	Emerged 1970s to 1990s. A "practice that transgresses and transcends disciplinary boundaries." Involves the highest degree of integration, "the development of a common language and the novel or unique methodologies needed".
Which is the main motive? (instrumental vs. critical)	Mainly instrumental	Both instrumental and critical	Both instrumental and critical
Is there any cooperation between disciplines?	To some extent	Yes	Yes
Is there (active) cooperation between researchers and practitioners during the research process?	No	No	Yes
Are methodologically challenging issues addressed?	To some extent	Yes, to a certain degree	Yes, to a certain degree
Are epistemologically challenging issues addressed?	To a minor degree	To some extent, but not necessary	Yes, to a certain degree

(Source: Adapted by author from Mobjörk 2009, p.29)

A transdisciplinary approach suggests a problem-solving approach which calls for contextualising knowledge through involvement of stakeholders in knowledge production "so that the researchers come to focus on the problems identified by actors in society", but this through a fundamentally different conception of science – a more holistic approach (Mobjörk 2009, p.16). The latter point draws the significant

distinction between transdisciplinarity and other cross-disciplinary approaches (multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity) which seek to adjust and correct for the negative effects of specialisation by "synthesising research and integrating knowledge from different disciplinary perspectives" rather than through radical re-conceptualisation (Mobjörk 2009, p.13). Table 3 summarises Mobjörk's categorisation and distinction of these different approaches.

Cassinari et al. (2011) indicate that planning is already one of the fields in which transdisciplinarity has been, arguing that "there is a need for a way of thinking that is capable of establishing feedback loops in terms of concepts such as whole/part, order/disorder, observer/observed, system/ecosystem, in such a way that they remain simultaneously complementary and antagonist" (Max-Neef, 2005; Ramadier, 2004) "and, above all, dynamic" (Cassinari et al. 2011, p.11).

Madanipour (2010) goes further, suggesting that transdisciplinarity can aid transformative pursuit by enabling "[The] search for imaginative and socially inclusive responses to societal problems… [departing] from linear constructions of time and belief in the existence of certain causality between intentions and events (This, in more pragmatic terms, requires imagining alternative futures (Hillier, 2008)… [enabling] development of "Plan Bs" as responses to less obvious, but still possible, futures" (Madanipour 2010, p.38).

The introduction of transdisciplinarity into this study is not to claim that the study itself is transdisciplinary, even though some elements of the approach might be reflected in the research design. Transdisciplinarity here is introduced to motivate that the transgression of planning's boundaries to seek insights elsewhere is a legitimate and desirable undertaking in the context of the complexities of transformation. Ultimately, on a theoretical level, consideration should simultaneously be given to a more fundamental consideration of how a transformative planning might in fact be one that embraces the need to be deliberately transdisciplinary.

3.3 Introducing the Systems of Innovation Approach

The previous section outlined a set of critiques about conventional approaches to LDA. The innovation studies literature levelled similar critiques of classical development approaches from the perspective of evolutionary economics, emphasizing the need for greater realism in recognising how development happens, as well as more understanding and learning on an empirical level to ground our developmental theorizations in context (Nelson, 2007; Muchie & Baskaran, 2009). The innovation systems or systems of innovation (SoI) approach considers socio-economies at various spatial (including local) and conceptual scales, offering its own explanatory concepts and frameworks about development dynamics and growth paths which are an interesting parallel to planning thought.

3.3.1 Evolutionary economics

The theoretical foundations of innovation and the systems of innovation approach lie in the school of evolutionary economics (Cassiolato 2005; Manzini 2012). Evolutionary economics emerged in the 1980s in reaction to neo-classical economics. Saviotti describes the difference between the two as being quite fundamental; a twentieth century "shift in world view" (2003, p.2). Nelson further describes this difference as follows:

> …evolutionary theory sees the economy as always in the process of change, with economic activity almost always proceeding in a context that is not completely familiar to the actors, or perfectly understood by them. In contrast, neoclassical theory sees the economy as at rest, or undergoing well anticipated change, in any case with actions appropriate to the context something the decision makers have learned through relevant experience, or can calculate accurately based on what they know securely. In turn, this difference in the way the economic scene is interpreted leads to important differences in the operational parts of the theories (Nelson 2007, pp.1-2).

Evolutionary economics departs from the assumptions of full rational decision-making and a context of continuing equilibrium which the framework of neoclassical

economics retains (Nelson 2007, p.13). While neoclassical theory sees economic development as mainly being driven by accumulation, Nelson argues that the investments in physical and human capital are necessary but insufficient for developing countries which need innovation, which can generally be through invention (developing new technologies) or assimilation (adapting existing technologies from elsewhere) (ibid, p.16).

Nelson explains that modern evolutionary theory has been strongly influenced by Joseph Schumpeter and Frank Knight. Schumpeter, in his *Theory of Economic Development* (Schumpeter 1934), challenged the neo-classical characterisation of economic development given conditions such as innovation-driven flux, systems being out of equilibrium, and the presence of uncertainty. The notion of "creative destruction," a key theory of economic innovation which refers to the restructuring or reconfiguring nature of economic progress, is one key example of the dynamism of environments, structures, actors/actions and technology that evolutionary theory embraces as being important in studying complex modern economies.

This idea of creative destruction, Nelson explains, is ultimately one of the barriers to much-needed reforms as it is not particularly desirable for powerful interest groups – "the comfortable, politically well connected, old firms" as Nelson describes them (Nelson 2007, p.16).

3.3.2 Defining "Systems of Innovation"

As explained, the Systems of Innovation (SoI) approach is founded on evolutionary economic theory, as well as institutional economics (Amstéus 2011), the French regulation school (Muchie & Baskaran 2006) and the Latin American structuralist school (Cassiolato & Lastres 2007). At its core is the concept of "innovation" which is defined in the foundational Oslo Manual as:

> the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organizational method in business practices, workplace organization or external relations (OECD/Eurostat 2005).

The World Bank defines innovation as:

> …technologies and practices that are new to a given society. They are not necessarily new in absolute terms. These technologies or practices are being diffused in that economy or society… what is not disseminated or used is not an innovation. Dissemination is very significant and requires particular attention in low- and medium-income countries (World Bank 2010).

Other useful innovation definitions include Lundvall's:

> A continuous cumulative process involving not only radical and incremental innovation, but also the diffusion, absorption and use of innovation" and Friedman's: "innovation as the creative use of knowledge to allow individuals to go farther, faster, deeper and cheaper (Gault 2010; Manzini 2012).

Innovation in the modern world is considered to be the key driver of "socio-economic transformation and rapid progress leading to sustainable development" (Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae, 2010). Innovation studies give important consideration to the role of collective agents, technology, and learning in delivering growth and dynamic forms of development. The systems of innovation approach has been used as a powerful analytical and explanatory framework for territorial dynamics and development trajectories. Authors such as Freeman (1995), Soete (2008), Nelson (2007), Lundvall (2007), Muchie (2006, 2010), Mytelka (2000) Sutz (1998), and Gault 2010 – amongst others – have written extensively on this subject. Gault explains that "A systems approach is found to be useful for helping to understand the elements, dynamics and feedback loops in a system of actors and activities, their linkages and the outcomes of their activities and linkages as leads to economic and social impacts" (Gault 2010, p.8).

The concept of a "system of innovation" basically comprises "elements" and "relationships" which are found to interact in the production, diffusion and use of

new knowledge which has economic currency (Lundvall, 1992). The SoI has also been defined as:

> a set of different institutions that contribute to the development of the innovation and learning capacity of a country, region, economic sector or locality, comprises a series of elements and relations that relate production, assimilation, use and diffusion of knowledge… (RedeSist 2010, Annex 3 - p.2).

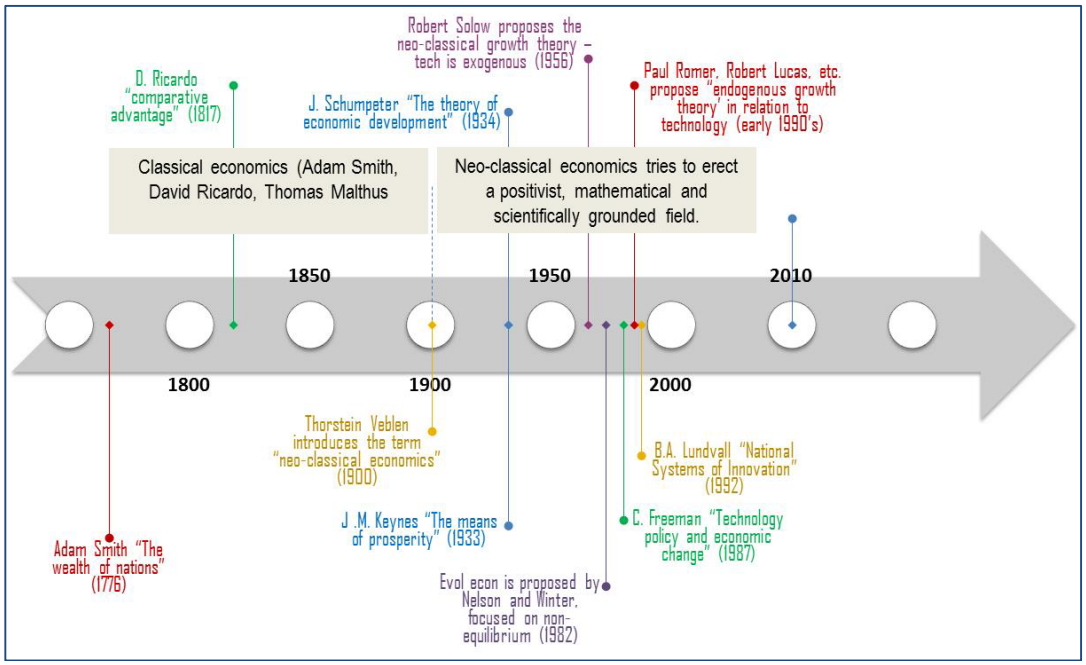
Characterised as a system of actors, activities and linkages which result in specific outcomes and long-run impacts, the SoI approach recognises a diversity of critical "actors", including governments, sectoral institutions, businesses, civil society organisations, and the range of other local role players (Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae 2010; Gault 2011). Importantly, the SoI approach recognises that "different development trajectories contribute to shape systems of innovation with quite diverse characteristics requiring specific policy support" (RedeSist 2010, Annex 3 - p.3). SoI therefore recognises the role of historical processes as a determinant of different socio-economic capabilities and evolutionary paths (Paul David's concept of "path dependence"), combining with other realities and influences to result in specific and unique local characteristics and dynamics (RedeSist 2010).

The systemic approach therefore locates innovation as the result of complex and multiple interactions (for example, flows of technology and information) with a variety of actors and their environment, producing a virtuous system of networking, learning and collaboration among the multiple actors of the innovation system. The central notion of "framework conditions" in SoI thinking reflects that innovation depends significantly on overall conditions in the economy, governance, education, and infrastructure; conditions which can be particularly problematic in developing countries (World Bank 2010; Gault 2010). Mugabe reflects that although there has been increasing acknowledgement of the critical role of innovation in achieving transformative development, less-developed contexts like African countries have not been able to achieve socio-economic advancement through technological adaptation, adaptation and application due to a range of reasons, including low levels of

education, lack of policies that deliberately promote technology diffusion and adaptation, and poor infrastructure (Mugabe 2011, p.14).

As is to be expected, given its roots in evolutionary economics, SoI is more concerned with the dynamics and feedback loops in what might be considered to be broad socio-economic terms, rather than linear and predictive processes in a narrow classical economic sense (Saviotti 2003; Nelson 2007). Thus it is relevant to this particular study. The literature on innovation and innovation systems is relatively recent, but is rapidly expanding in conceptualisation and application. From his systematic literature review, Maldonado (2011) concluded that there is no common representation of innovation systems. Figure 7 depicts the general evolution of innovation and economic development research based upon Maldonado's study.

Figure 7: Timeline of the evolution of innovation and economic development research



Source: Adapted by author from Maldonado 2011

Maldonado identified three broad SoI definition streams: that of Chris Freeman (of SPRU, the Science and Technology Policy Research unit of the University of

Sussex), that of Bengt-Åke Lundvall (Aalborg University, Denmark), and finally of Richard Nelson (Columbia University in the US). From these streams, Maldonado indicates that five key commonalities were identified by Charles Edquist (2005) which may be considered to be the key principles of SoIs:

i) "Innovation is the key element of analysis and it is linked to **learning** processes,

ii) It presents a **holistic** and an **interdisciplinary** approach, since it tries to understand the object study as a whole, dependent not only of economic but of institutional, organisational, social and political factors as well,

iii) IS are **path-dependent**, which means that developing innovations is usually a long-term process,

iv) There is an emphasis on the **interdependency** and **non-linearity** features of IS, and

v) **Institutions and organisations** play a central role in the IS framework." (Maldonado 2011, p.5)

The congruence between these principles and those emerging from the discussion of planning and transformative development is notable. Parallels can also be drawn to the related concept of "social innovation" which is also considered increasingly to be a crucial factor in evolving strategies for local area development by focusing on innovation in the social relations of development (Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010). Social innovation refers to "specific forms of social relations among institutions and individuals, which are supposed to be conducive to socio-economic development" (Moulaert 2000, p.42-43).

3.3.3 Limitations of SoI

However, authors such as Kraemer-Mbula and Wamae (2010) and Lorentzen (2012) also comment on the limitations of the evolving conceptualisations of SoIs which are still largely focused on developed world and formal contexts. For example, the SoI concept has typically taken "the firm" as the unit of analysis, thus focusing only on formal components: organisations, institutions, and formal linkages. SoI has

also tended to assume as its levels the spatial, sectoral, and technological. Both assumptions exclude much more complex and tacit networks and arrangements that might typify developing world contexts, and therefore make adequate application to developing world contexts difficult. Although all definitions of SoI consider and include a wide variety of constituent institutions, the role and contribution of the informal sector "is not always fully understood or accounted for" (Manzini 2012, p.52).

SoI thinking has also had to evolve beyond a previously techno-centric view of innovation systems. Brazilian academics (RedeSist, 2010), amongst others, have been instrumental in helping to offer a broader conceptualisation of SoI for application in the developing world, which includes the host of institutions, policies and arrangements affecting the SoI, cultural and historic processes, and competence building (education, training, labour market relations and dynamics). As explained by RedeSist, which is a Brazilian interdisciplinary research network:

> A broader and systemic understanding of the innovation process is instrumental to avoid an overemphasis on R&D, encouraging policy-makers to take a far-reaching perspective on the opportunities for learning and innovation. Emphasis is put on interactions and on the role of historical processes - which account for differences in socio-economic capabilities and for different development trajectories and institutional evolution - creating systems of innovation with very specific local features and dynamics (RedeSist 2010, p.7).

Achieving transformation through the development of SoIs in developing countries will require understanding innovation processes in the informal sector, understanding the linkages between innovation processes in the formal and informal sectors, considering the role of socio-historic aspects in shaping innovation systems, and considering non-high-tech innovations (Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae, p.45-46).

3.3.4 Innovation Approaches and Transformation

SoI is inextricably based on a transformative agenda. Concepts such as creative destruction are fundamentally about radical change. In SoI terms, "development" refers to transformation through innovation and learning; it is about transforming what community has into specific economic value. This requires that the economies must be dynamic, and this in turn means that they must be innovative. In this way, based upon and together with Joseph Schumpeter's evolutionary perspective, SoI has been used to frame alternative conceptual frameworks to neo-classical thinking about economics and development, and has been applied at multiple levels from global to local (Baskaran & Muchie, 2010).

However, the positive benefits of the transformations cannot be assumed. Authors like Archibugi and Filippetti (2011) and Lundvall (2005) have reflected upon the risks of less developed countries being increasingly disadvantaged and dependent on knowledge and technologies generated elsewhere:

> In developing countries the material conditions are sometimes so difficult for people that the primary focus should be on creating order and basic living conditions. This may be a precondition for people's incentives and opportunities to engage in learning new competences and become innovative. On the other hand there is little doubt that the long term effort to promote economic development needs to be oriented towards competence building and innovation also in what may appear to be a dismal situation. But perhaps what seems like a contradiction may be eased by a simultaneous focus on basic living conditions and competence building. Building institutions to create order and stable living conditions is necessary to give people the opportunity and incentives to engage in learning new competences. But such institution cannot be built without engaging people in competence building and learning. Seen in that light, learning and innovation is not a luxury but necessary and basic processes, which have to be parallel to and interact with poverty (Lundvall 2005, p.32).

There are important requisites for beneficial SoI's, particularly from the perspective of the global south. Wamae (2009) motivates the need to integrate innovation policies with social policies also from a market perspective if social benefits are to be derived. She indicates that "policy areas that are not explicitly

focused on innovation could undermine the ability to develop dynamic innovation processes in developing countries," yet she finds that "innovation policy in developing countries continues to reduce innovation to R&D and is generally geared towards funding public research institutions" (Wamae 2009, p.216).

Sagasti (2004) and Karuri-Sebina (2011) have made similar points regarding the need for a more integrative approach to innovation policies and social goals. Referring to considerations for applying SoI concepts to developing countries, Manzini also warns against an idealistic view of SoI, stating that:

> [The National System of Innovation] NSI should be seen as carrying a normative element in that, when it is used in literature, it alludes to better ways of organising S&T systems in an economy. In this regard, a developing country needs to conduct a thorough investigation of an approach that would best suit its needs and circumstances, rather than copy whatever policy that seems to be working for other countries (Manzini 2012, p.55).

The role of human development and capacity formation in fostering innovation have also been emphasized by authors like Amartya Sen (1999), while Nelson (2007) also emphasizes the importance of technology assimilation (not only invention) as an important innovation route for developing nations.

3.3.5 Systems of Innovation Applications

While planning and SoI as two distinct bodies of knowledge have been considered in tandem and combination in Europe (Moulaert et al., 2005), and to some extent in Canada (CRISES, 2004), the researcher has found no evidence of explorations of their combined potential for the developing world context. Lidén (2013) demonstrates how SoI has been used in the context of local geographies by positing two categories of SoI studies - territorial-based innovation systems and functional-based innovation systems. The former "explains innovation as dependent on factors or conditions that are specific to a territory (the importance of place)", while the second type "addresses the functionality of the system, what do the

components of the system actually do, and what it is achieved" (Lidén, p.1). In relation to the territorial type, Lidén explains that there have approaches that consider locality from a benign *locational perspective* (space as a container, confining and determining economic activity, and conceptualized independently of the economic action) or from a *agglomeration perspective* (place as a manifestation of historical and other important factors that make different actors and activities to locate or cluster near each other).

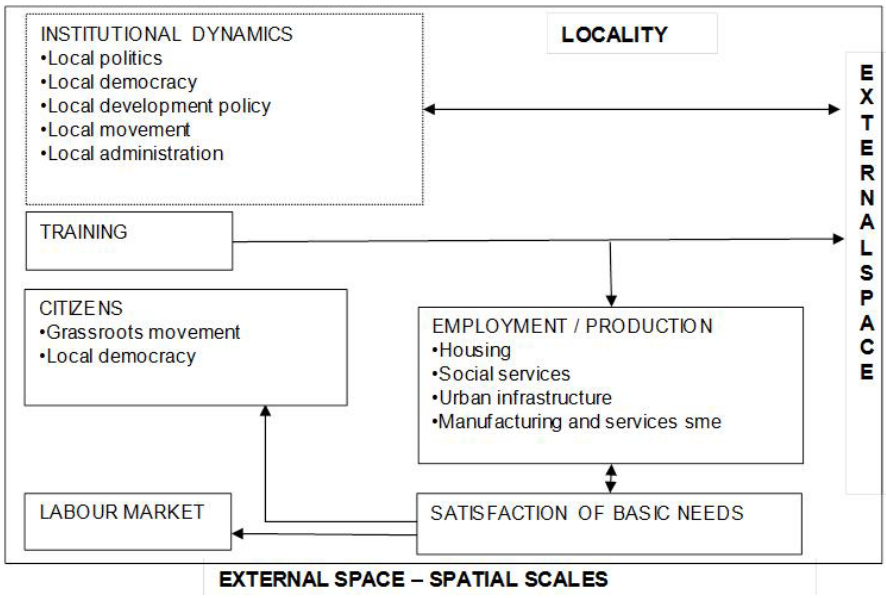
Territorial SoI has been applied in various contexts of local planning and economic development, but typically with an economic or sectoral focus. Rantisi (2002) explores innovation processes in the New York City Garment District's women's wear industry; Moulaert & Sekia (2003) review the theorisation and application of territorial innovation models in Europe including models of industrial districts, localized production systems, new industrial spaces, innovation clusters, learning regions, and regional innovation systems; Virkkala et al (2006) report on innovation-based plans and policies in Nordic small towns and rural areas; and Meyer-Stamer & Schoen (2008) develop a methodology for conducting rapid diagnoses of localities, value chains or clusters with a focus on technology and innovation and make experimental applications in Indonesia (SME sector in ten districts in 2001) and South Africa (clothing and textiles value chains in Western Cape in 2004). As these examples from the literature show, the models have largely been conceptualised from countries of the north, and considerations have typically been narrowly applied with the exception of the expanded development and application of models such as that of integrated area development evolving out of the work of Moulaert and colleagues but still in the European context.

The SoI literature has been relatively well incorporated in spatial development planning and theorisation in the European context where there has been extensive critique of and exploration beyond the limitations of existing policy and planning

approaches to territorial development (MacCallum et al., 2009) and a decade of European Framework Programme research on spatial development planning,[5] and numerous OECD territorial studies.[6] However, the researcher has not found evidence of other detailed studies at a neighbourhood planning level. There appears to be a relatively poor link between the two bodies of knowledge (planning and innovation studies).

The possibility of such application is however evident in the work of Moulaert as shown in Figure 8 which is an example from the European context, and extensive application in Antwerp in Belgium of how the SoI approach has been modelled for local area application for the purpose of LDA.

Figure 8: Social innovation and integrated area development



(Source: MacCallum et al. 2009, p.19 based on Moulaert 2000)

[5] http://esdp-network.eu/projects.php

[6] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; http://www.oecd.org/topic/0,3699,en_2649_37429_1_1_1_1_37429,00.html

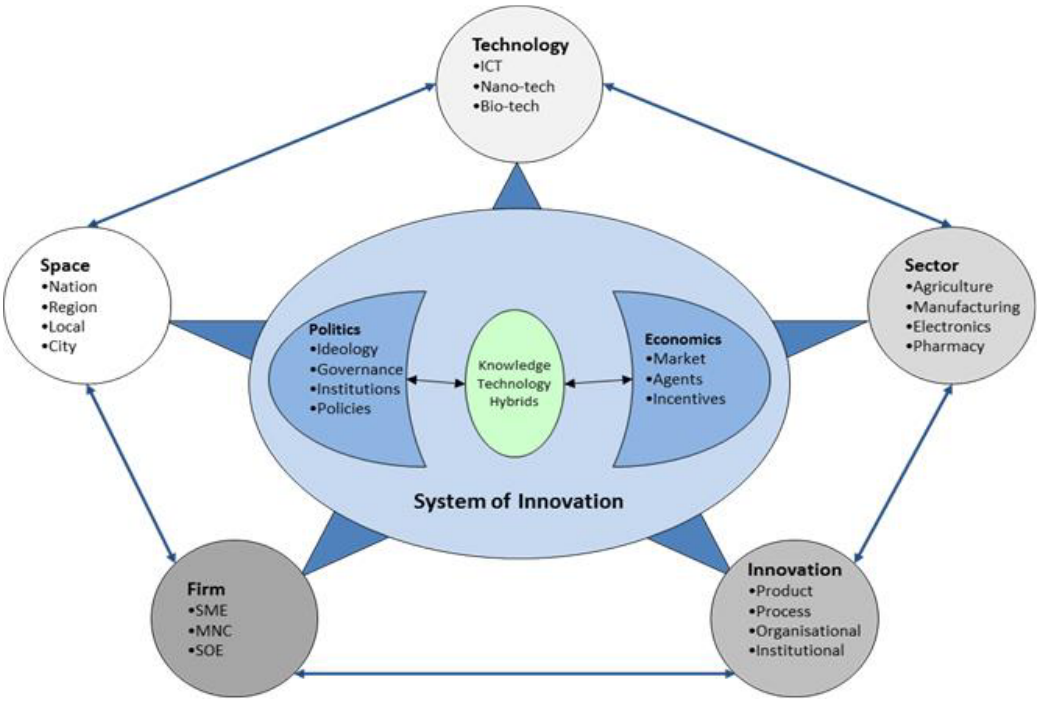
The IAD model, also discussed in Section 3.2.4, illustrates the capability of the approach to incorporate and relate, systematically and spatially, multiple dimensions of socio-economic development at an area-based level. The temporal dimension (not shown here) is also important in studying a system of innovation as it recognises the role of the socio-economic and socio-cultural histories of areas.

3.3.6 A Heuristic Device for Understanding

As previously mentioned, however, the application of the SoI approach in this study is not intended as an advocacy, meaning that the researcher is proposing that the SoI concepts and frameworks are adequate for describing neighbourhoods, nor that they should be made so. In fact, several cautions regarding the applicability to developing world contexts are already raised above (espoused by Sutz, Lall, and Muchie among others). Rather, the study is seeking to understand how SoI could be applied, and what insights or additional ideas it may offer.

In order for SoI to be applied as a simple heuristic device, it has to be abstracted into a usable model. Figure 9 represents the generic SoI elements, representing the spatial, sectoral and institutional arrangements as the dependent variables, and "innovation-knowledge" as the independent variable in seeking to bring about transformation and development (Muchie & Baskaran 2006, p.32). As highlighted in the figure, this study intends to focus on the spatial dimension or perspective by studying the neighbourhood level.

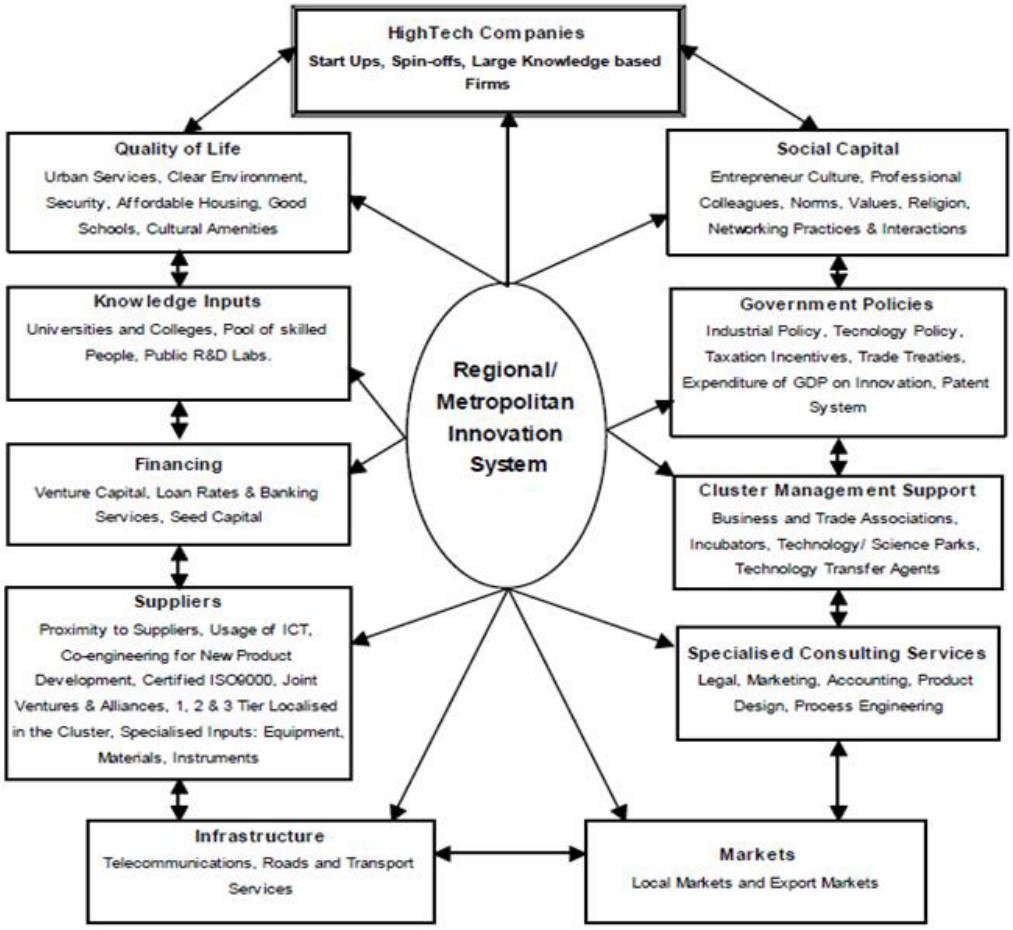
Figure 9: Unifying model of the System of Innovation



(Source: Muchie 2012, p.25)

Figure 10 presents a conceptual model for the developmental "elements" or dimensions proposed for SoI as applied to local systems in the literature. This framework is the one ultimately applied in analysing the case studies.

Figure 10: Conceptual Framework of Regional/ Metropolitan/ Local Innovation System



(Source: Baskaran & Muchie 2010, p.20)

3.4 Caution: The importance of Being Appreciative

Although the study is seeking to explore whether and how the innovation systems approach could add value to the current planning approaches (and to that extent, anticipating some value in doing so), improving our understanding and methods cannot rely only on formal theorising or "parachuting in alternative approaches" as the developing world has been prone to doing (Watson, 2009). The

study is premised on the argument that a systematic understanding and learning should be built up from an empirical level to ground the theorising (Nelson 1997; Muchie & Baskaran 2009).

In her famed book, *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jane Jacobs argued that modern urban practitioners and city planning were undermining American cities because professionals understood the phenomenon of the city not as it actually was, but as these professionals wanted it to be: Le Corbusier's towers in the park, Mumford's network of towns in the countryside, Moses's mega block urban renewal and highway developments, and so forth. In her inductive critique based on rich qualitative observations, Jacobs concluded that any conceptual understanding of the city would have to be grounded in how the city works as a particular kind of place (Seamon, 2011). These sentiments are echoed in Isabel Doucet's more recent critique that "In our explorations of the city, we seem to trust our categories, terminologies and methodologies so strongly that we often tend to forget to listen to what the city is actually trying to tell us" (Doucet 2008, p.48).

Vanessa Watson (2008) also writes about a growing body of work linking planning activity to planning theorising – sometimes referred to as the "practice movement". She refers to a range of empirical research that has been brought to bear on planning theory, seeking to "document and analyse real-life planning events in order to build and test theory" (ibid, p.225). In her analysis, which seeks to explore the idea of situated planning theory, Watson concludes that "Within the metropole there have been a range of ideas put forward on how to better connect theory and practice. Most of these ask for a more contextualized understanding of planning practice, researching the institutional, economic and social dynamics of particular places as they have evolved over time" (ibid, p.235).

These epistemological perspectives inform the research design choices proposed. Jacobs' work is among the influences guiding the researcher towards a critical realist

approach to the study, being concerned with both reality ("facts") and concepts (theoretical explanations), compared to more positivist notions about development.

The practice movement ideas of contextualised understanding suggest to the researcher the need to ground her analysis and theorisation in rigorous empirical work. Therefore in seeking to critique and enhance LDA through other disciplinary perspectives, it becomes necessary to have real-world facts or data to inform the analytical process.

The generation of knowledge is also being viewed as a necessarily social activity, recognising the agency of the researcher herself and the role of her own prior experience (as a development researcher and as a former official in the National Treasury unit implementing the NDPG) in the sensing and interpretation of information (Gadamer 1975). However, an approach of appreciative enquiry would recognise this while also locating the researcher as only one part of a process of discovery, rather than as the "expert" involved in self-aggrandising problem-solving (Cooperrider 1986).

Therefore while it might be argued that the study could delve directly into analysis and modelling of LDA based on planning practice-theorisation, bringing in the additional innovation systems concepts that are of interest, the validity and value of this kind of abstract theorisation are considered to be questionable.

Chapter 4: The South African Case

4.1 Introduction

This section introduces, in relation to the preceding development discussion, the South African national context of where the study cases are located. The notion of transformative planning and development is related to the experience and challenges of redeveloping apartheid townships.

4.2 A Focus on South African Townships

The researcher proposes to use South Africa's townships as a case for her examination of planning approaches to LDA. This is motivated in this section both on the basis of salience and need. "Townships" here is used to refer to apartheid's black township areas; a generic meaning that became popular at the height of "grand apartheid" planning in the 1950s to refer to "the large, segregated public housing estate, usually on or beyond the urban periphery" which were "required to house the workforce and also to accomplish more comprehensive segregation" (Mabin & Smit 1997, p.206). A summary periodization (timeline) depicting the evolution of South African townships is presented in Annex 5.

There is a reasonably extensive body of historical and analytical literature on the structure of apartheid and its role in South Africa's planning and post-apartheid spatial form (Smit 1989; Mabin & Smit 1997; Parnell 1997; Watson 2002; Todes 2003; Mabin 2005; Harrison et al. 2008). Susanna Godehart's survey of literature and analyses of South African planning concludes that the apartheid city – and in particular the planning and building of African townships – has the same roots as the British colonial towns and was maintained through the apartheid government's authoritarian administrative controls (Godehart 2006)

The effect has been townships that are distinct as a historical legacy, as a planning form, and as a socio-economic construct. More than just being tangible remnants of apartheid policy and planning, townships have continued to manifest common complex characteristics which include: being poverty traps with disproportionately high unemployment and lack of economic opportunities; continued spatial exclusion which sustains their character as "dormitory" communities with high access costs, social, cultural and economic diversity and so forth (TTRI 2009; Karuri-Sebina 2010). More detailed historical, sociological and anthropological studies and accounts about specific townships provide a deeper basis for understanding the specific nuances and trajectories of various areas – such as Morris et al, 1999, on Soweto, Wilson & Mafeje, 1963, on Langa, Harber, 2011, on Diepsloot, and so forth.

However, it generally holds true that post-apartheid urban policies and planning initiatives have not been successful in restructuring the apartheid spatial legacy. Godehart presents a range of explanations for this: lack of political will by municipalities who are not willing to interfere with private sector investment, inadequate and unco-ordinated planning focus on townships, and – her own area of focus – the lack of relevant planning instruments to steer investment (Godehart 2006, p.188).

At the same time, townships are also considered to present both an important development need as well as an opportunity for South Africa. They have large population concentrations, forming an important focus for human capital formation. Their relatively underdeveloped and underserviced status quo creates growth opportunities not only for market exploitation by big business, but also for housing, retail and services industries which could seed local entrepreneurship. In spite of their historical marginalisation, some townships are now in well-located areas given the scale and spatial patterns of city growth (particularly in larger metropolitan areas). Townships have also been creative spaces for socially, politically and commercially spawning social movements, cultural industries, public transport, and innovative

commercial distribution channels (National Treasury 2007b; Miraftab 2006; Madell 2006; COGTA 2009; Monitor Group 2011).

The nature of these potentials however – as in many marginalised contexts elsewhere in the developing world – is often crude, informal and pre-embryonic, making them difficult to recognise and valorise in South Africa's mainstream, formalistic systems. The opportunities are sometimes unconventional and therefore not accounted for in existing systems and regulatory frameworks; not at scale in order to be discernibly viable; and sometimes sub-legal or illegal, thereby difficult to identify or affirm. Yet these are typical developing context characteristics discussed variously across the development literature (de Soto1989; Jenkins 2004; DBSA 2005; Godehart 2006; Lundvall et al. 2009; Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae 2010; Monitor Group, 2011). Indeed, given the history of townships, the levers may not even exist within the spatial boundaries of the townships themselves (National Treasury 2007b). Given these challenges, there are no easy or clear models for how to effectively leverage potentials for township development in order to create adequate momentum to achieve a transformative shift in the development path of townships.

There are, however, hints of endogenous potential. Supported by her empirical work, Godehart begins to make a strong case for the potential to leverage township innovativeness by demonstrating that "land use in the townships has been considerably transformed towards a far larger mix of uses through countless small interventions by individual residents" (Godehart 2006, p.195). She illustrates how township residents have emerged as dominant actors, innovating and changing townships while professionals would primarily appear to have endeavoured to "preserve the initial, dysfunctional spatial and land use structure of the townships" (ibid, p.i) by maintaining sectoral or idealistic approaches; that is, focusing mainly housing, and pursuing the character of idyllic suburban neighbourhoods, instead of engaging with the complex and dynamic places townships were evolving into.

How planning practices and theorising engage with these complexities (starting, it is proposed with how local development analyses are conceptualised and conducted by planning practitioners), becomes an important question. While it is acknowledged that there are deep historical and structural factors affecting the township status quo, and that various external dynamics might affect their future development, the primacy of planning in the design of public schemes and investments focused on transforming townships elevates the role and potential impact of planning in achieving transformation.

4.3 Transformation, not just Regeneration, as the Planning Challenge

This introductory section begins by presenting the study case of townships both as a product of, and challenge for, South African government and planning. The case in which the study will be located is foregrounded to emphasise the importance of context in planning, a point that is argued later, as well as to ground the theoretical discussion within a particular and significant local planning challenge. When, for example, the transformative role of planning is discussed, the researcher finds it useful to be able to refer to this within a particular context rather than to discuss an already complex concept only in abstraction.

The South African context has been referred to as "the world's most notoriously contorted landscape" according to Susan Parnell (2008, p.30). The "transformation" concept introduced in the previous chapter has had particular salience in post-colonial South Africa following Hendrik Verwoerd's racially-motivated planning framework which, enforced through the apartheid state, went about deliberately constructing uneven forms of development (Williams 2000, p.167). Here, there has been a necessary and inclusionary transformation imperative, and one that is taken on as a key mandate of the post-apartheid developmental state. South Africa's

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) White Paper specifically reflected a goal of building a "democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future", representing a "vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa…"

Maharajh et al. (2011) argue that, in the main, economic development refers to social and technological progress, implying a change in the way goods and services are produced – not merely an increase in production achieved using the same old, inappropriate methods of production on a wider scale. In South Africa's case, this means not simply projecting forward the reproduction of the apartheid era political economy. Carrying this logic forward, the development of townships – if it truly seeks to be transformative – is not to be conceived simply as a matter of getting townships to do more of the same, fashioning them as miniature cogs in a macro-economic model that is presumed to be viable in the first place (a point made quite pointedly in Williams' conceptualisation of "transformation"). The redevelopment project is one that has to take a holistic view of the socio-economic system in which townships function (or dysfunction), and evolve contextualised opportunities and paths to progress. These must be defined in new or nuanced terms that are not merely as a reproduction of what already exists.

Locating townships within an SoI framework presents an opportunity to analyse their socio-economy systemically within their own contextual realities, but also within a broader context within which they are inevitably situated. It becomes possible to consider [at least] three dimensions of township analysis:

i) Describing townships as local systems of innovation;

ii) Locating township socio-economies within the external system (including consideration of broader national and regional systems of innovation); and

iii) Exploring the systemic options through which inclusive and transformative socio-economic development could be enabled.

4.4 Township Re-Development and the NDPG

South Africa has made significant public investments into redevelopment programmes targeting townships in the first two decades of democracy. The most significant national programmes are outlined in Table 4. These reflect programmes *in addition* to other mainstream sectoral, provincial and municipal investments.

Table 4: Overview of major South Africa grant programmes for township redevelopment

PROGRAMME	TIMEFRAME	VALUE	FUNDING AGENC(IES)	TARGET AREAS
Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIIPs)	1994-2004	R1.88 billion	Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	13 Projects
Urban Renewal Programme (URP)	2001-2011	R1.3 billion	Dept of Provincial & Local Government (dplg; now COGTA)	8 Urban Nodes
Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG)	2006-2017	R10 billion	National Treasury	100 townships

(Source: Author)

These programmes have all been extensively evaluated, as summarised in Todes (2013). This section will focus particularly on the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) as the main subject of the study.

The NDPG is a ten year, R10 billion programme which was established in 2006 under the Division of Revenue Act of South Africa and implemented through the

Neighbourhood Development Programme Unit (NDP). It was the product of the 2005 national Budget Speech where the then Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel, stated,

> We must seek to build partnerships that mobilise our most creative energies in constructing recreational and sports facilities, health and education services, administrative infrastructure, business opportunities and community resource centres (p.6, National Treasury Toolkit 2, 2007).

The NDPG is comprised of a capital grant and a technical assistance grant and is awarded to compliant municipalities across South Africa that are seeking to improve the future prospects of residents in the historically disadvantaged communities called "townships".

The NDPG a unique form of Treasury department support for municipalities because it is intended to serve as leverage capital that can help municipalities to secure and attract private sector and other investment to selected nodes or precincts within communities for which township regeneration or redevelopment plans and/or strategies have been developed. It has as its goal the support of "neighbourhood development projects that provide community infrastructure and create the platform for private sector development and that improve the quality of life of residents in targeted areas".

> The NDPG [vision] is driven by the notion that public investment and funding can be used creatively to attract private and community investment to unlock the social and economic potential within the targeted neglected townships and neighbourhoods (NDPG target areas) and that this in turn will contribute to South Africa's macro-economic performance and improve quality of life among its citizens (National Treasury, 2007b).

The long-term vision of the NDP is an improved quality of life for township residents through the creation of economically viable and sustainable township neighbourhoods. In view of this, four strategic objectives have been identified:

i) To promote private sector investment and other public spending in townships

ii) To provide institutional support and technical capacity to municipalities

iii) To support direct municipal investment into catalytic township nodes, linkage establishment, and general environmental improvement projects; and

iv) To promote the creation and dissemination of knowledge products, best practice, and innovation in township development.

Despite the salience of townships as a key development challenge in the South African context, the NDP is the only major, dedicated public funding instrument and programme that is uniquely targeted to townships. Two years into the programme (the beginning of this study), it was already clear that the programme – conceived as having a ten-year lifespan – had a mammoth challenge ahead of it. Its deceptively straightforward mandate and instrumentality is fraught with many contextual, conceptual, operational and methodological challenges.

The NDPG is discussed further in Chapter 5 where its approach application is discussed. A snapshot overview of key facts about the programme is presented in Section 4.4.

4.5 Failure to Transform South African Townships

In spite of significant post-apartheid investment, the township development project in South Africa has failed to significantly transform the quality and trajectory of the apartheid townships, or of their human-scale development challenges (TTRI 2009). The lot of South Africans living in former apartheid townships has generally not improved significantly, or at a rate that their residents might consider to be satisfactory. The State concedes that "Since South Africa's democratic elections of 1994, conditions in urban townships have not substantially improved. Incomes of households in townships have in real terms remained static. Moreover more households in townships live in informal settlements and lack full access to municipal services than in 1996" (COGTA 2009, p.5). Given an estimate that over 60% of the

nation's population lives in townships or informal settlements and low-income housing developments, the latter typically being adjacent (or similar in character) to the townships, the situation is extremely problematic (National Treasury, 2007b).

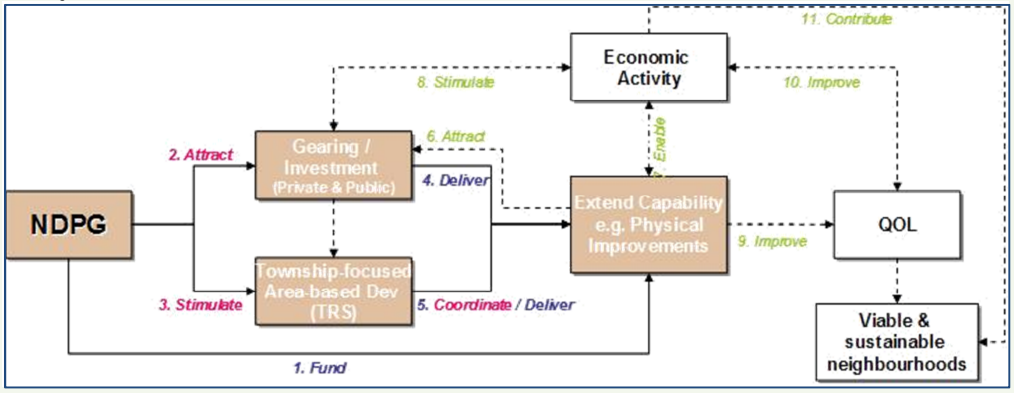
Overview of the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG)

Vision

The NDPG is driven by the notion that public investment and funding can be used creatively to attract private and community investment to unlock the social and economic potential within the targeted neglected townships and neighbourhoods (NDPG target areas) and that this in turn will contribute to South Africa's macro-economic performance and improve quality of life among its citizens.

Design

A new public finance approach focussing on a medium-to-long term commitment to targeted neighbourhood development projects in South Africa using two conditional grants: a Technical Assistance (TA) fund intended for strategic and project planning and a Capital Grant (CG) for investment into catalytic township projects. The target was to reach 100 townships with R10 billion over ten years.



Strategy

- Providing a medium-to-long term funding commitment creates certainty and predictability, building a platform on which municipalities can negotiate with partners.
- Use of technical assistance as a lever for better planning and project packaging.
- Up front commitment (a funding envelope) made but conditional on (i) partnerships being secured and (ii) good project packaging and feasibility testing (iii) medium to long-term planning for townships.

Objectives

- Leverage private and community investment into NDPG target areas
- Enhance the collateral value of properties in NDPG target areas
- Create the conditions for broadening black capital formation and business development
- Achieve efficiency in the movement of goods and people by restructuring the spatial form of neighbourhoods by introducing mixed land uses and supporting the introduction of activity nodes and movement corridors
- Create vibrant public and economic spaces
- Build institutional and developmental capacity that will contribute to social and economic cohesion
- Inject a new economic and social vitality into the predominantly residential nature of the target areas
- Make lessons learnt (positive and negative) available so processes can be replicable

In spite of the substantial ABI programmes and investments made in South Africa, townships have continued to be structurally disadvantaged, both spatially and economically, participating in city growth and development mainly as dormitories for cheap labour and net consumers of social welfare (National Treasury 2007a). More recently, they are also seen as lucrative consumer markets given convenient, underserved concentrations of the underexploited "bottom of the pyramid" which can be targeted with various commercial products and services (Prahalad 2004; Monitor Group 2011).

It has been argued that it is unlikely that any positive transformation of townships is likely on the current trajectory based on the kinds of development approaches and plans being proposed (Karuri-Sebina 2010). Harrison et al. (2008) refer to the failures of planning in achieving spatial transformation. They discuss this in relation to prevailing structural constraints on the efficacy of planning: institutional weakness, disjointed and disconnected planning systems, and even "the poor grounding of many plans and frameworks in a real understanding of development processes and imperatives" (Harrison et al. 2008, p. 243) which questions the credibility of plans.

4.6 Stuck in GEAR?

In South Africa, a particularly critical discourse has been on the role of its neoliberal leanings. South Africa underwent a post-colonial transition from a developmental track – the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which constituted the national development agenda between 1994 and 1996 and focused on social transformation – to a neoliberal dispensation reflected in the conservative macro-economic strategy titled the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) (Bond 2004; Scerri 2009). A critical perspective reflects that:

> In essence GEAR implied that economic development in South Africa should be led by the private sector; the state should play a smaller role in the economy; state-owned assets should be privatized; there should be deep cuts in government spending; international competitiveness and an export-oriented economy should be encouraged; exchange controls should be relaxed; and social service delivery budgets and municipal infrastructure programmes should be reprioritised in order to address the claims of the poor to be a fair package to meet their basic needs. Concurrently, those social services that could not be provided to all, or could be undertaken more effectively by the private sector such as social assistance grants to impoverished children, were to be eliminated or scaled down. The central government would unilaterally set priorities and funds to be committed to social and sectoral policies… 'Growth through redistribution' was to be replaced by 'redistribution through growth'. The poverty problem would be resolved through higher growth rates and the alleged 'trickle-down' effect… while [RDP] expected the state to conduct a people-orientated developmental policy, [GEAR] saw South Africa's economic 'salvation' in a high economic growth rate that would result from a sharp increase in private capital accumulation in an unbridled capitalistic system (Visser 2004, p.9).

The decade that followed consequently yielded a decline in employment, persistence of deep poverty, and an alarming growth in inequality regardless, or in spite of, macro-economic performance (Lehloesa 2000). The hegemonic influence of neo-liberalism has been considered to be insidious, as reflected internationally by Harvey (2008), and also in the South Africa context by Faranak Miraftab who warns that "Neo-liberalism should be understood as not simply a bundle of economic policies that extract surplus capital, but as a network of policies, ideologies, values and rationalities that work together to achieve capital's hegemonic power" (Miraftab 2009, p.34).

The GEAR policy is premised on the faith that the market is capable of redistributing income and wealth, and providing people with their basic needs (Lehloesa 2000). However, inequality, profits and poverty have all grown in South Africa. This neo-liberal agenda with its deregulation, privatisation, and overall economic liberalisation has hence been the target of heavy critique. Alternative perspectives in the public discourse over recent years have included ideas about the developmental state, and even older notions of the welfare state.

4.7 Looking to Planning for Transformation

In so far as planning was a key mechanism used in defining and administering apartheid's spatial vision, planning is also sought out as being instrumental towards achieving the socio-spatial transformation that is now required. In the South African context, Mabin and Smit (1997) tell a historical cautionary tale about a pattern in the emergence and reformulation of urban planning as a primary instrument for reconstructing South African cities.

Williams (2000) proposes that a range of planning and development principles in the post-apartheid governance approach were intended to produce the fundamental socio-spatial transformation required – "in prose, if not in practice". He identifies these principles as: holism, capacity building/self-reliance, public responsibility, community integration, and participatory democracy (pp.172-175). However, he claims that the composition, financing, and administration of local authorities have presented critical constraints to the effective execution of this transformative role as conceived.

Mabin and Smit (1997) also identify historical weaknesses of local municipalities in playing their urban reconstruction role. However, they reflect that this stunted capacity dates even further back into the colonial era, which led to the nationalist government taking on more powers directly to implement their apartheid spatial vision (p.195). Parnell (2008) too maintains that there are always specific institutional requirements for change.

4.8 But Planning itself Needs to Change: A Formative Critique of Planning Practice

Planning itself needs to transform in order to be relevant for South Africa's transformative planning project. In South Africa, there have been specific critiques

about its weaknesses or gaps in contextualised theory (Harrison, 2006), and the theory-practice relationship (Oranje, 2000; Watson, 2008). These arguments, amongst others, suggest that planning has to be transformed in order to reflect the procedural and substantive concerns of the new order in South Africa; Williams describes this as transforming planning into a regulatory framework of official intervention in the "public domain" (Williams 2006, p. 181).

Through a decade-long programme of critical research and writings with regional teams on the causes and options to address structural exclusion and local development in European cities, Frank Moulaert has raised a set of critiques about the limitations of mainstream development planning and policy approaches over time. In particular, his compilations *Globalization and Integrated Area Development in European Cities* (2000), *The Global City: urban restructuring and social polarization in the city* (edited with Erik Swyngedouw and Arantza Rodriguez, 2003), and *Social Innovation and Territorial Development* (edited with Diana MacCallum, Jean Hillier, and Vicari Haddock, 2009) reflect from historical, spatial and socio-economic perspectives on alternative approaches to the neo-liberal strategies that they deem to have been dominant influences on redevelopment policy and planning since the 1970s. Moulaert's critiques of mainstream development planning approaches include (from Moulaert, 2000) their economism, functionalism, and tendency to be top-down, deterministic and technologist. He criticizes the measures used by orthodox development approaches for their avoidance of crucial ecological and social questions, and most particularly for their acceptance of inequality and exclusion. These identified shortcomings form the basis for Moulaert's argument for alternative development approaches.

Grounded in this literature, the researcher begins in this section to develop her own evolving critique of LDA. The set of critiques highlight key points from Moulaert's analysis which corroborate her own experiences in the NDPG. She then discusses these in relation to corresponding experiences and writings by Moulaert and other scholars. The researcher's experiences relate to a range of township

redevelopment plans submitted to NDPG between 2008-2011, programmatic studies that she was involved in, and her direct experience in working with the national oversight programme (NDP) during the same period.

1) Standardised: The "one size fits all"

A common critique in the NDP was a concern that the redevelopment plans being received looked suspiciously similar; what was cynically referred to among NDP staff as "the cookie cutter approach". This referred to the observation that:

i) The development proposals seemed to refer mainly to basic infrastructure with questionable transformative potential (keeping in mind the rationale of NDPG as a "catalytic fund" geared to township transformation); and

ii) Beyond basic infrastructure (for which an argument of necessity could be made, given the relative deficiencies faced due to historical neglect, and its prerequisite role in underpinning any other development), the same predictable mix of development solutions was tabled in plans almost regardless of context: it seemed that the same "nodes and spines" formula containing a mix of some road, paving, retail and recreation was the prescription that would transform every township.

So similar were the plans that sometimes those submitting them had even forgotten to update the township name in what was sometimes evidently a literal search-and-replace job on pre-existing plans from other areas. Malpractice aside – and even excusing the potential that there might be some element of generic backlogs facing former apartheid black townships, however, there was a real concern that there appeared to be no sense that context, scale or time mattered in determining what interventions might work in one place compared to another.

.....There was also a concern among NDP staff that the NDPG planning teams also did not tend to consider broader contextual dynamics and influences. There were several instances where it was apparent that an insular, unsystemic view was being taken about the development potential and constraints of the areas, and capacity building interventions were arranged in seeking to address this gap (TTRI learning event, 2010; King Sabata Dalindyebo foresight exercise, 2010). Yet few municipal officials indicated much concern about the potential of their proposed plans to effectively transform the areas, other than as a matter of quantum; "all we need is more money" was the typical sentiment. Despite a lack of any precedents that they could convincingly cite, they seemed convinced that their plans could turn the townships around....

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The "cookie cutter approach," it turns out, is not unique to South Africa or to township planning. Abukhater (2009) refers to critique (notably by John Friedmann among others) of the centric nature of decision-making in rational-comprehensive

planning which depends on a “one strategy fits all” approach in order to produce its neat and convenient output; it is apparently difficult “to incorporate the diversity of perceptions, interests, and values into a single plan” which instead gets generally defined through technical elitism and universal rationality. He goes on to explain that planning’s “pure instrumentalism of functional rationality and utilitarian and optimization tendency resulted in a lack of understanding of local needs and contextual differences and contributed to its inability to generate meaningful alternatives” (ibid, p.69).

There are also examples of the same concern in the European context, where Moulaert (2000) refers critically to the to the “cocktail” of large-scale urban development projects, fiscal measures to stimulate investment, local measures regarding labour-market flexibility, and city marketing strategies – a top-down mix intended to produce urban prosperity and ultimately trickle down to the excluded.

Chambers too comments from the perspective of rural development that “core programmes spread standardisation over diverse realities: the same crops and treatment are recommended in totally different eco-systems” (Chambers 1986, p.22). “Standardized, hierarchical, insensitive” is his depiction of the traditional development approach (ibid, p.28). In explaining this analytical neutrality, Chambers argues against the standard “first” categories employed by normal professionals in thinking about development; the problem being that they tend to be reductionist and prone to reflecting the other five criticisms discussed in this section. This tendency, he argues, stems from “normal professionalism” which bounds our knowledge-building processes within conceptual and disciplinary orthodoxies. Doucet supports this view, suggesting that “In our explorations of the city, we seem to trust our categories, terminologies and methodologies so strongly that we often tend to forget to listen to what the city is actually trying to tell us” (Doucet 2008, p.48).

2) Top-Down: Participation and Empowerment as "Cosmetic Labels"

While community participation was a core principle of NDPG, it often seemed as though the minimum compliance measure of this – inclusion of the proposed projects in the municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) – was the extent to which this was undertaken. An appraisal of NDPG municipalities undertaken by the researcher (NDPG Strategic Projects Appraisals, 2009) found that many of the municipal officials felt that they already knew what the local people wanted and needed, and that involving residents was merely inflammatory; what people simply wanted was delivery on promised developments. (This, incidentally, was consistent with the researcher's findings in a separate study for the Public Service Commission which interrogated public sector "value for money" in service delivery). The processes therefore focused on producing plans to secure project funding for already-identified projects. Community participation and local empowerment were not of any evident concern.

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Issues of local participation and critiques of the extent to which it is often overlooked or undermined through planning processes are the subject of a significant volume of development and planning literature (for example, Chambers 1986, 1995; Miraftab 2004; Williams 2006; Sinwell 2009). Of the South African context, Williams argues that "Most community participation exercises in post-Apartheid South Africa are largely spectator politics, where ordinary people have mostly become endorsees of pre-designed planning programmes, [and] are often the objects of administrative manipulation" (Williams 2006).

Miraftab (2004) questions how real the participatory, empowering approach to development – which South Africa has on the one hand been exemplified for – has really been. She theorises about "invited" versus "invented" spaces of popular participation, and argues that progress (transformation) is most likely to result from the latter. Williams (2006) warns of the likely result of "an administered society rather than a democratic society," and Ferreira et al. proposed that:

> Planners need to reflect critically on the political implications of the theories they subscribe to because all theories are embedded in specific political agendas, and they necessarily promote specific power relationships. Theories related to urban planning induce specific bias in the way that the city and its problems are perceived, approached, and 'solved'. Theories are connected to the invariants that individuals understand as the

> most reliable; therefore the invariants which we believe in are connected to our political choices (Ferreria et al. 2009, p.37).

Chambers writes extensively about the post-positivist evolution into development as participation, empowerment and learning. However, he warns that participation would require some difficult reversals of power and "giving things up" – an achievement that has been evasive in professional practice. Instead, he comments on the tendency to [ab]use participation as a "cosmetic label to make whatever is proposed appear good," or co-option. He defines a third approach to participation which could truly empower local people. However, instead the fact that "things" are still needed in most underdeveloped contexts, officials are able to cite for instance timeframes, budgets, norms and standards and targets, as the reasons why participation and empowerment become difficult or even dispensable (Chambers 1995, p.33). This excuse is evident in the attitude that the research experienced among NDPG officials who would deflect criticisms by asserting that townships cannot be redeveloped anyway until they have all the missing "things": roads, basic services, housing.

Chambers also refers to the essential role of power in planning. Politicians' pet projects and patronage, negotiations over resource control, sectoral interests, and hierarchical relations at all levels of the development system mean that genuine participation faces a critical, and perhaps ultimate, hurdle: "Participation as an empowering process implies loss of central control and proliferation of local diversity. The powerful are threatened with loss of power" (Chambers 1995, p.33).

James Scott (1999) writes most critically, perhaps, about the authoritarian tendencies of states, and the disastrous combination of this with high modernist planning (or planners). He argues – and this is supported by the writings of Moulaert – that Western notions of development and planning have always been modernist and authoritarian. In his exposition on the failures of many well-intentioned development schemes, Scott outlines a four-course recipe for the development tragedies that that he proceeds to depict:

i) administrative ordering based on “transformative state simplifications” –a narrowing of vision which enables a legible and common purpose around which mass control and manipulation is possible;

ii) high modernist ideology – “uncritical, unskeptical, and thus unscientifically optimistic about the possibilities for the comprehensive planning of human settlement and production”;

iii) an authoritarian state, willing and able to use its power; and

iv) an incapacitated civil society.

Scott’s analysis makes some important contributions that are evident in the NDPG experience. He explains that state simplifications of development that are deliberately incomplete and selective are typically characteristic of even the best-intentioned social-engineering schemes. The rationalisation and standardisation are necessary in order to render legibility and administrative convenience. In the case of NDPG, it might be argued that the programme design and guides provided oversimplifications of the task, and the implementers proceeded to be economical in their design and execution of their local programmes.

Brooks reflects on an important principle of “transformative planning” being that “…the answer lies in the community. You have to understand the locality and community. Communities tell stories about themselves – some good, some bad, not always entirely true, but that doesn't matter - the story becomes the truth. One other point to note is the importance of history – it is part of the truth we are looking for” (Brooks 2006, p.3). There is embedded here a firm view that transformation requires a strongly contextualised and participatory approach.

3) Economism: The problems and solutions are all economic

NDPG as a conditional grant is unequivocal about its objective of catalysing and leveraging economic development in townships, even though it also alludes to the improvement of quality of life as a parallel objective (National Treasury, 2007a). However, there was a sense that most plans focused only on attracting [external] investment into townships through retail-led interventions with little consideration of local "internal" opportunities, or of broader human or social objectives, inputs or outcomes.

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Two main issues of concern are highlighted in this regard:

i) Economism reduces local development to a simplified logic "economic development" in a manner that ignores other important dimensions (for example human, social, environmental) as argued by Moulaert (2000).

ii) The particular form of economism (neo-liberal) further reduces the focus on economic development to a localised view that typically treats the area merely as a reproduction site for the mainstream economy, reinforcing dominant economic relations.

Godelier (1997; as cited in Moulaert 2000, p.34) defines "economism" as "the reduction of all social structures to nothing but epiphenomena of the economy which itself is reduced through technique, to a function of adaptation to the environment".

The neo-liberalism characterising South Africa's development trajectory from the mid-1990s has been critiqued for its market bias and hegemonic influence which insidiously affects conceptualisations of "reality" and prospects for social change (as reflected in Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci's analyses of social and economic class). This is reflected in the dominant assumption in NDPG plans that the lot of townships can only be improved by linking them to big business interests (Prahalad's "bottom of the pyramid", a market-based perspective) and attracting low-wage jobs into townships.

Besides the fact that this ignores important arguments about the transformations required in South Africa by Bond and Williams, among others, the international experience warns against this flawed logic. Mahmoud and Nayab (1995) for example argue that:

> Development and neoclassical theory is misplaced if it recommends that the traditional small-scale sector can only grow by subcontracting links to the large-scale sector. We would argue that this strategy would simply lead to the large-scale sector exploiting the cheap family labour of the small-scale sector. Alternatively, the small-scale traditional sector should be given access to credit and appropriate institutional support, which will allow it to innovate its indigenous technology and production systems, which have been stagnating for lack of resources and cultural space and support (Mahmoud & Nayab 1995, p.11).

In a specifically urban example, new economic growth theorist Michael Porter had suggested that it was necessary to "rethink the inner city in economic rather than social terms… Businesspeople, entrepreneurs, and investors must assume a lead role; and community activists, social service providers, and government bureaucrats must support them" (Porter, as cited by Harrison & Glasmeler 1997, p.30). However, his perspective was then critiqued by Harrison and Glasmeler who argue that Porter ignores evidence about the role of social capital as being complementary or even essential to local economic development, the crucial role of government and community-based organisations, and the necessity of firm learning in enabling long-term success – not just short-term economic gains (ibid, p.34).

Economism in planning may reduce the socio-economy to simplistic economic rationality which may ignore the multi-dimensional, transformative approach to local development and LDA required in developmental contexts in order to create the foundation for equitable and sustainable development.

4) Physical bias: Infrastructure will deliver the change

NDPG is largely a capital grant, although it does include a technical assistance component (roughly 10%). "Capital" in the NDPG Toolkits (National Treasury, 2007b) referred to a broad range of possible infrastructure investments that might be used to catalyse the intended area development. NDP conversations also asserted that there were no limits to the interpretation of this, and it could as easily refer to hard or soft infrastructures. However, it was almost uniformly interpreted to mean hard infrastructure (e.g. roads, buildings, landscaping).

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Watson, Moulaert and others have commented extensively on the physical bias of urban planning. Archibugi specifically refers to the dominantly physical orientation of Western urban planning (Archibugi 2004, p.434). Chambers warns that "unless analysis from physical processes to people is preceded and balanced by analysis from people to physical processes, it will be biased and incomplete, and will miss opportunities for sustainable development" (Chambers 1987, p.8).

Manfred Max-Neef's theory of human-scale development makes a cogent argument about the importance of differentiating between human *needs* and the *satisfiers* of those needs (Max-Neef 1991). The physical bias in planning is exemplary of a prioritisation of a satisfier (what Chambers refers to as "things") over the actual need, which is argued to be human at its core, and not physical.

Chambers (1995) further critiques "development as things" compared to "development as people". In his 1987 critique of the work of the Brundtland Commission (then the World Commission on Environment and Development), Chambers points out that while "normal professionalism" or "the standard agenda" of the preceding development – with its preoccupation with physical things, conditions, and services; a macro perspective; and generally focusing on "first" categories seeking simple, direct solutions, and starting with physical problems rather than understanding people – had been critiqued by the early work of the Commission. The Commission's "alternative agenda" also fell into the same trap by going on to be

general and undifferentiated about people, retaining the pre-eminence of physical things, conditions and processes over people in development.

Given its historical under-provision in townships ("backlogs") and the perspective that infrastructure is a pre-requisite to any other area development continue to justify LDA and intervention logics that are dominated by physical considerations (for example lack of roads, sidewalks, taxi ranks, service facilities).

There is also a narrow view of planning which holds that planning should focus on the physical, else risk generalised "incompetence":

> "In this line of reasoning it is relevant to address Kevin Lynch and Lloyd Rodwin (1958). They considered that planners were becoming too ambitious in their attempts to integrate interdisciplinary views in the discipline. According to these authors, this could only lead to perplexity. In their words: 'City and regional planners operate primarily upon the physical environment, although mindful of its complex social, economic, or psychological effects. They are not experts in all the planning for the future that a society engages in, but only in planning for the future development of the physical and spatial city: streets, buildings, utilities, activity distributions, spaces, and their interrelations. Although cries of dismay may greet such a reactionary and 'narrow' view, the currently fashionable broader definitions lead in our judgment only to integrated, comprehensive incompetence... [The planner] does not pretend to be a sociologist, an economist, an administrator, or some megalomaniacal super-combination of these (Ferreira, Sykes and Batey 2009, p.33).

5) Exogenous: The solutions all lie outside

There didn't seem to be many examples of identifying and seeking to build upon any local initiatives. For example in T-Section – the focus seemed to be on clearing out and replacing rather than enhancing the existing general dealer, repairmen, etc. The proposed solution was to bring in a Spar supermarket. While indeed the focus may have needed to be on retail to serve under-serviced consumers locally, what was not necessary was an exclusive focus on external, corporate investors. In fact, the idea of "investment" was always expressed as an external factor to be attracted, rather than as an internal potential to be nurtured. Internal entrepreneurs were considered inadequate to develop or transform the neighbourhood. Consequently, the approaches taken focused on building consumption rather than production in the community.

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Particularly in the context of the developing world, there have been numerous critiques at the failures of development planning to valorise local knowledge, local solutions, and local opportunities. As Chambers puts it, "professionals looking outwards from the centre, and downwards from the top, do not see this" (Chambers 1987, p.8).

Moulaert (2000) argues that local development must embody the local and all that it includes – its path dependencies, its informalities, its ideas, and its unique potentials. However, much more likely is the blatant disregard for the local, the cultural, and the organic in a "backward" place as reflected by Scott (1999) in reference to Le Corbusier's high modernist view on the city. A failure to recognise different contexts with their different relations of production and their unique potentials, for example, risks a reductionist perspective that "the 'less developed' are archaic and simply bound, at some point to 'catch up' with the more advanced, perhaps going through the same 'stages' of development" (Ngwane, Bond & Desai, 2012).

Instead, African intellectuals such as Mafeje, Mkandawire and Odora-Hoppers have argued that underdevelopment is, at least in part, a result of hegemony and cultural impoverishment. Ali Mazrui, as cited by Mkandawire (2000), has reflected on African universities as "a transmission belt for Western high culture, rather than a workshop for the failure to contextualize standards and excellence for the needs of our own people, to ground the very process and agenda of learning and research in our conditions" (Mazrui 1993, p.119). Mazrui critiques the "extroversion" and "mimetism" of African knowledge systems that were primed to borrow Western concepts without sensitivity to the specifics of our own conditions. According to Mazrui's argument, while Africa certainly needs the capacity to learn, we also need the important capacity to translate and adapt external knowledge for our own local use. Mere blind adoption is problematic and sustains the condition of underdevelopment.

From a practical perspective, the concern for endogenous potential is evident in livelihoods approaches – a set of conceptual frameworks that promote people-centred development that recognise and seek understanding of the wide range of livelihood strategies pursued by people. Livelihood approaches are considered to put people first, recognize multiple values and multiple rationalities, appreciate inherent strengths and potentials of actors, respect context specificity, integrate culture, and so forth (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

What is recommended in the literature that endorses this perspective is the notion of an endogenous development that will take seriously the ecological and social skills, and the African (or local) cultural identity. "Endogenous development" is seen, for example, as a practice that lets native farmers use their own ideas and traditions alongside new technology. It thereby incorporates the ideas and knowledge of indigenous cultures in evolving development solutions, rather than disregarding them (a perspective supported by a range of scholars including Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Archie Mafeje, Catherine Odora-Hoppers, Shiv Visvanathan, Anil Gupta, Frank Moulaert, Richard Chambers and James Scott).

Scott explains that "designed or planned social order is necessarily schematic; it always ignores essential features of any real, functioning social order" (Scott 1999, p.6). He goes on to state that "Strong neighbourhoods, like strong cities, are the product of complex processes that cannot be replicated from above" (ibid, p.144). In the top-down, schematic approach, therefore, the role of local knowledge and know-how is also ignored, as also seen in the NDPG experience.

Marie Huchzermeyer also warns, however, that professionals need a paradigm shift that allows them to recognize such local solutions. "Where municipalities are not willing to explore such solutions", she says, "an increasingly informed civil society will be calling for innovative measures, taking their rightful position as active participants in the design, implementation and evaluation of projects" (Huchzermeyer 2006, p.50).

6) Formalistic: It's all about cleaning up and clearing out

NDPG plans reflect informality as something to be managed, controlled, cleaned up. There is very little sense that the reality of informality is embraced and innovative solutions proposed. The typical response is to formalise, or at least formally treat, informal activities in townships to fit more conventional (western) ideas of modern economies – for example, relocating informal traders into formal shelters, helping them to register, and then seeking to regulate and extract levies from them. This formula has often resulted, however, in sometimes-explosive disputes between municipalities and the informal role-players – there have been examples of this in Tshwane, eThekwini, and Johannesburg.

A number of debates held in the course of NDP's Training for Township Renewal Initiative (TTRI) learning sessions demonstrated a dominant tendency for officials to be forcefully averse to ideas about relaxing regulatory frameworks to accommodate or be responsive to informality. A presentation by a planning academic, for example, about how planning regulations might accommodate or adapt to the reality of informality and evolved land uses in townships (such as home-based industries and other informal trade) met a hostile response by municipal officials who felt that she was seeking to ghettoize townships.

In another example, a TTRI exploration of "backyard shacks" (a growing category of informal dwellings) and how they could be accommodated through innovative policies and designs met the adamant response: "No, it's against housing policy – we must eradicate the shacks!"

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Informality, in co-existence with formality, is a reality for most developing cities of the world (UN-Habitat 2003; Davis 2004; Roy 2005), and increasingly also in the developed world (Ward & Peters 2007). It is a reality for South Africa's townships where more jobs are being created in the informal sector than in the formal sector (Godehart, 2006). Godehart suggests that "A development model for townships is proposed that acknowledges informality as a major force in urban development and a means for poor residents to ascertain their citizenship" (ibid, p.i). Other more recent studies have also contributed to understanding the nature of the informal economy in townships (Charman et al, 2012; Charman et al, 2013).

Issues of informality as a concept and even as a sector have been recognised since the 1960s and 1970s, but have been increasingly evident as an acute phenomenon in the developing world since the 1980s, sometimes being more the norm than the exception. In contemporary times, informality continues to be a subject

of growing scale and concern in thinking about African cities. Using the Senegalese case, Konté and Ndong (2012) illustrate, how the economic crisis of the 1970s in Africa triggered a bottom-up response pursuing self-reliance. This was what the International Labour Organization (ILO) recognised as the unstructured, or informal, sector. Similar to a number of other developing countries, this sector eventually grew to what has become a permanent and significant feature of Senegalese society and economy, exceeding the modern sector's contribution to GDP for two decades, and absorbing a majority share of the labour force. The informal sector is thereby increasingly recognised as being instrumental in improving the living conditions of citizens, even while its definition and conceptualisation as, for example, informal activity, informal sector or informal economy, is still subject to some debate (Konté & Ndong 2012, pp.2-4).

The concept of "informality" has thus been a contested one (Echanove 2013, Jenkins 2013). Paul Jenkins has warned that "The formal/informal dichotomy is too simplistic to capture the social, economic and political complexities of urban situations. Its application in urban development may lead to marginalization and social exclusion" (Jenkins 2004, p.210). He links his conceptual arguments against the "informal sector" category to two other critiques raised in this section. One, he relates it to a tendency to a top-down approach in urban development practice; a practice which only recognises state or market mechanisms which have tended to act to the exclusive benefit of urban-based elites. This limited interpretation (or appropriation) of what is "formal" and therefore permissible, he argues, has been to the exclusion of more directly socially controlled mechanisms which would be more inclusive of the majority. Two, Jenkins specifically proposes alternative systems – for example for land allocation, management and transfer – which are community-driven and possibly grounded in existing (endogenous) forms of social structures and organisation.

Davis (2004) explains some of the complications with modern informality. He contrasts it as being far more base and Darwinian than the Marxist, eighteenth

century “sociologies of protest” which presented a more romantic explanation in the emancipatory potential of popular activism. We now face a kind of “informal survivalism” which he defines as a consequence of the crisis of the 1980s: the effect of structural adjustment and liberalisation on the developing world, which was ultimately to grow poverty and inequality (Davis 2004, p.29). Under these circumstances, Davis critiques the capitalist argument of Chilean economist Hernando de Soto (1989, 2000) that the informal sector is a consequence of limited access to property rights and competitive space. The category, which is estimated to represent the more significant and growing quantum in the global south, represents an “informal proletariat” (so defined by Portes and Hoffman 2003, as cited by Davis 2004) which subsists by any means at risk of starving. This trajectory of “urbanization disconnected from industrialization” has thus been the lot of many cities of the south, including South Africa (Antentas, 2008).

A range of South African studies have revealed the complexities of the state’s attempts to engage beneficially with informality. This has often been conflictual and unsuccessful (HSRC et al. 2003; Huchzermeyer 2006, 2009). Marie Huchzermeyer (2009) speaks of a state “campaign” against informality where informality is seen as negative, something to “eradicated” or treated with “zero tolerance”. She argues that there is a continued fixation with orderly and segregated development in South African cities, rather than for improvement of the lives of the people living in them. The “unwillingness by local and provincial government to recognise informality as a process that can positively shape urban space” (Huchzermeyer 2009, p.3) limits the state’s ability to engage with the reality of informality.

In the researcher’s experience, the South African state (at both national and local levels) demonstrates a consistent reluctance (or inability) to engage with the reality and even potential of informality. Officials’ notions of participation and empowerment do not usually include actions and pursuits that do not conform to formal structures, norms and precedents. Role-players in developing contexts, it seems, can ironically be even more adamant in their insistence on formality than in

the developed world. In South Africa, for example, there are examples of bottom-up formalist pressure by communities, and those who seek to represent them, who sometimes perceive innovative and endogenous solutions as attempts by the state to give them sub-standard provision, or to ghettoise them – an issue that often becomes heavily politicized at a local level. The communities aspire to (and often feel entitled to) the same perceived benefits, levels of service, and "modern" standards enjoyed by the previous regime and by currently higher social classes. So, for example, people may insist that they want the same bricks and mortar or electricity "like they had / have", and not innovative adobe block building systems or modified, sustainable energy technologies – despite evidence of superior technical performance. Communities themselves may demand the eradication of informal settlements or traders, or even demand their formalisation, without fully processing whether this formalisation is efficacious or sustainable given their roles and realities.

The *Seminar on Informal City* held in Johannesburg in November 2011 (Architect's Collective, 2011) identified that South Africa has a propensity to very formal approaches to urban policy and strategies. Besides inevitably disenfranchising communities, an important consequence of this is the tendency of formal schemes to dismiss knowledge embedded in local practices (Scott 1999; Jacobs 1961). The Seminar therefore raised important questions about how viable alternatives and linkages for excluded communities could be conceptualised. How, for example, could flexible regulatory frameworks be encouraged in order to enable liveability and opportunity in the city (Architect's Collective 2011, presentation by Michael Hart) – a discussion explored deeply by Godehart.

Beyond simply engaging with and enabling informality, it is also recognised that a range of complexities must inevitably also be addressed. Aspects of illegalisation, exploitation, regulation (for example for health and safety standards), location in relation to formal systems such as tax-based public systems, and so forth cannot be overlooked in any serious analysis of informal economies.

4.9 Conclusion and Gaps in the Literature

This study is seeking to develop a model of how LDA could be conceived and improved through contributions from the SoI approach, with an application to South African townships. The related objective of the study is to directly contribute to the planning practice's conceptualisation and approach to local development planning. Further, the study seeks to engage in appreciative theorization about the planning discipline's conceptualisation and analysis of the neighbourhood context and reality from a transformative perspective.

In the researcher's review of literature on analytical planning approaches as applied to townships in South Africa, the researcher mainly found studies that looked at planning from the perspectives of political history (Smit, Mabin), policy and institutions (Williams, Parnell), planning practices (Watson, Miraftab), programmes (Zack), and planning instruments (Godehart). No sources were found that specifically linked transformative planning per se to an SoI perspective in the African context. The application is considered to be potentially interesting and instructive both in exploring the efficacy of the particular systems approach, as well as from a trans-disciplinary perspective which leverages the broad purview, as well as the transformative potential, of planning.

Chambers has commented that "More is known by professionals about the things of the rich than about the things of the poor" (Chambers 1985, p.15). This study will also seek to add to the still relatively deficient pro-poor theorisation and empirical work, in this case with a focus on black townships in South Africa which generally seem to be under-researched.

SECTION II: FINDINGS

"The question is **how do we read these places**? Where are they? What could they be? What are their limitations towards achieving that? What will really *do* stuff here??"

~Adrian Masson, planner

Chapter 5: What Planning Sees

5.1 Introduction

These following four chapters present the findings obtained from the research study. The findings are structured according the research design framework presented. First, the LDA representations of the cases, explicated from NDPG programme documents, plans and informants, are presented. The second chapter begins by presenting basic information about the two case study neighbourhoods, [T-Section and Saulsville] to introduce the respective areas and their contexts, then reporting on the appreciative observations made for each case study in the course of the study. The following chapter supplements the study findings with additional secondary sources and perspectives on LDA. The final chapter in this set centres on the SoI application. The analyses across these data, and interpretation towards the research study questions, follow in the Section 3 chapters.

Overview of Pretoria's Townships

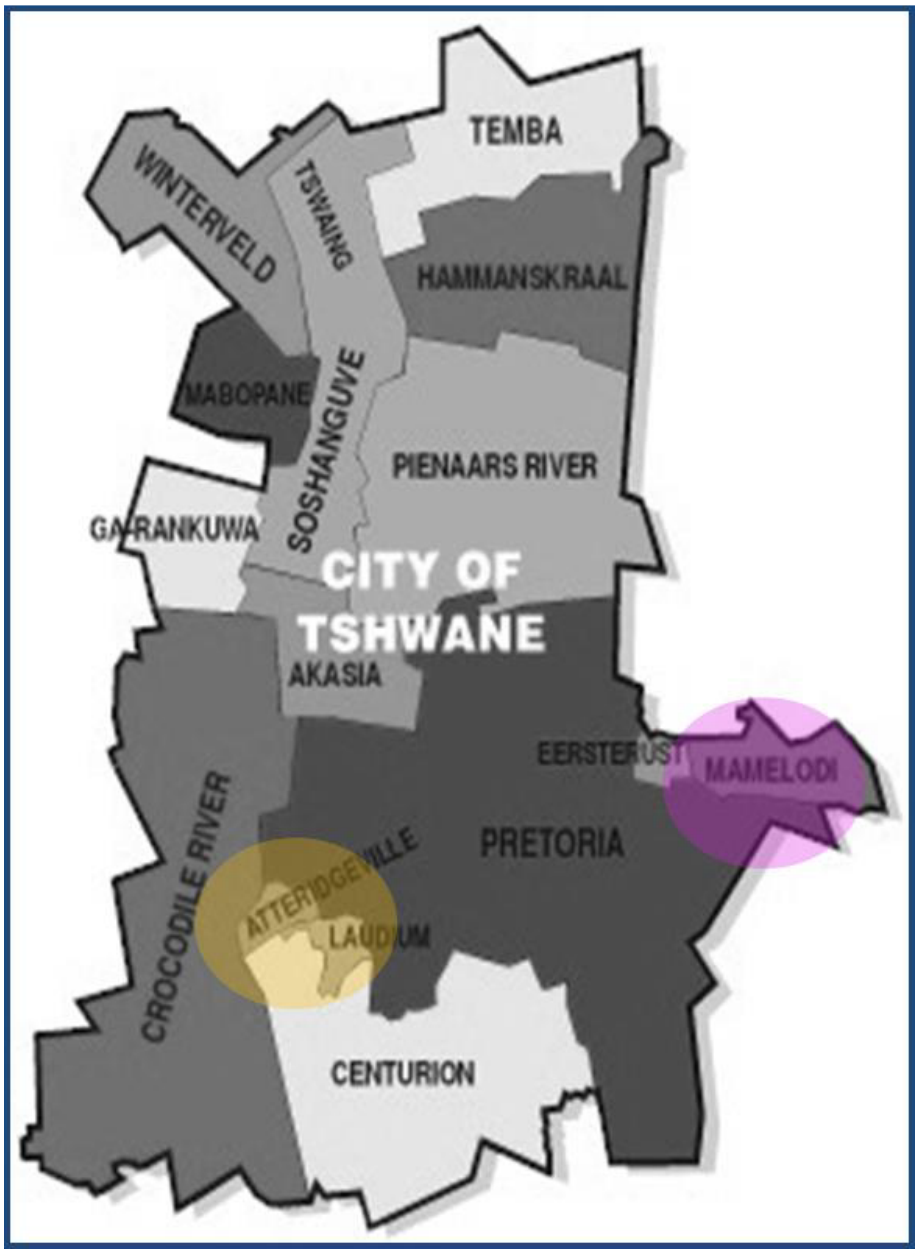
"The Group Areas Act (1950)... formed the cornerstone of apartheid. Although residential segregation of Indians and Blacks had existed even before this law was passed, the principle was now greatly extended.

"In Pretoria, this led to the demarcation of separate residential areas for Whites, Indians Coloureds and Africans. People were moved from Lady Selbourne, the city centre and Marabastad to Laudium, Eersterus, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Hammanskraal. Indian traders were also moved out of the centre of Pretoria."

Pretoria's main [former] township areas include: Atteridgeville and Saulsville, Hammanskraal, Mamelodi, Mabopane, Laudium, Eersterus, Garankuwa, Lady Selbourne, and Marabastad.

SAHO Project

Figure 11: Locational map of township locations



Source: Gauteng Provincial Government, Department Of Housing (Metroplan, December 2006)

5.2 How LDA is done: The NDPG approach

There is no textbook on how LDA is done. This study uses NDPG as a proxy for a standard planning process employed in determining or informing how to design planning intervention for an ABI. The NDPG's grant framework specified that investments would be made on the basis of rigorous planning and credible, feasible business plans (National Treasury 2007a). The process therefore privileged planning as the basis for programmatic attention and strategic investment.

The NDPG planning process was driven through municipalities who appointed, using technical assistance funding and generally through a public bidding process, qualified professionals to assist in the LDA studies and business plan development. These professionals typically included development planners. Sometimes, however, other professions such as engineers, project managers, or urban designers might have been appointed as the leads.

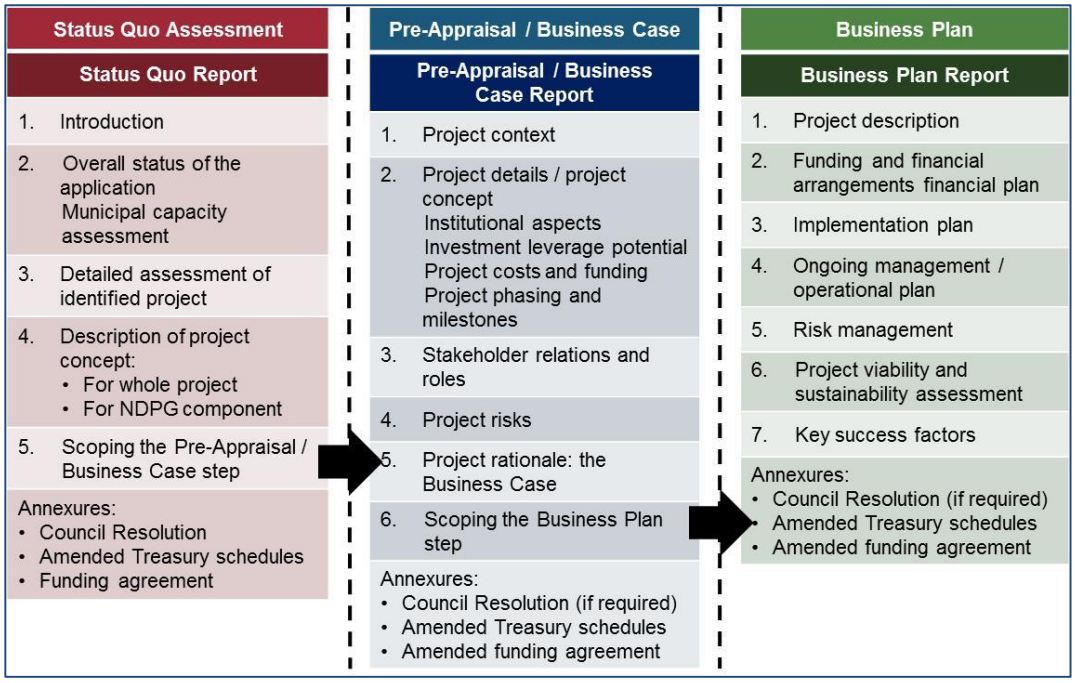
An NDPG Toolkit (National Treasury 2007), and later an Operations Manual including the toolkit, were issued to guide key steps to planning within NDPG (NDP 2010a). This included a Project Preparation Guidance Note (NDP 2010b). The key stages of this project preparation process are shown in Figure 12 below.

LDA as discussed in this study mainly relates to the first, status quo stage which is supposed to assess the overall status of the areas within which the proposed intervention/s will take place. It is intended to:

i) Provide a broad overview of the developmental state of the area identified for the intervention;

ii) Systematically assess what the implications are for the planning preparation process and for implementation. (NDP 2010)

Figure 12: NDPG project preparation process



(Source: NDP 2010b)

According to the guidance provided the stage might include studying the development context including location, history, social, economic, physical and natural environment; community profile/s (demographics); key development challenges (SWOT); target beneficiary groups; any spatial and non-spatial issues affecting the areas; and a review of the municipal capacity and commitment in respect of each of the interventions. These may include: political and operational champion for the intervention, current institutional arrangements and where the NDPG intervention fits into the organisational structure. The process is proposed to conclude with using criteria to assess interventions and prioritise the interventions based on the criteria assessment.

The status quo stage also determines what detailed investigations will be required to support assessment of feasibility and implementation. The NDPG toolkit indicates that the subsequent technical investigations and studies will differ, depending on project types and different levels or scales. Typical feasibilities indicated include:

transport investigations; land-related investigations; EIAs; market and user surveys; investment partnership structuring; economic opportunities investigation; rezonings; safety strategy and plan; operations and maintenance strategy and plan; precinct designs; preliminary project designs and costings and geotechnical studies. The implication is that these studies are typically undertaken when a project direction has already been estimated.

In addition to these processes, later in 2010 an "Economic Area Analysis, Interpretation and Recommendations" guidance note was developed to inform and guide municipalities on how to pursue these studies.

5.3 City of Tshwane's Approach

City of Tshwane has numerous spatial strategies and plans, the key ones being: their Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF), Regional Spatial Development Frameworks; Tshwane Spatial Development Strategy 2010 and Beyond; and the City Development Strategy. In addition, the city has a flagship township programme:

> In 2005/6 the Tsošološo Programme was finalised by the City of Tshwane to identify the structural planning problems that were deterring investment of disadvantaged areas in Tshwane. The main aim of the Tsošološo Programme is to increase the quality and hence spatial economic readiness of these areas. Towards this, the Tsošološo Programme further proposes a set of planning principles that would need to be incorporated into future local area restructuring interventions for the public realm in Tshwane (City of Tshwane 2009a, p.14).

The strategic outcomes of Tshwane's townships strategy, dubbed the Tsošološo programme's Five Point Action Plan, are:

i) Create community activity centres and focal points

ii) Strengthen activity linkages (spines/streets)

iii) Transform transport interchanges into civic terminals

iv) Enhance the pedestrian environment

v) Enrich the quality of the public environment with public art and 'green structures'

The city developed and leveraged funding towards Tsošološo from the Gauteng provincial Top 20 Priority Townships Programme and also in significant measure from NDPG. Strategic assessments for the programme were undertaken for five townships, namely Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve/Mabopane, Hammanskraal and Olievenhoutbosch.

5.4 Representations of the Two Neighbourhoods

The simplest summation of the NDPG status quo studies and LDA outcomes are the SWOT (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) frameworks that were generated for each neighbourhood through a summative SWOT process, and were presented in the city's Business Plans. These are therefore presented in this section as the basic representations of area LDAs.

5.4.1 T-Section LDA

Planning for Mamelodi in general, and T-Section Precinct within it, has a long history dating as far back as 1996 when the city of Pretoria entered a collaboration with the Delft Municipality in the Netherlands to investigate the future development of Mamelodi. Since then, numerous studies have been commissioned

Numerous studies and frameworks have been commissioned for the area over time. This study focuses on the Status Quo Report and Spatial Development Framework Plan for the Proposed Redevelopment of Mamelodi T-Section [Old Mamelodi CBD] (MDP, 2008) and the subsequent Project Status Quo Report: T-

Section Precinct, Mamelodi (Urban Design Studio, 2009). The status quo assessments were used to inform the project preparation stage for each node as captured in the Business Plans (2010) and T-Section Precinct Plan (Plan Associates, 2010).

Table 5 presents the key LDA findings identified through the NDPG planning process.

Table 5: T-Section SWOT

Strengths:	**Weaknesses:**
o The rich history of T-Section as well as the wide variety of facilities and intimate urban character are positive elements that can be enhanced to create a special place for the residents of Mamelodi as well as local and international tourists. Its locality and linkages to HM Pitje stadium is a further asset in this regard.	o T-Section precinct is not linked to any major public transport intermodal node. This limits access to the area. o The built-up nature of the precinct will only allow for incremental and infill development. o The poor environmental quality due to the lack of maintenance and solid waste removal. o Poor legibility[7]. o The lack of technical studies for the area as well as a clear implementation plan.
Opportunities:	**Threats:**
o A site on which the existing sports facility is located has been identified for redevelopment, as this facility could be moved to a site next to HM Pitje stadium. This will allow for a catalyst project to be developed in the area. o Interest in the development of the area from both private and public sector.	o The small number of properties still in council ownership, specifically given the RETRO programme, limits the release of land or the development of a large project. It does, however, offer the opportunity for small and local businessmen to become involved in the upgrading of the precinct. o The large number of stakeholders in the precinct could complicate the implementation of the urban renewal proposed for the precinct. o Availability of bulk services and infrastructure. o The occurrence of uncontrolled development and growth of informal settlement activities specifically informal residential development on erven (plots) zoned for business and commercial purposes

(City of Tshwane 2009a, p.30)

[7] Legibility refers to the ease with which people can understand the layout of a place.

The resultant NDPG Business Plan for T-Section indicates the following aims for the node:

"The urban renewal of T-Section Precinct into a mixed-use node with:

- a high quality public environment that accommodates pedestrians as a priority,
- medium density housing that accommodates a variety of income groups,
- a variety of commercial and recreational activities, both formal and informal,
- tourism facilities, and
- high quality social clusters" (City of Tshwane, 2009a).

5.4.2 Saulsville LDA

Planning for Saulsville has been underway for a shorter duration than T-Section's, according to the documents reviewed. Table 6 represents the NDPG / LDA findings.

The resultant NDPG Business Plan for Saulsville indicates the following Aims for the node:

The urban renewal of Saulsville Precinct into a metropolitan urban core focused on a multi-modal transport hub with:

- mixed land uses;
- a high quality public environment that accommodates pedestrians as a priority,
- medium density housing that accommodates a variety of income groups,
- a variety of commercial and recreational activities, both formal and informal, and high quality social clusters (City of Tshwane 2009a).

Table 6: Saulsville SWOT

Strengths:	**Weaknesses:**
o Saulsville Precinct has been identified as a metropolitan node and there are already several projects underway in the precinct. o The precinct is located at the most accessible point in Atteridgeville for both public and private vehicles.	o The built-up nature of the precinct will only allow for incremental and infill development. o The quality of the environment is poor due to the general lack of maintenance and solid waste removal. o Poor legibility. o The lack of an overall development framework and vision for the precinct.
Opportunities:	**Threats:**
o Interest in the development of the area from both private and public sector.	o The small number of properties still in council ownership, specifically given the RETRO programme, limits the release of land or the development of a large project. It does, however, offer the opportunity for small and local businessmen to become involved in upgrading the precinct. o The large number of stakeholders in the precinct could complicate the implementation of the urban renewal proposed for the precinct. o Availability of bulk services and infrastructure. o The occurrence of uncontrolled development and growth of informal settlement activities specifically informal residential development on erven zoned for business and commercial purposes. o Current actions and projects are not co-ordinated which leads to conflicting developments which will harm the future development of the area.

(City of Tshwane 2009a, p.32)

5.5 Commentary

The LDA documents for the two areas reflect generally undifferentiated depictions, and recommendations only for capital (physical) improvements and further, mainly technical, studies. Although the studies in some cases refer to institutional analysis, these are not reported on (possibly they were not implemented),

and there is generally no discussion of for instance actors, structures, institutions, social issues and cultural issues in the LDA documents reviewed.

IDP consultations are sometimes referred to as a source. Table 7 below reflects the typical inputs from the IDP process. However, residents reflected to the researcher that the IDP consultations are typically not adequately inclusive. In some cases they suggested that they were not sure who was actually participating or providing IDP inputs as they did not generally receive the information for these.

Table 7: Community needs from IDP process

Mamelodi: T-Section	**Atteridgeville: Saulsville**
• Multi-purpose community centre; • Clinic and health facility; • Pedestrian infrastructure (e.g. bridge across Tsamaya Avenue and Pienaarsrivier); • Planting trees; • Parks and recreational facilities; • Solid waste removal; • Stormwater drainage; • Sports facilities; • Traffic lights; • Street lights; • Tarring roads; • Street names; and • Fire station.	• Stormwater drainage • Sports facilities • Paving roads • Traffic calming • Health facilities • Job creation • Public lighting • Housing • Bus/taxi facilities • Development of pavements/sidewalks • Electricity provision • A multi-purpose centre, skills development centre and library • Pay points • Parks • Pedestrian bridges

(Metroplan 2006, p.3-5)

The approach appears to be one that is focused on addressing basic infrastructure and services backlogs as pre-conditions for catalysing development. However, the actual economic potential and levers – which are ultimately the target of NDPG – appear to be largely unarticulated.

One respondent who was interviewed about the quality of the LDA as undertaken for NDPG considered it to be an important process in that it enabled a focus on planning, forced the inclusion of operations and maintenance, was open to a range of possibilities or proposals, and also enabled integrated planning by breaking silos through an area-based (rather than sectoral) planning and investments approach. However the same respondent already began to acknowledge simultaneously the gaps in the analyses, particularly around social and economic aspects.

Although the NDP documents and officials claim that the NDPG programme design allowed for “soft infrastructure” (such as programmatic and capacity building interventions; for example the idea that investing in a soccer field motivated on the basis of youth engagement would also require the development of youth structures and programmes to use the infrastructure), it is important to note the fact that the NDPG proposals received were almost always for capital improvements in spite of the open claim.

Chapter 6: An Appreciative View

> "Communities tell stories about themselves – some good, some bad, not always entirely true, but that doesn't matter – the story becomes the truth."
>
> ~Zoe Brooks, 2006

6.1 Introduction

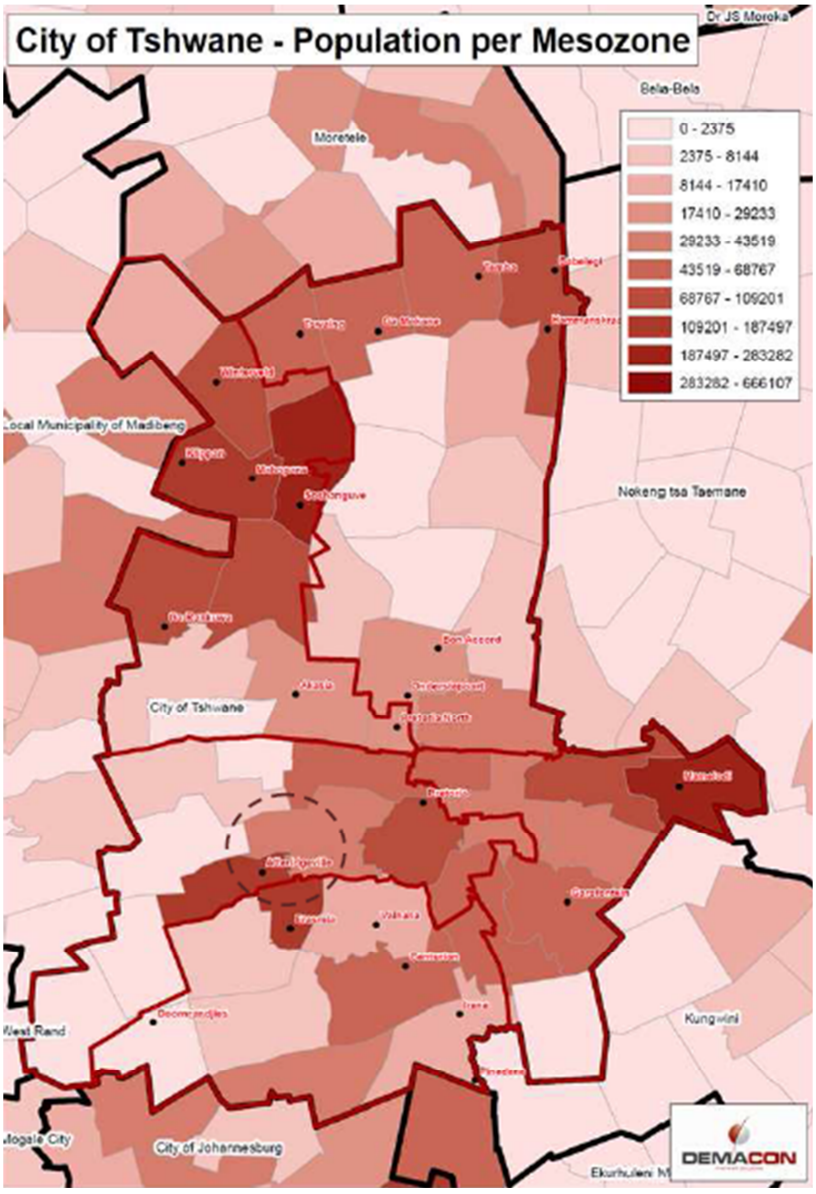
This section begins by providing a general background and profiles of the case study areas, T-Section and Saulsville, within their broader township contexts, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi which are among the largest townships by population in the City of Tshwane and both located close to the CBD as shown in the map in Figure 13.

This context-setting provides a basis for understanding the observations and analyses that follow. As explained in the methods section 2.5, a range of techniques were then used to compile the appreciative work. These included observation, key informant interviews, focus groups, short surveys, and review of secondary documents. The presentation of the data in this section does not follow the structure of collection and does not seek to attribute each point to a respective source. Instead, the findings are presented as a structured, descriptive narrative.

6.2 T-Section: The Old Mamelodi CBD

The first case, T-Section, is located in the township of Mamelodi which is in the City of Tshwane. This section presents some background on the township context, followed by a description of the study observations.

Figure 13: City of Tshwane – Population per Mesozone



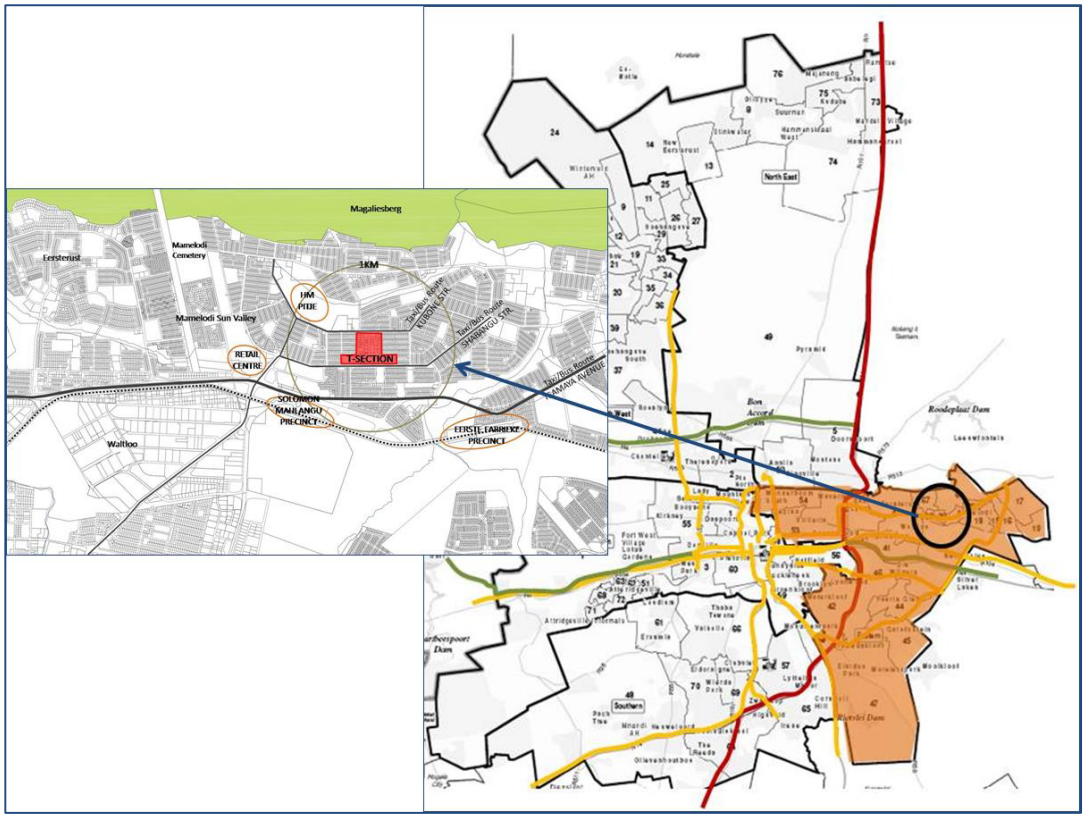
(Source: Atteridgeville Status Quo and Economic Input to the TRS (Demacon, July 2011)

6.2.1 About Mamelodi, a.k.a. *Mma Melody*

Mamelodi is one of a number of black townships created in Pretoria under the Group Areas Act (1950) as explained in Chapter 2. Mamelodi was developed in an area initially known as Vlakfontein which was bought by the Pretoria City Council and used to resettle people who were moved out of the Eastwood Township (then east of the Old Military Road, now known as General Louis Botha Avenue) and Lady Selbourne. Formally established as a typical temporary apartheid dormitory township within the former Pretoria municipality in 1953, Mamelodi's suitability was due to its location about 20km from the Pretoria CBD – far enough from the city's white residential areas but close enough for black labour to commute in and out, and with the mountain range, river and railway providing the necessary "barriers". The development started with 16 low-budget houses for black people in what is now Mamelodi West. The area continued to grow to full occupancy by the late 1950s, initially occupied with workers at the nearby bottle-making and brick factories and expanded as further evictions took place in Eersterus to the west. The formal township was thereafter extended to the east of Moretele River in the early 1960s into what is known as Mamelodi East. (SAHO; City of Tshwane 2008; van Stigt 1996)

The area referred to as Mamelodi eventually covered about 25 km^2 over a fairly flat area couched between the Magaliesburg ridge to the north, agricultural holdings to the south-east, and light industrial areas and residential areas to the south-west. Into the 1990s, the township mainly consisted of the old apartheid stone houses, newer RDP cement block houses, and informal settlements growing east-wards (SAHO; van Stigt 1996. The township is now considered to cover an area of 43.84 km2 and is divided into five sections: A5 (also referred to by planners as "T-Section"), A4, A3, A1, and D4 (City of Tshwane 2008).

Figure 14: Locality of Mamelodi and T-Section precinct



(Source: Urban Design Studio 2009a, p.2-3)

The 2011 national census data indicated Mamelodi's population at 334,577 (density of 7,403 people per km², compared to a City of Tshwane average of 460 people per km² and City of Johannesburg's average of 2,700). However, unofficially – as is often the case with townships, and particularly those sprawling out into significant informal settlement areas – the figures are considered to possibly be much higher. The census figures characterised the population as mainly black African (98.9%), male (51.98%), and with the majority sePedi / Northern Sotho (42.3%) - speaking.

The township's name – Mamelodi – is reported to originate from "Mma Melodi" or "mother of melodies", derived from the name that had been given by locals to then President Paul Kruger (first president of the Transvaal) in reference to his unique

ability to whistle and imitate birds (SAHO). Local lore has an alternative version of the story, that there was a white woman who lived in the Moretele River (a mermaid) who used to sing, thus the name ("mother of whistles").

Mamelodi has national historical significance related to the "Mamelodi Massacre" of 21 November 1985, as well as the execution by hanging by the apartheid government of Solomon Mahlangu, a prominent *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (MK) cadre who was temporarily resident in Mamelodi. This history is now commemorated by the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square at the entrance to Mamelodi West, about less than a kilometre from Mamelodi's original CBD, now T-Section (City of Tshwane 2009).

Socially, Mamelodi is popular for its professional soccer team – Mamelodi Sundowns owned by black mining magnate and billionaire Patrice Motsepe. The township has also produced a number of national soccer heroes. Mamelodi's soccer tradition is reflected in significant investments made into developing the HM Pitje soccer stadium.

Mamelodi is also a popular entertainment destination mainly among black South Africans, well known for buzzing "spots" and for hosting the Moretele Park jazz festivals every spring and summer. As reflected in its name, music is indeed part of Mamelodi. The township is considered to have produced famous jazz talents such as indigenous drummer Julian Bahule (popularly known as "Malombo"), jazz pianist and producer Don Laka, and Afro-jazz musician Vusi Mahlasela.

However, in spite of the township's proximity to the country's biggest concentration of knowledge-generating institutions, human capital formation in Mamelodi would not appear to have benefited substantially as reflected in census data and an older 2002 city of Tshwane household survey. Tshwane is home to the biggest innovation cluster (a combination of the country's largest universities (University of South Africa – UNISA, Tshwane University of Technology, and the University of Pretoria), science councils and technology parks (the Council for Scientific and

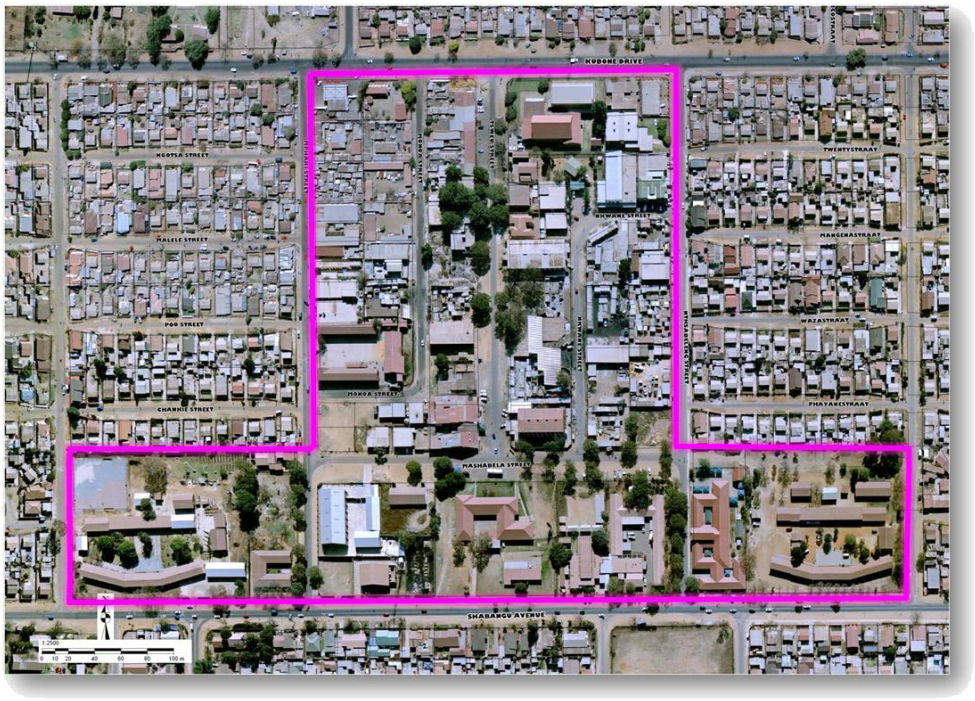
Industrial Research, the Human Sciences Research Council, the Innovation Hub, for example). Several of these are notably in close proximity to Mamelodi. Tshwane is also home to key national and international development agencies (the seats of national government administration, international development and diplomatic communities), and a range of commercial and industrial activities. Although less so than Johannesburg, Tshwane has an active economy and her average export growth rate and labour productivity have been the highest among the country's cities over the past decade (SACN 2011).

6.2.2 T-Section: "...the potential to uplift Mamelodi!"

Mamelodi's T-Section or "Section-T", also known as "A5", covers an area of 8,288 hectares at the centre of Mamelodi West in Ward 28. The area's population is estimated at 2,545 with 921 households (Census 2011). T-Section holds historical and cultural significance within Mamelodi as the originally designated Mamelodi CBD under the Mamelodi Council, for being the first settlement area of the township, and as a site of struggle as it was literally burned down in 1966. It was thus identified by the City of Tshwane as one of the seven Priority Nodes for development in Mamelodi (City of Tshwane IDP 1999).

The T-Section precinct, shown in Figure 15, starts at the library on Ntshabeleng Street, and ends at Mphaki Street, contained to the north by Kubone Drive and Shabangu Avenue to the south. Tsweu and Matshabela streets are the core of the precinct, forming the T-shape for which the area is named. Access is by the major abutting streets (Kubone and Shabangu) which are public transport routes and collector roads for the node. The precinct is also close (less than 20 minutes on foot) to two major rail commuter nodes along the Mamelodi-Pretoria line (Denneboom and Eerste Fabrieke stations), both of which include intermodal transport facilities linking access to various modes of internal transport reticulation (City of Tshwane 2009; Huma 2011).

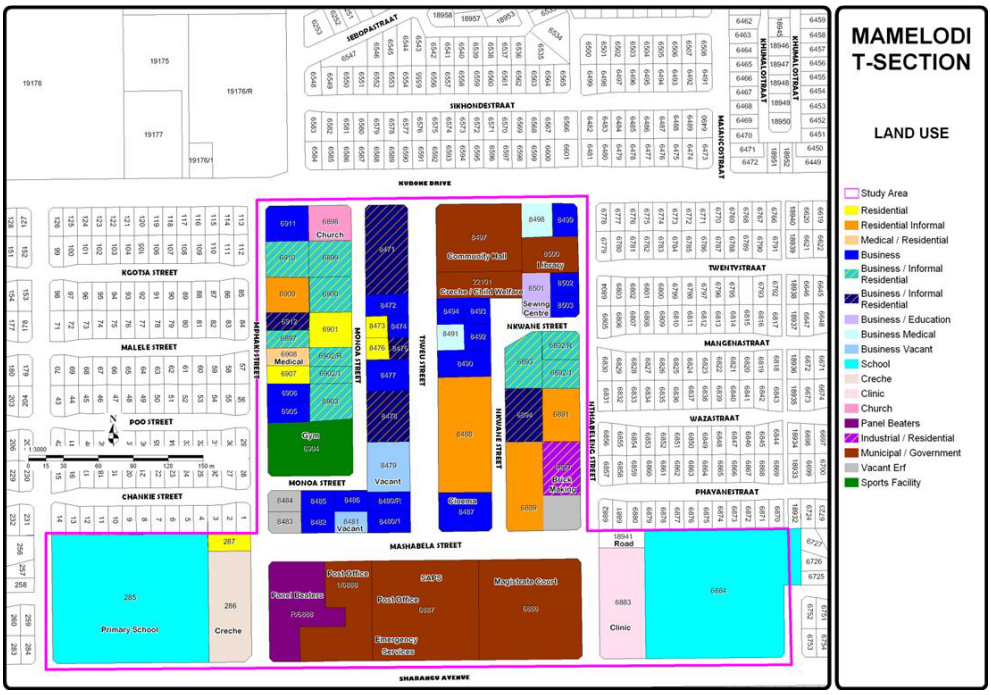
Figure 15: T-Section Precinct - aerial view



Source: T-Section Precinct Plan (2010)

Today, T-Section is described as dilapidated, has numerous vacant properties due to ownership contestations, and displays a variety of mixed land uses. Although some consider T-Section to be a business precinct rather than a residential area, various forms of old and new, formal and informal residential uses can be observed. The area is characterised by a variety of informal land uses interspersed among formal uses (Figure 16). Several of these [informal uses] are located on undeveloped council-owned land (Figure 17).

Figure 16: T-Section Land Uses



(Source: T-Section Precinct Plan , 2010)

Figure 17: T-Section Ownership



(Source: T-Section Precinct Plan , 2010)

Physically, as outlined in the Mamelodi Development Framework (cited in Urban Design Studio 2009, p.12), the precinct has various historically and culturally significant buildings and sites dating back to the days of it being the original Mamelodi CBD. Examples include:

- *Balebogeng Centre*: The first shopping centre established in the area, after which T-Section is sometimes referred to (Balebogeng, or ko-Pitje after the well-known local, HM Pitje, after whom the Mamelodi stadium is now named).

- *Old Beer Hall*: The first public structure in the area was erected in 1954, and burned down by angry housewives in 1966. It is alleged that the women were not allowed to make their own homebrew, yet had to deal with drunken husbands. The still-dilapidated building is currently occupied by informal dwellers.

- *Thebu Cinema*: The first black township cinema, built and operated by HM Pitje in 1964.

- *Mamelodi West Public Library*: A new library erected on the site of the original 1962 library structure which was razed to the ground in the 1976 revolts in support of the Soweto uprising.

- *Mxolisi Crèche, Mamelodi West Clinic and Magodi's Café*: Firsts for Mamelodi, established in the mid-1950s.

- *Tsamaya Road*: This thoroughfare's name means "go" or "accelerate" in Northern Sotho, and dates back to the mid-nineteenth century when it was used to transport the township's dormitory residents back and forth to Sekhukhuneland (Limpopo province). It was the first street to be surfaced in Mamelodi.

As such, T-Section's heritage is widely acknowledged and respected in the township, as well as in city plans for the township.

Economically, the area is probably the most diversified in the Greater Mamelodi area. It offers extensive government services, private services (for instance professional, personal, automotive, domestic repairs, retail and entertainment). With redevelopment, T-Section is considered (by local residents, traders, and city planning officials) to have the potential to attract investment from external investors and the local community alike.

6.2.3 An Appreciative View of T-Section: *"Devil Street rocks!"*[8]

In keeping with the study's appreciative stance, the following sections report on the observations noted from the study of T-Section. The observations are not comprehensive and they are made over short periods as explained. However, they provide a perspective on the question "what is this place about?"

Where culture starts: *"We invented 'Skinner Boem'!"*

T-Section, and indeed the greater Mamelodi, sees itself as a bit of a trailblazer among townships. Locals make numerous references, both positively and negatively, to the area's accolades and infamousness – it is considered "the centre of everything, good or bad." This includes being the trendsetter for new culture and fads such as "skinner boem"[9] and alcoholic drink choices[10], having famously dangerous parts –

[8] Unreferenced quotations in the Observation sections reflect comments and quotes by study participants documented in the course of the fieldwork (focus groups, formal and informal interviews).

[9] "*Skinner boem*" or "gossip tree" refers to the action of gatherings in certain areas (usually under a tree) which serve as meeting points for locals, especially pensioners on payday, to share the latest news or "skinner". T-Section locals claim credit for their community in originating this phenomenon.

"you have to become a devil yourself... people stab one another [here]!", or having the best hotspots in town. In a word, "it rocks!"

Figure 18: Photographs of T-Section area



Source: Author

Activities – *"not one person makes this place tick but a whole lot of different activities... make the place vibrant"*

T-Section is a bustling area, and especially so on weekends. There is a constant flow of people walking through and interacting in the area. Automobile traffic passes through, and on weekends and evenings many vehicles cruise down the streets and park along the sides, using various facilities and services in the area. Although the physical environment is quite dilapidated (unsightly buildings, waste in the streets,

[10] This point was also corroborated by a former member of SAB Miller marketing who indicated that they would often test or push new product uptake in Mamelodi. If it took there, then other townships would follow.

unpaved sidewalks, no landscaping), there is a strong sense of ownership and presence and the local people are proud to take you around and show you their businesses and facilities. People in the area include mainly residents, business operators, employees and service users.

While there is a lot of residential use in the area (and demand for more), and the historical and cultural significance of the area is generally recognised, T-Section's character is much more that of a commercial and services precinct. Various plans have proposed that the future of the area is mixed-use, and this appears to be borne out by the already evolving patterns of use.

Public and community services

Government services are one of the main reasons why people come to the area, as there is a cluster of government services in the neighbourhood (more than ten government offices were identified). Community and social facilities – such as a community hall, recreational hall and library, primary schools, a clinic, the local Mamelodi police station, and the post office are all situated along Shabangu Street to the south of the area. These are well utilised, although the city indicates that several of these are being replicated in the Eerste Fabrieke precinct, only two kilometres away. There appears to be some contestation between development plans for Eerste Fabrieke (which is planned by the City as a Metropolitan Activity Node, based on its role as a major multimodal transport facility) and the fate of T-Section in this regard as plans to expand / develop overlapping service functions appear contradictory.[11] T-

[11] While the SDF drafted by Plan Associates (2009) indicated that "Sub-Precinct F: should retain its community / government function and focus. Hence, the Post Office and SAPS should be allowed to redevelop and expand their respective existing structures. Whilst, the SAPS would like to expand their facility in order to link it to the Magistrates Court" (p.24), the NDPG status quo study reflected that "A new Magistrate's Court is being developed at the Eerste Fabrieke Precinct" (p.10), and acknowledged that the consequent relocation of the police station, the magistrate's court and the post office was likely (Urban Design Studio 2009).

Section thus finds itself competing for identity and investment against other important, nearby township nodes like Denneboom, Eerste Fabrieke and Solomon Mahlangu which are considered to be higher order nodes by the City, and have some locational and strategic advantages over T-Section. However the impact of its changing role will remain to be seen.

There are also numerous community development organisations and services that are active in the area; over thirty were counted in this study. These were found to be mainly health and care organisations (12), general community development organisations and resource centres (10), sports and recreation (7), and education / employment-related centres (5).

Although there are several sports and recreation facilities near the area, community members also lament that Mamelodi does not live up to its potential as a producer of sportsmen and women. There is a view that sports facilities (for example tennis courts) are generally underutilised, and that the programming (if any) is failing to effectively get youth off the streets, with their crime and drugs ("nyaope)".[12]

Religion is big in Mamelodi, as in many other townships. The community has access to numerous religious structures, mainly Catholic, Apostolic, and Indigenous churches such as Ekuphakameni "Shembe" church and Zion Christian Church (ZCC).

Commercial activity

Local businesses are also active in the area (about 40 operational enterprises were counted, which is a large number for a relatively small land area). These include restaurants, tuck-shops and mini-markets (general dealers), nightclubs, liquor stores,

[12] "Nyaope" is a drug that is mixed with dagga (marijuana), antiretrovirals and cheap heroin. Users often turn violent.

undertakers, ATMs, lotto machines, upholstery place, a dress-making school, automobile repair, a butchery, hair salons, internet cafes, doctors' rooms, and auto spares dealers. These are generally small (hiring one to six people), provide mainly informal employment, and are not very diverse; they represent only seven or eight kinds of business, with the dominant businesses being food, entertainment, and funeral parlours.

In speaking to local residents and operators, there is a strong sense that the area could expand its role as a popular social hub due to its concentration of restaurants and bars, and its already existing appeal and market from the broader township and Pretoria communities. Also, the pub, tavern, restaurant and liquor store owners in the area are considered by locals to be among the most “powerful” role players, and are considered to be more valued than other wealthy stakeholders with ill-gotten gains (“they display stolen wealth”).

At the same time, there is a recognition that the proliferation of bottle stores or liquor outlets is undesirable, and locals lament that “any open rented place is turned into a bottle store”, while more professional and desirable enterprises such as two chemists and a bakery were closed down. This is seen as a matter of the inordinate market for alcohol – a local social problem (“it’s all about the market, and the reality is that people here drink!”), but also a consequence of both a lack of development support for professional enterprises, as well as competition from more attractive, new shopping areas such as Pretoria’s malls and the nearby Dennelyn strip. There is, however, a sense that the area could offer more, much-needed commercial office (instead of retail) space for increasing numbers of local professionals, such as accountants, lawyers, development, and consulting services, who would like to operate out of the area.

Also common were light, “secondary” industries: clothes, shoes and furniture-making and repairs, upholstery, small electronics, panel beating, auto repairs, and car washing. Some community members suggest that these activities should be expanded

through appropriate support, and could become economically viable as an industrial services cluster. One local resident expressed his personal vision: “My dream would be to run an export house here in Mamelodi; this man [here], if he can manufacture, then I can sell his products.”

Concerns were raised by more than one informant – reinforcing the researcher’s own suspicion from experience – that the focus on retail developments which has been pushed as the principal opportunity for the Node is perhaps ignoring more natural opportunities linked to local demand for office space, social activity, and even light, “secondary” industry.

Informality coexists with the formal trades; almost 40% of the businesses surveyed in T-Section were found to be informal, mostly employing just one person. Although there are some overlaps in offerings (hair salons, auto repairs, food industry), community members say they are not aware of any significant conflict between these. There were some examples of conflict though; for example a formal hair salon complained of the informal hair salon businesses around every Mamelodi street corner which charge less than what the formal salons can afford to because the informal ones generally do not pay rent, taxes or professional license costs. The complainant indicated that a local association had recently been initiated to oversee such issues.

The main problem perceived with informal trade has been with piracy and sale of stolen goods, which is generally not done out of the visible structures in any case. Publically transacting informal traders appear to be proud of their trades and are not shy to speak of their honest labour. They are however aware of their vulnerability in cases where they occupy spaces informally, and hope that the municipality will develop and service vacant land in the precinct in a way that includes them. The reality, however, is that planned developments are likely to physically and commercially displace the informal traders.

Chinese fafi[13] is also referred to as a "business" by some residents, and is seen as "easy money". The gambling enterprise was not physically visible in the area, but is well known by the locals.

Social life

The main social activities that people refer to are food, drinking, nightclubs and gambling. The precinct clearly comes alive on weekends with people across age groups showing off cars and clothes, and going to popular spots such as Jack Bhuda's pub, and Corner Coach Pub and Restaurant. Other popular hangouts include nearby Phola Park and Moretele Park.

There appears to be a somewhat mixed attitude towards the neighbourhood's entertainment role. On the one hand, community members complain about the proliferation of clubs, and their association with drinking and irresponsible behaviour. On the other hand, there is the occasional recognition of entertainment as a unique "product" of T-Section, one that has produced musical talents (more recently on the hip-hop scene), is attracting people from around Tshwane, has drawn celebrities and recognition from popular stations like Metro FM radio and Channel-O TV, and contributes to local jobs and economy.

Residential / Housing

The residential function of T-Section is important even though it is not the main function of the precinct, and indeed the area is surrounded by a mainly residential

[13] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fafi - Chinese fafi "also known as mo-china, is a form of betting played mainly by black South Africa women, particularly those living in South African townships, and is believed to have originated with South Africa's Chinese community. This game can also be linked to the Italian lottery which is also called the numbers racket."

township. The majority of the surrounding township comprises single-unit residential dwellings (old as well as newer government subsidised housing units – the "RDP" houses), and the old hostel complexes are situated close by. The latter are reportedly in the process of being converted into family units through a provincial initiative. The densities of the township are among the highest in Tshwane (estimated at 45 to 50 units per hectare).

The growth of informal settlements is also continuing at a higher rate than the rest of the city. These informal settlements are mainly to the east, and are also considered to include informal sublets of municipal-owned properties, backyard dwellings, business uses on residential properties, as well as fully fledged shacks.

The demand for housing within the T-Section precinct, particularly for flats and rooms, has reportedly been high and has translated into sometimes volatile relations between people and the municipality regarding land access. This is particularly accentuated by the blatantly undeveloped lots – mainly council-owned – in the neighbourhood. Many of the disused properties are being occupied for informal settlement purposes – further evidencing the need for housing. Locals indicate that in this regard (informal settlement and livelihood), the area is considered to be relatively easy to access and eke a living out of as long as you "know the right people."

Locals and newcomers recognise the problematic practice of building shacks illegally on private, municipal, or protected land (for example by the mountain reservoir), but they also feel justified in their actions as they see themselves to be suffering with no access to housing, while other corrupt and greedy interests are deemed to be at play. For example, one resident stated animatedly "...there are greedy people who want to own more than one RDP house, because some of these people want to start businesses in these RDP houses while there's other people who have been on the waiting list for more than ten years for the RDP houses! And when people try to enquire about the RDP houses, the authorities always ask for a C form;

always they'll ask for a C form until your dying day. There is deep rooted corruption and nepotism within the municipality!"[14]

Locals report that people also move out of the area and township to new subsidy (RDP extension) or bank-financed developments and estates south and east of Pretoria, including Centurion, Kyalami and Silver Lakes. New, nearby "up-market" estates such as Savannah Estates, five kilometres east of T-Section, hold great appeal for locals and their aspirations for upward mobility.

Economic outlook – *"with black people it's always 'ke tla go bona'!"*

Mamelodi generally has a limited economic base, with Mamelodi Crossing, Denneboom Station, Eerste Fabrieke and T-Section being considered to be the most significant existing and planned commercial nodes. Most of these are transport nodes, and the commercial activities are focused on consumer retail.

The majority of the formal employment in the T-Section area comes from public services (clinic, post office, police station, library, community hall, and primary school), although one wonders what will become of this should these functions be won over to the Eerste Fabrieke node. The entertainment spots also hire a number of people, but their "iffy" social acceptance status makes them an uncertain prospect for the long-run.

Otherwise many people work beyond the precinct. South African Motor Corporation (SAMCOR), an American car manufacturing plant located less than a kilometre from T-Section, reportedly employs a large number of people from

[14] According to the City of Tshwane website, "Form C" is a proof of registration form issued by the municipal office to housing subsidy applicants. The form shows the date on which the person applied and their application number.
http://www.tshwane.gov.za/Services/Housing%20and%20Human%20Settlement/Pages/Housing-Waiting-List-and-Subsidies-(English).aspx

Mamelodi, and many people also work at the Dennelyn shopping centre which is 500 meters away. But otherwise the majority of people work in surrounding places such Pretoria CBD (10 km), Watloo industrial area (2 km), Rosslyn (42 km), Menlyn (20 km), and Waterkloof (30 km). As one respondent lamented, transport costs are a real problem for locals.

Locals indicate that "the[business] activities in Section-T are not carried out only by the people living in this Section, but by people from many other sections". This is obvious given that many people commute into the precinct for work daily. Some informants were of the opinion that most of the businesses are run predominantly by younger people, rather than the older generation.

Locals also indicate that local enterprises source all their materials and products externally, and indicate that this is because things are cheaper at places like the Pretoria CBD or in Marabastad. They don't seem to relate this to the availability of these locally, but there is a strong sense that businesses struggle in the area because people do not support local business. They claim that the problem is a combination of:

- narrow-mindedness (where people see the nominal cost of a good without factoring in the additional transportation cost they would incur by travelling to get it from further afield, so they would rather pay for transport than pay a slight premium for the same good locally);

- greed and jealousy (the individualism and values issues come up recurrently – several locals seem to be believe that there are people who are deliberately out to only do things for themselves in a desperate pursuit of wealth. This is sometimes even linked to the high incidence of burglary where there are claims that people will even steal your equipment just to sabotage your business); and

- a kind of mental slavery where “we’ll buy if it’s bo-van der Merwe!” (people don’t mind buying if it’s an outsider or a white person selling) but “...people don’t want to buy from [other] black people – it is always ‘ke tla go bona’” (meaning asking for credit or favours).

To the extent that there are successful entrepreneurs in the area, the claim is that “you have to be connected to succeed”. This, even more so than the lack of physical infrastructure and amenities, is seen as being an impediment to enterprise development and economic growth in the area.

Human Capital – *“The focus seems to be on LO [Life Orientation] and Mixit instead of trade skilling e.g. business, woodcraft, home science”*

Some studies show that education and skills in Mamelodi are relatively – if only slightly – better than some other townships (Kayamandi Development Services, 2002). People come to the area for various educational uses. There is a primary school, and also the nearby University of Pretoria Mamelodi campus (formerly Mamelodi campus of Vista University) situated five km east of T-Section, and the Tshwane North College–Mamelodi Campus Further Education Training (FET) college situated about a kilometre south. The node also hosts several education CBOs, a library and a career guidance centre.

The neighbourhood also has a relatively skilled labour force. The short survey of T-Section enterprises undertaken as part of this study sought to get a more specific sense of levels of education, skills requirements and ongoing training for local jobs. It was found that, particularly because of the cluster of government administrative functions in the area, a large proportion of local employees have university-level formal education. Also, many of the local jobs require or have appointed staff with at least a matric-level qualification and additional experience. There are also other trade

skills present in the precinct in areas such as automobile mechanics, hairdressing, upholstery and electronics repairs. Many of the enterprises also train their staff.

The study found that technology is not really employed much to extend capacity or innovate. The responses indicated a generally poor understanding of how technologies such as cell phones, phones and the internet could be used beyond basic general communication. Word-of-mouth and human networks were considered to be the main modes of connection, learning and marketing.

Actors and power relations

Local people and city officials consider business interests in the area to be strong, but not co-operative and thereby weakened. The failed Mamelodi Parklands Project[15] is cited as an example. Furthermore, formal business people are sometimes considered to be in cahoots with local authorities, dishing out bribes to acquire land for commercial use, and influencing authorities to prevent external investors or unfavoured persons from doing business in the areas. This is considered to reduce job creation and economic growth in the area.

Business people in Mamelodi such as Jack Bhuda (pub owner), Sgegeti (liquor distributor), Junior Pearch (restaurant–tavern owner) and Sibakhulu (involved in property and retail) are considered by community members to be the powerful local players. They are not reflected upon negatively however. They are considered to be positive success stories because they display wealth made from "honest effort compared to criminals who display stolen wealth".

[15] The Mamelodi Parklands project is an example of a private sector initiative in Mamelodi. The commercial redevelopment project was approved by Council but ended up stalled (MDP, 2008).

Politics are important in the area. Locals make mention of politicians' interests, and their involvements in influencing land deals, including a recent nearby shopping centre development. Ward committee leaders are referred to as influential. Powerful "political" institutions in and around T-Section are considered to be the African National Congress (ANC) which is the main political party in the area; the Mamelodi Taxi Organization (MATO) which regulates the local taxi industry and affairs; Mamelodi Business Chamber (MBC) which was established to convene business interests; and the Mamelodi Heritage Forum (MAHEFO) which is concerned mainly with heritage, arts and culture issues.

People also refer to government offices as key places of power. They referred to examples such as Munitoria (the municipal contact centre in Pretoria city), the Department of Local Economic Development and the National Treasury, as being places where important decisions are taken that affect the local communities. The city's administrative processes are considered to be stalling the resolution of property ownership issues, and thereby obstructing development. This perception is corroborated to some extent by city officials who indicate a complex and ineffective process within different technical (Planning) and administrative (Legal and Property) parts of the municipality around land access.[16]

In terms of civil society, the relationship between some of the local organizations (particularly those in arts and culture) and government is reported to be generally good, with the former sometimes being hosted to operate out of local authority office spaces within municipal buildings. However, there are also strong indications of distrust in general between locals and the municipality, and in particular the police (of the latter, locals claimed "some of them are working with these thugs. We used to

[16] A city informant indicated that the Council Properties Section / Legal Services Department control the land alienation process is a slow and cumbersome process (e.g. there are 23 council forms to be submitted, and as many departments – and additional Committees thereof– who can veto an approval), effectively arresting development.

have people patrolling around the community but they were not safe because someone would go to the Commissioner to report about the patrollers, and they were threatened." Locals reported that police were believed to be bribed by criminal interests.

Aspirations and Innovations

Many of the people interviewed are very positive about the possible future of the area. One passionate resident declared: "We can have another cinema, we can have another supermarket, we can have car dealerships; but it's all up to the people. We must have a common vision, people need to get together and have one vision. I'm telling you, before 2020 this place [can] be perfect."

In conversation, people readily came up with various ideas about how the existing facilities and capacities could be revitalised or leveraged for development, for example:

- The Old Beer Hall could be revamped and utilized as a brewery for the very same homebrew or traditional beer made by local women (which reflects and responds to the burning of the original structure), thereby economically empowering women.

- Thebu Cinema could be refurbished and converted into a film-making school to enable the people of Mamelodi, especially the youth and neighbouring townships, to get interested and capable of filmmaking, producing local films and stories.

- Mamelodi produced and inspired some amazing sporting and musical legends – yet "Mamelodi is not recognised, Mamelodi is not on the map". There could be a school of the arts, sports academies – instead there are only underutilised sports grounds and tennis courts while the kids are

smoking *nyaope* and killing each other. Instead "here there is nothing; and when they try to start things like those, they end up not being done because of financial reasons, so what we do is organise buses and take our kids to museums and other places for motivation".

- Mamelodi also has unique talents and success stories which could be recognised and elevated. "We have people making clothes, there's brand labels like 'Behind Bars' and 'Dimpya', and there's also people designing t-shirts and logos, there's a guy printing t-shirts, and there's also hip-hop guys who are very successful from here, and Mamelodi produces famous people like the presenters in channel O."

- There are local designers, entrepreneurs and manufacturers such as the local upholstery dealer who makes leather shoes, coats, bags and waist belts, and also produces colourful, funky leather and formal thread sofas which are utilised by most restaurants, clubs, bars and hair salons in Mamelodi. Such business could be assisted to scale up into larger enterprises, creating many more jobs and reaching a broader market.

- Some of the original restaurants and entertainment could be replicated or franchised.

So there is no shortage of ideas about what could be done in the way of local development. However, the researcher's perception is that there is a gap between these ideas, the actual direction of planning, and development in the area.

Social attitudes – *"…here it's everyone for themselves and God for us all!"*

The social structure is interesting because it seems to be in a fluid balance between what could be considered "insiders" versus "outsiders". In various conversations, "insiders" are sometimes referred to as:

- those who live there ("the people who own business here don't live here", a claim that was verified by the survey of businesses),
- those who apartheid allowed to be there ("during apartheid we blacks were not allowed to visit Eersterus, the coloured township", and ethnic divisions between the Tsonga and the Pedi peoples),
- the formal businesses (otherwise "you see people doing things thinking it's theirs then you find out it's illegal"),
- the community members (residents, workers, and business operators), as opposed to government (especially municipal) and other external commercial (including planning and developer) interests;
- those who the municipality somehow chooses to include in community consultations ("the front-runners"),
- those who are not foreigners (as the latter are generally considered, with some disdain, to be criminals with a lot of cash corrupting local youth), or
- those "who care about the future of Mamelodi" (seen to be those involved formally or informally with various local social and development structures and activities, often volunteering their time to help support, mentor and advise in the community).

These fluid categories came into play variously in engaging with locals about how the neighbourhood works. And although one gets some sense of strong social cohesion among locals in the area when speaking to people in groups and observing what seemed to be vibrant social interactions, respondents generally insisted that it is in fact a very dog-eat-dog neighbourhood, especially when it comes to anything related to money. People referred to failed business negotiations, misappropriated community funds, ill-gotten wealth, intimidation, and sabotage of others' enterprises.

On the surface there appears to be less frequent mention of illegal immigrants and less xenophobia in Mamelodi than the researcher has experienced in some other Gauteng townships such as those in Johannesburg. Although some of the locals refer to a high number of foreigners in the area, the local conversations and surveys of physically present formal and informal enterprises found that very few in the precinct were not South African owned or run. There were a few formal and informal workers who were immigrants from the continent, but the majority were South African. Some informants would claim that some small groups of people hanging out on the street corners and by parked cars were foreign and up to no good, however it was not practically possible to verify either claim.

It is notable that the local community seems eager to speak for itself, but is generally cautious or even negative about government and the police in particular. There was also an expression of mistrust in the many people who come through "studying", "researching" and "planning" the community but then make empty promises or share the information with authorities who then victimise the locals (or take them to task for outstanding tax, for example). As a researcher myself, I had to explain in detail – sometimes repeatedly – why I was collecting this information and what I was going to do with it. Most people did however agree to participate, and several even offered to help and provide information beyond the interviews because they felt hopeful about the study's intention to improve understanding regarding townships and township planning.

6.2.4 Conclusions about Problems and Solutions – "We live here; we must see to it that this community is developed" / "I believe that if white people lived in this area, something would have been done"

The brief study of the area revealed a resounding sense of potential in the community, but also identified some key local challenges which would need to be addressed. There was a strong hopefulness about the possibility of transformation. "If

we can get together and structurise these issues, we can tell the government to try and fix these things, instead of allowing things like an eight-year-old with a knife or a gun, or sixteen-year-olds to have abortions. We want strong foundations where we know we can guide our youth."

Positive reflections in the neighbourhood were mainly about the potential of the area, and the sense that there are people in the community willing to bring change. People easily identified the sectors with potential, and several reflected specific plans they might have to take their business or an industry to the next level. There did not appear to be any expectation that the city should come in to fix everything, but that there were things the government could do to make it easier for the locals to pursue their entrepreneurial goals. There was indeed a sense of "we want to get on with it".

Regarding the social challenges there did seem to be an appeal for government intervention. These concerns related mainly to crime and corruption, substance abuse, basic service delivery (in particular of low-income housing), and floundering youth ("our youth today have rights but they don't have respect anymore").

More introspectively, there was a sense that a real and constraining problem was "i-mali" – that is, the money or greed. This was seen as leading to individualism and the failure to be mutually supportive, in particular when it came to supporting black businesses. There was also a perceived lack of empathy or intent to improve local conditions on the part of some of the key development role players – in particular, the municipality, the police (the fight against crime was seen to be also one of "fighting this corruption within the police who associate themselves with criminals"), and external private sector interests were mentioned.

Specific needs and solutions were also identified by locals in order to capitalise upon the opportunities that they could see for their development and prosperity (for example in entertainment, property, motor repairs and light manufacturing). Some of the key perceived needs mentioned were:

i) **Access to capital**: Respondents said that finance for business development is their utmost need. This is considered to include property finance, expansion and operational capital, finance for renovations, equipment capital, and access to business credit. Examples were given of young entrepreneurs who would start innovative and lucrative businesses, but who did not have access to the capital to enhance their offerings, expand their businesses to other townships, or create franchises.

ii) **Development coordination and advancement**: Locals indicated that the government's communication within the community must improve in order to ensure that there could be appropriate development facilitation (particularly focused on the identified areas of potential – mainly entertainment and industrial services) and service delivery. For example, it was said that "Refuse collection does not happen, though trucks that collect refuse drive around and are paid for nothing by the municipality." Residents felt they could be part of community monitoring and reporting on these kinds of issues if the city cared to give them an audience.

iii) **Human capital development**: Asked what should be done, one resident promptly responded: "I would give people education, and skills development. We can teach our children or our people to look after themselves." There was a resounding call for public focus and investment in this area.

6.3 Saulsville

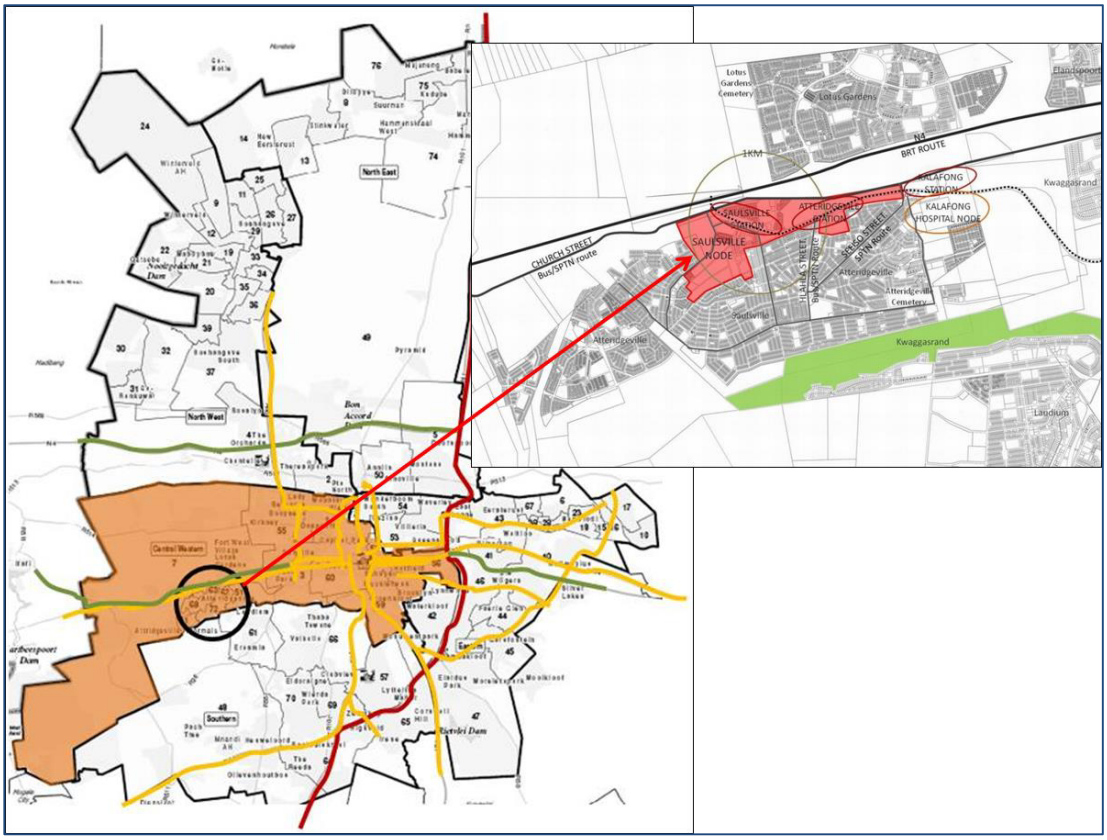
The second case, Saulsville, is located in the Atteridgeville township which is also in City of Tshwane. This section presents some background on the Saulsville context, followed by a description of the study observations.

6.3.1 About Atteridgeville: *A peaceful place*

Atteridgeville was established in 1939, the second township in the country to be declared a black area under the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act. The township which fell within the municipal area and magisterial district of Pretoria accommodated people being forcibly evicted mainly from the Pretoria north settlements then known as Lady Selbourne (now a mainly white business hub), Newclare (which no longer exists; the land is now occupied by Tshwane University of Technology) and Marabastad (now an Indian-dominated business hub). The first families moved into Atteridgeville on 26 May 1940, and it was intended like all black townships to be a temporary facility for accommodating labour. It is reported that 1,533 houses were built between 1940 and 1949 to accommodate these new black residents (City of Tshwane, 2011).

City documents indicate that the area's development was suspended between 1968 and 1978 to control influx given the apartheid government's policy that black people should be restricted mainly to the homelands. However, the lack of expansion in size did not prevent illegal in-migration, and the area became very dense with backyard shack developments, for instance, to accommodate new residents (p.2, UDS 2009).

Figure 19: Locality of Atteridgeville and Saulsville precinct



(Source: Urban Design Studio 2009b, p.2-4)

Originally to be named "Motsemogolo" (large township), it was ultimately named "Atteridgeville" after Mrs Myrtle Patricia Atteridge instead, who was a City Councillor and Deputy Mayor, and the then chairperson of the City Council's Committee for Non-European Affairs (SAHO). Some local variations of the story suggest that Mrs Atteridge donated the land to the people after forceful evictions under the Group Areas Act.

Atteridgeville lies 15km west of the Pretoria centre and is situated south of the N4 (Magalies highway). It is "landlocked," with the highway to the north, the Schurveberg to the south, the urban edge to the west, and large land use areas, such as Kalafong Hospital, to the east (Demacon 2011). The original Atteridgeville township was placed next to the mixed–race area of Saulsville (which was later declared a

Black Group Area) and in the vicinity of a light industrial area which had already been established in Pretoria West (1910) and the ISCOR plant (1934) (City of Tshwane 2011, p.41).

As with most townships, the area was established as a temporary residence or dormitory for black labour, given that black people were not supposed to have permanent residence in the city. Many services were therefore only provided much later (such as the clinic and postal service). However, water, electricity and a sewage system were provided in the 1940s (SAHO). The railway connection, the Pretoria - Saulsville line – was constructed by 1959 to transport labour into the inner city (City of Tshwane 2009).

The wider Atteridgeville township is divided into two sections by Sekhu Street which runs from north to south. The part formally referred to as Atteridgeville is situated on the eastern side and comprises mostly formal housing. To the west is Saulsville with a mix of commercial and residential uses, and with a large informal settlement at its western end.

As time progressed, the Atteridgeville and Saulsville sections were demarcated into Bantustan areas, and many of the divisions have been sustained until today with sub-areas popularly referred to by locals according to their history or ethnic make-up. For example:

- First residents of eviction were settled in three-roomed houses consisting of a kitchen, sitting and sleeping room next to the eastern part of Atteridgeville entrance popularly known as *Oudstad*, meaning "Old town". Old Town is mostly dominated by Tswana-speaking people, and some coloured people. Most of the houses have now been converted or extended into modern day face brick housing as a result of families growing.

- *Matebeleng*, a Sotho colloquial term for the Ndebele people, was established as an area to the northern side of Atteridgeville, and is mostly dominated by Ndebele people.
- *Ghost Town*, named because of its situation next to the first graveyard, is located to the southern side, and dominated by mostly sePedi-speaking people from Limpopo.
- *Ten Morgen*, thus named because of the area's ten square meter yards, starts at the end of Ghost Town and ends at the beginning of Deep Six.
- *Deep Six*, which is a reference to six feet deep in the grave, ends in Sekhu Street.
- *Mazakhele*, meaning build your own house or "self-built," is a diverse area with a mix of local ethnic groups, except Tsonga and Venda people.
- Even more recent areas like *Thlalampya* (seSotho term meaning "divorce a dog") have a history. The area which was developed in the 1980s offered the first new bank-financed or bonded housing, and was occupied mainly by local professionals such as teachers, nurses, and police officers. The name was given because the area was occupied by independent professional women no longer wishing to tolerate straying boyfriends or husbands, who relocated there.

Today, the township has grown and developed to the western side with recent bond houses and a hospice built by the Roman Catholic Church. The township is also served by the Atteridgeville Vocational College (now known as Tshwane South Technical College (TSTC), established in the 1990s, and one of Tshwane's older hospitals named "Kalafong" Hospital which means "place of healing". Most development has tended to be infill and rehabilitation due to the high density of the area. New changes include the construction of a new shopping centre, Attlyn, which was opened in 2008.

Demographically, the population of the greater Atteridgeville is about two hundred thousand (169,633 people and 53,886 households according to Census 2011; while Demacon [2011] estimates a population of 212,836 with 60,219 households). However other estimates have been as low as 145,000 (Urban Studies, 2009) and some locals claim it is closer to six hundred thousand (600,000). Uncertainty about actual population of townships is not uncommon in South Africa, in part because of the dynamics of in-migration and informal accommodation (informal settlements and backyard dwellings) which make accurate estimation of population difficult.

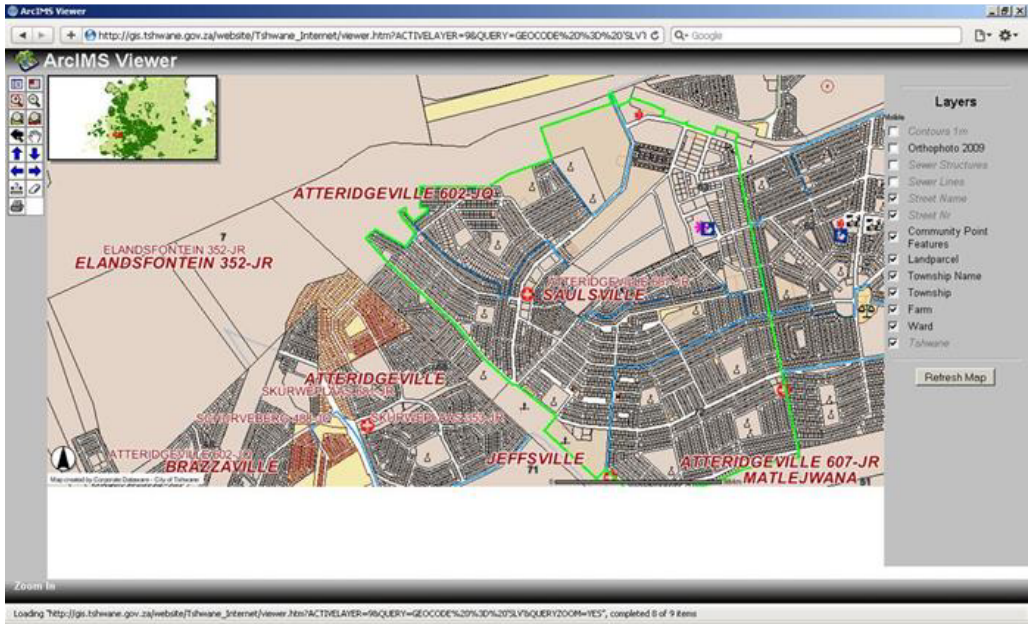
Socially, Atteridgeville is generally known for its peacefulness. It is considered safer than some other regional townships, with low levels of aggression or crime, and is reputed to be a fun-loving place known for its love of jazz music and fashion, attracting people from around the province to the annual December 26th Jazz in the Park festival. It also has a reputation in politics, having produced distinguished leaders of the Pan African Congress (PAC), constitutional court judges, and the like.

The township is also well-known for sports. The recently refurbished Lucas "Masterpieces" Moripe Stadium, formerly known as Super Stadium, was originally built in the early days of the township's establishment. The stadium is now a major township venue, hosting international music events, festivals and sports. Atteridgeville's soccer history dates back to producing famous soccer legends such as Lucas "Masterpieces" Moripe and Steve "Kalamazoo" Mokone – both of whom are considered to have had even greater and earlier international recognition than the famous Jomo Sono (former Orlando Pirates soccer club player and now owner of Jomo Cosmos) and Kaizer Motaung (of Kaizer Chiefs soccer club) who are now better known. It is said their original local soccer club, Pretoria Callies (popularly known as "Ma-Roma", with the rallying cry: "Up The Romans!") – then known as "Bantu Callies" – was a strong team which challenged the Soweto club giants Chiefs and Pirates.

6.3.2 Saulsville

It is reported that Saulsville had originally been planned as a residential area for whites, but was then bought by the city council as an extension of Atteridgeville (SAHO). “Saulsville” is used to refer to the wider Saulsville township section, or sometimes just to the Saulsville station precinct to the northern edge, which forms part of an area originally earmarked as the CBD of Atteridgeville (City of Tshwane 2011).

Figure 20: Saulsville Precinct layout



Source: City of Tshwane GIS section

The 2011 national census data defined the Saulsville main place (section) as covering an area of 8.66 km^2, with a population of 105,208 people and 37,430 households (a density of 12,146 people per km², compared to the averages of City of Tshwane at 460, and Mamelodi at 7,403 people per km² (2010)). The majority population is characteristically black African (99.11%), male (53.25%), with the majority language group being sePedi (45.10%). The Saulsville precinct or sub-place has a population of about 36,000.

Like the wider Atteridgeville, Saulsville also still has ethnically-defined areas such as *Selbourne Side* dominated by Tsonga and Venda people to the west, and south of it is *Tsamahantsi* meaning “sit down” in xiTsonga. Across from it is *Black Rock*. These areas are represented by institutions such as schools, churches, streets and icons reminiscent of their history and ethnic heritages. For example, in Tsamahantsi there is a Tsonga school known as *Mahlahle*, or a Venda school named *Thoyo Ya Ndou* (“head of an elephant”). In Matebeleng, there are school names of then icons such as Bud-MBelle Primary (named after scholar Isaiah Bud-M'Belle, author of “Kafir Scholar's Companion” in 1903).

The Saulsville area in general is a densely populated and used area due to its geographical constraints and intensity of settlement during apartheid due to its location and history. It thus finds itself a convenient focus for Tshwane’s SDF focus on promoting economic concentration at nodal points, in particular transit-oriented nodes (p.42, City of Tshwane 2011). As such, large investments were made into the area over time. For example, Saulsville Arena which was among the oldest buildings of Atteridgeville was refurbished into a modern library, internet kiosk, post office, workshop and conference centre.

6.3.3 An Appreciative View of Saulsville

The following sections report on the appreciative observations noted from the study of Saulsville.

A Place in Motion

Going between the parts of the community, one gets a sense of dynamism and movement. Many people come in and out of the area to work, go to school, to use public transport, or to participate in various activities. There also seems to be some

rivalry between the township's sections. Comments are passed such as "People in Saulsville believe that people in Atteridgeville are more superior because a lot of development and events happen on this side in Atteridgeville." This could perhaps be a consequence of the strong defined local (and ethnic) identities and a competitive business environment.

Figure 21: Photographs of Saulsville area



Source: Author

Activities

Saulsville is a very active area socially and economically, and its transit orientation is evident in the constant movements of people. There are numerous religious, cultural, and community development (such as home based care) organizations active in the area. Soccer, education, and political activities are also evident in the area. Local "bashes" in the community hall or arena are popular, and most modern amenities are available. Most people come into the community for work or educational purposes (mainly to the FET college and many primary schools).

Public and community services

Commercial activities coupled with residential uses are dominant in the area, with only a few public facilities (grounds, halls, and health) and government offices around. There are many community-based organisations functioning from various spaces however – the study counted at least twenty. These are mainly religious organisations (churches), health services, or social clubs.

Cultural and social events are frequent and popular in the community; most weekends are filled with these, and people come from all over Tshwane. These include traditional ceremonies (for example in families, or for graduation of traditional healers), weddings, baby showers, kitchen parties, vigils, funerals and tombstone unveilings. There are several services geared towards supporting this kind of activity, including catering, traditional beer brewing, design of traditional clothes and artefacts, bands of musicians, community halls and spaces. Although this is not necessarily a kind of activity that is unique to Atteridgeville or Saulsville, locals believe there to be unique skills or offerings that people come from far and wide to experience there (it is "the best traditional brew", according to one enthusiastic resident).

Sports are also popular in the area with a wide variety of tournaments and clubs. These include soccer, netball, tennis, chess, weight lifting, bowling, softball, golf and snooker. The local community centre is used for aerobics classes, and groups for cultural dances such as *dinaka* can also be found.

Commercial activity – *"I don't think this place is innovative, because people come up with the same ideas, they all have the same kind of businesses"*

The Saulsville informal and formal business zone is located less than five minutes from Saulsville train station in an area of about 1.75ha (250x70 metres) surrounded by four streets: Marivate Street to the north, Mamogale (west), Mboweni (south), and Malebye (east). The zone comprises about three hundred small businesses which are mainly along the street fronts. More than a third of these are informal operators. Within the enterprise zone there also is an industrial site which has thirty workshop areas.

A variety of businesses operate in Saulsville. While there are several unique services in the Saulsville section which are not available elsewhere in the broader township (for instance an optometrist, psychologist, bookkeeping service and poultry sales), there is also a lot of duplication of similar businesses, and intense competition even in small specialist areas such as upholstery (5 enterprises in the section), glazing (5), and dry cleaning (4). In terms of overrepresentation, striking examples from the study's survey include:

- Over 50 public cellular pay-phone containers, some closed down due to saturation (this was referred to often as a lack of creativity by local entrepreneurs) ;
- About 50 small operators recycling small plastic and glass bottles ;
- Over 20 liquor stores, though in fact access to alcohol extends into several *shebeens* (estimated about four within the node, but over a dozen within close proximity) and numerous traditional brew spots in both the formal and informal areas;
- Dozens of small retail sellers: numerous sweets and cigarette vendors, fruit and vegetable stands and stalls, and general dealers (*spaza* stores and larger supermarkets); and

- About ten restaurants and eateries.

This finding about undiversified enterprises in the area is supported by other studies.[17] The majority of the businesses are retail, followed by a range of services such as medical services, personal services (doing nails, hairdressing, driving schools), bookkeeping, printing, and so forth. There is also somewhat of a focus on manufacturing associated with the food industry, such as selling poultry (chickens and eggs), dairy products and ice-cream. It is reported that there are also many home-based catering enterprises that service local events.

According to a quick tally conducted in this study (Table 8; summarised in Annex 6), a high proportion of businesses in Saulsville are informal – 45%. However, the job numbers from these SMMEs come largely from productive and formal enterprises: funeral parlours, dressmakers, liquor outlets, supermarkets, and manufacturing.

Table 8: Tally of Formal / Informal Businesses and Jobs in study neighbourhoods

	Companies *not including government & CBOs		Jobs	
	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal
T-Section	63% (24)	37% (14)	85% (172)	15% (31)
Saulsville	55% (186)	45% (152)	83% (1,338)	17% (282)

(Source: Author)

[17] A more detailed business survey conducted by DEMACON (2011) found that "Almost three in every four [informal] businesses (73,5 %) trade in the following six product groups: Fruit and vegetables: 22,6 %; Clothing, sewing, tailoring: 14,6 %; Cooldrinks, sweets, cigarettes: 13,5 %; Prepared food: 11,6 %; Telephone, fax, photocopying: 5,8 %; and Toiletries, cosmetics: 5,4 %... clearly indicates a limited range of merchandise supplied by informal retailers to consumers. Just more than half (50.7 %) of all retailers sell fruit/vegetables, clothing and a combination of cooldrinks, sweets and cigarettes." (p.71)

A short survey of businesses in Saulsville (see Table 8) was also undertaken as part of this study to get a deeper sense of what their experience was.[18] The survey found that formal businesses have been running longer (10 to 20) years compared to the informal business which had mostly been running from 1 to 5 years. They generally came into the business with some prior experience, and although most of them would not disclose their exact turnover, some reported netting as high as R25,000 (compared to R4600, the highest revenue reported for the informal businesses. However it is also necessary to factor in the overhead costs which the informal traders largely avoid). They were generally optimistic about their businesses, and reported doing better as a result of area developments and the World Cup exposure.

Most of the informal traders were former employees in manufacturing or mining industries, now operating in a completely different trade in which they had no training (for example selling small fast-moving goods or services, second hand goods, or repair services). They operate out of informal structures (shacks, sidewalk table/chair setups, and mat/tent setups), and their running costs are mainly for supplies, transport, storage and meals. They generally rely on public amenities, such as the ablutions at the Saulsville Station or in the Saulsville Hostel nearby. They make small margins, and generally have a negative outlook on how their business is doing because consumers have no money and there is too much competition in the same trades.

[18] The enterprises interviewed were a convenience sample from the Mamogale Street and Malebye [east] Street areas, based on who was willing to respond. Twelve interviews in total were conducted.

Social life

The large range of social and community activities is striking in the area. There are many social clubs, cultural and women's activities, and many event-support activities (such as catering, party planning, and cultural ceremonies). A high level of co-operation on the social front is evident, and weekends are a time when many people from outside the neighbourhood (former residents, but also others) flock in to participate in or procure in relation to domestic and social activities.

Drug use is considered to be a problem, and older residents complain about the youth being too focused on "Western lifestyles."

Xenophobia was considered to be a serious vulnerability. Atteridgeville was one of the affected areas during the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. It is reported that at least seven people were killed in the township, and there have been incidences of reported anti-Somali incidents or protests since.[19] The conflict with foreigners seemed to be exacerbated by competition for space and business. The researcher got a distinct sense that this was still festering in the area by the frequent allusions to "foreigners" and "foreign-owned businesses" and areas.

Residential / Housing

The original brick-and-mortar houses largely still stand with three-roomed houses in Atteridgeville section, while Saulsville section has four-roomed houses (a kitchen, living room, and two sleeping rooms). Most of these houses have been converted or extended into larger and more modern houses. Many of them rent out backyard dwellings to "immigrants" who come mainly from other South African provinces as students for educational opportunities, and economic migrants from

[19] http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Xenophobia

beyond South African borders (mostly Zimbabwe and Mozambique). These dwellings vary from add-on backyard rooms, to converted garages, or corrugated iron structures.

Households and individual informal landlords ("shack owners") charge about R500 monthly for rent. This is a significant form of income generation in Saulsville, particularly in the area to the east of Malebye Street up to Sekhu Street, where the yards are 60 to 150 square meters in size. Here, ten to twenty square meter informal structures can be found.

Rentals in the area also include house owners who move out of the township (mainly to relocate to other Tshwane suburb areas) and rent out their houses. Residential sales and rent-to-buy arrangements are also common.

There are several large developments of RDP housing and bonded (bank financed) housing in the township. City documents explain that "During the 1980s, council-owned houses were sold to residents and buffer strips were made available for development. Housing within the buffer strips comprised, mostly, of bonded housing aimed at the middle income market" (p.2, City of Tshwane 2009).

Other housing includes refurbished community residential units ("CRU") along Mamogale Street and old hostels. Rapid in-migration has also led to fast-growing informal settlements towards the south and west, extending onto the mountain slopes.

Locals report that the renting out of RDP houses by owners is common. So people who have moved to Atteridgeville (supposedly mainly from Limpopo province) and have legally applied for and obtained an RDP house will reside in the informal settlement and rent out their unit for about R1000 monthly. This practice has resulted in problems when people who fail to pay are evicted by owners.

There has also been a spate of local vigilantism where people who are believed to have received their RDP houses illegally through corruption are being evicted by

mobs, and the houses given back to "the rightful owners." This development has caused social tensions, and it is reported that some of the evictees have died of shock, or gone back to demolish their improvements to the houses.

Those in the formal part seem to have a disparaging view of what some referred to as the "shanties" in the informal part. One local commented that "in Saulsville there's a lot of shacks, it's a shanty town and you find that a lot of the times... well I'm not blaming or I can't blame a person for being poor, but it's just that a lot of people that come that side, especially the underprivileged, are the guys that [are] involved in a lot of drugs. The problem is that they vandalise whatever infrastructure there is; they destroy it." The area is also considered to host many foreigners, and there are generally negative attitudes towards them.

Economic Outlook – At maximum capacity of space and ideas?

Although it is reported that the area in general (wider township) has a high level of grant dependence (Demacon 2011), Saulsville is also quite densely populated and economic activities are also quite dense and dynamic. Many local residents are employed locally, or beyond in places like Pretoria CBD offices, retail areas such as the new Attlyn shopping mall, and industrial plants around Tshwane (for example steel producer Mittal Steel, Pretoria Metal Pressing [a division of Denel SA], and Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa – NECSA).

There are many businesses locally, however there are many issues and dynamics that make the economic future uncertain. These include issues of competition and competitiveness, constraints on enterprise growth, and social conflict.

The opportunities that the formal businesses see for themselves have to do with expansion – scaling up, capturing new markets, offering training, going into production or wholesale. However there are some key constraints that locals identify.

For one, several residents expressed sentiments such as “Starting a business is not easy because people need space to start their businesses” and “Most of them are crying about a lack of space, in terms of wanting to run a business.” The reality is that physical property and land for business establishment or expansion is a constraint in Saulsville. City officials indicate that this is especially a problem for the younger generation who are enterprising and want to start things – but property and property rights have tended to still be in the hands of the older generation.

Local operators also indicate that “Opportunities are slim due to bigger business infiltrating and killing small business.” This is a concern particularly for general traders who are undoubtedly faced with the imminent threat of a neighbourhood Spar or Shoprite chain store.

The informal businesses also face constraints such as access to capital, training, and storage space. These enterprises are generally survivalist, and therefore range in ambition from wanting to formalise and increase profitability (for example by being able to expand services or offer credit), to wanting to close down and seek formal employment. The specific constraints they identified included business development, and a need to formalise or expand their structures (physical space). However, they still find themselves pitched against formal businesses.

As previously mentioned, Saulsville suffers from a lack of differentiation across businesses. Enterprise creation is very fad-driven with little creativity and innovation. Therefore people tend to compete only within the confines of what is already there. Similar business types “mushroom” and then the market gets saturated (examples found included Cell C containers, Internet Cafes, public payphones, recycling, and so forth). Soon there are too many people offering the same (undifferentiated and uncompetitive) service, they therefore are not as profitable and end up shutting down. “People [here] are not creative!” a few respondents claimed.

The extreme competition and conflict found in the area may be one consequence of this congestion. The rivalries play out on many levels. There is, for example, a

sense that the people operating in the area don't live there and this is somehow a problem. “People feel that they have a sense of entitlement. Just because I don’t live here then I shouldn’t be working here.”

The rivalry extends to the categorisation of who is formal (therefore has rights) and informal (seen as less legitimate, and undesirable). Although the formal businesses clearly draw higher value and profitability and cannot be said to be in any serious competition with the informal businesses, they still complain about the informal businesses having hidden costs and being an eyesore.

Finally, the rivalry pitches local versus residents against foreigners. Most hair salons, brick-making, panel beating, spray and body painting enterprises are operated by foreigners such as Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, whereas local people tend to operate the supermarkets and *spaza*[20] shops, liquor stores, pay-phones, poultry, butchery or meat market, fruit and vegetables stalls. A fairy common sentiment is: “We also have a lot of foreigners, also starting businesses, and so we don’t have land to start our businesses.”

An example of local business attitudes towards foreigners is in how some locals talk about *spaza* shops. Ethiopians and Pakistani spaza owners are considered to be leading to “the collapse of local *spazas*” because the foreigners operate in co-operatives and purchase in bulk which enables them to sell items cheaper. These and other discriminatory discourses and attitudes have led to the area’s simmering xenophobia.

The issue of informal trade is a tense one in the neighbourhood. Informal businesses seem to find formalisation desirable, but it is claimed that the municipality demands that informal business operators register for a trading licence which costs

[20] “Spaza shop” is a South African term used to refer to a neighbourhood convenience shop or corner store, typically informal.

about R410, pay monthly rent of R139, register for taxation, and relocate operations to the newly built municipal structures or purchase Gazebo tents which cost about R1 500. Most say they cannot possibly afford all of this even if they were to be willing to pay. Many of them are already paying the R139 monthly rent to City of Tshwane Municipality for operating space. While they indicated that they were willing to continue to pay at the current level (or even slightly more), the informal traders also expressed concerns about their financial vulnerability. Most felt that they were either already paying enough (the R139), or needed to be able to pay according to their profitability.

The DEMACON (2011) study supported this, finding that "Although more than 80% of respondents expressed a willingness to pay rent for facilities, the amount they are prepared to pay amounted to an average of only R60 per month." The mismatched expectations have led to conflict between traders and the City, ultimately leading to the demolition of informal trader stalls which left many operators out in the cold, literally vulnerable to inclement weather.

The informal traders in the area have no organised structure or organization to represent them anymore. There previously had been an association, but due to Metro Police harassment, demolition of temporary structures, and arrest of the association Chairperson, the chairperson decided to resign which led to stakeholders being reluctant to participate.

Human Capital

There is little reference to education and training in the area and many of the skills-based enterprises are run by immigrants (either foreigners, or people from other provinces). There are several primary schools in the area, and an FET college (Tshwane South College) which runs interesting programmes such as a relatively sophisticated jewellery design and making programme which has won awards.

However, it seemed that most people attending the college might be coming from outside of the neighbourhood, or even the township. Furthermore, the exact contribution of the college to the local economy was impossible to determine.

While there are many cell phone containers and internet cafes in the area, it does not appear that technology (besides using phones and the internet for personal communication) is used or looked to in any innovative sense. One resident indicated a belief that "technology is important for the future of this area because it can bring in a lot of outside investments, and marketing, and it can bring a lot of opportunities in terms of job creation". However, there was no further articulation of what and how.

Actors and Power relations

ANC is the main political power player with no opposition and there are civic organizations such as the Atteridgeville Saulsville Residents Organization (ASRO) and the Atteridgeville Saulsville Concerned Residents Organization (ASCORA) which oppose each other. The Atteridgeville Saulsville Taxi Owners Association (ASTOA) regulates the taxi business. The Youth Lekgotla focuses on social issues, and is also a youth forum for arts, culture, sports and recreation.

People also speak of some powerful individuals. An infamous local known as "The King of Bling" is powerful, but also looked upon negatively and is considered a failure because his wealth has been gained illicitly. Another wealthy local, "Ali-MAG", is deemed to be successful because he went to university and has a Pharmacology Degree. He now owns a chain of pharmaceutical retail stores in Atteridgeville, Saulsville and Pretoria CBD. For some, he has dispelled the myth that education is not a route to wealth. There are also other powerful or influential individuals from the area who run businesses outside of Saulsville (such as Mr. Mabitsela who owns several Capello restaurants, and Mr. Ledwaba who owns funeral parlours in Gauteng and Limpopo).

Aspirations and Innovations

Different from T-Section where intervention ideas appeared to revolve mainly around historical cultural value, many of the ideas given by locals about the potential of this area reflected more on traditional products and services which Atteridgeville in general seems to be known for. Locals indicated that the area has a sound reputation and market from "those in the know" (residents, former residents of the area, and others in greater Tshwane and beyond) for sourcing these products and services.

Examples of innovation opportunities included:

- **Traditional beer:** Traditional beer is used widely in cultural ceremonies, ethnic gatherings and rituals such as ancestral worship, marriage ceremonies, unveiling of tombstones and just pure celebration of success or achievement. It is made in varying tastes or brews based on ethnic preferences be it ma-Tsonga, ama-Zulu, ba-Pedi northern Sotho people, ama-Ndebele, and ba-Shoeshoe southern Sotho people. This innovative idea could be explored further to create local jobs, form co-operatives and encourage partnerships with the local Vivo breweries which currently produce sorghum beer. The beer contains original healthy ingredients.
- **Hand-made sweeping broom:** Hand-made sweeping brooms are also used for cultural celebrations or cultural reasons during wedding ceremonies where the bride is presented with about two brooms as a symbol to encourage tidiness or neatness not laziness which means the house should always be swept. It is a natural resource which is freely available in local landscapes and hills throughout all seasons. It is used also for decorations to depict "Africanness" and could also be utilised for corporate African style or image decoration.

- **Wetlands grass wall or floor mats:** This idea could be used for corporate office space and house decorations added with company insignia and just for purely cultural reasons. Many old women in South Africa and beyond borders sit on it and some households use it as a sleeping mattress or mat. Even visitors are provided this form of mat especially the ama-Ndebele tribe who use it to show respect to a visitor.
- **Traditional healing and remedies:** A lot of traditional medicine practitioners succeed in curing ailments that have eluded Western scientific medicine but the problem is that they are not recognized. Nevertheless many people still consult them. Their incorporation into the scientific mainstream and funded to find cures or remedies could break through barriers. And although the Medical Research Council of South Africa is already somewhat engaged in these issues, a lot still need to be done in terms of establishing operations, forming cooperatives, and undertaking research and development.
- **Traditional wear or fashion:** Many ethnic groups have traditional fashion which is worn during gatherings. For instance, the Tsonga people design “Mincheka” or “Shibelani”, a beautiful and colourful dress which they improved and marketed in the international fashion world. The only thing lacking is forming of co-operatives, erecting a plant and providing logistics.
- There were also more conventional ideas regarding light industry and manufacturing, although it was indicated that there is limited physical space for this.

Although the activities considered to be unique and knowledge-based activities in the area seem to be linked to tradition and culture, it is notable from a commercial perspective that these may be inclined to more ceremonial or ritual use than conventional, everyday usage. The implication of this is that the market demand may

be sporadic or discontinuous. The market may also be limited to the particular cultures using specific cultural services or goods, unless there is the development of a more general cultural industry which did not seem to be the case. There was no evidence of expansion or scaling up of the businesses, or of any particular innovations in respect of product or process adaptations or commercialisation.

Some of the more routine traditional products and services seem to co-exist with conventional or modern equivalents, and the latter typically had higher monetary value or cost (Table 9). Examples of these are reflected in the table below. Although locals report that these businesses coexist easily, the implications of this are that there are likely constraints to the significant expansion of either without compromising the other.

Table 9: Traditional products and services have modern-day equivalents

Traditional business	Modern equivalent
Umqombothi[21] **brewers**	*Shebeens*[22] and bottle-stores
Broom sellers	Commercial sales in retail stores
Mats	Carpets and tapestries
Traditional medicine, herbalists, *sangomas*[23]	Dispensaries and doctors
Traditional fashion designers and tailors	Second hand clothes sellers, clothes stores

(Source: Author)

[21] Traditional beer

[22] Taverns

[23] Traditional healers and intermediaries

Conclusions about Problems and Solutions – *"This place is full and there is no space; I don't think there's anything else that can be done"*

This study highlighted land availability and access issues as being a major factor in Saulsville. People made comments like "They [should] give us more land, because there is a lot of businesses." Whether the space can actually be expanded (or extended through more innovative built form and layout) was not investigated, but there was a very strong sense of competition and contestation for space. Levels and incidents of xenophobia emerged as a serious vulnerability linked to this internal resource competition.

Politics at all levels (the role of councillors, party politics, and even organizational politics within the municipality) were also seen to be negatively affecting effectiveness of development in the areas. One respondent said of their development vision for the area:

> I would empower the youth, and give them more skills, to be able to stand on their own feet, and not go into the drugs, and I would give people equal opportunities, because around here it's all about who you know to get ahead, for example if you know someone from the mayor's family then everything will be at easy access.

This sense that there was much to be done, but a deep sense of corruption, nepotism and patronage to access opportunities came through strongly. This contributes to the ongoing conflict that the residents have been having with the municipality. Respondents were so distrustful of the city that they were even suspicious about the purpose of this study, to extent that the intended focus group could not be conducted.

The cultural industries seem to stand out in Saulsville as having some potential to expand and be leveraged, which could also be considered – at least symbolically – in relation to the geographical location of the township being between the modern city and the rural hinterlands which are more steeped in tradition.

6.4 Comparison and Preliminary Conclusions – *So, are all townships the same?*

In concluding the findings of the appreciative observations, this section asks the question of how distinct the two neighbourhoods really are. The broad answer would be that, on the surface, the two study areas have many similar issues and qualities. However, there are also some differences which are also presented.

6.4.1 Common Observations

Table 10 presents some of the formal statistics on the area as reported in the studies for NDPG. It does reveal that there are some common demographic and economic patterns in the two areas, several which are more similar between the two areas than in comparison to regional and national figures. This section discusses commonalities that were identified through the observation, several of which are supported by the table data.

The most obvious and observable similarity between the two locales is the "township physicality" they are embedded within: there is a very marked separation from the city in spite of proximity. The townships generally have singular access routes into the areas, are demonstrating clear signs of poverty and urban decay even if there are also evident redevelopment efforts. The latter comprise of the range of interventions made post-94. Roads were tarred, informal settlements electrified and provided with running water, community centres built, stadiums reconstructed, libraries refurbished, RDP and bond housing rolled out, proximate FET colleges supported and improved, new shopping malls developed, and so forth.

In human terms, the mono-racial composition is also very visually evident, as is the vibrant street life in the neighbourhoods. Economic activities in general appear more survivalist than highly profitable, and both areas have significant informal commercial activity. Common businesses visible include spaza shops, food and beverage sales, vegetable stalls, street vending, automotive repairs, funeral services,

health (such as hospices, home-based care) and social development (community development workers and local forums). The proliferation of alcohol sales and taverns sites is also noticeable.

Table 10: Comparative data tables for the two areas and context

VARIABLE	MAMELODI	ATTERIDGE-VILLE	CITY OF TSHWANE METRO	GAUTENG	SOUTH AFRICA
Size	*15km²*	*8km²*	*6,298km²*	*18,178km²*	*1,221,037km²*
Population	334,577	169,633	2,921,488	12,272,263	51,770,561
No. of Households	106,670	53,886	911,536	3,909,022	14 709 261
Study Neighbourhoods:	*T-Section (SA5)*	*Saulsville sub-place*			
• *Size*	*0,26km²*	*4,27km²*			
• *Population*	*2,545*	*36,323*			
• *No. households*	*921*	*11,181*			
Population growth Avg annual, 1995-2010	2.8%	3.6%	3.1%	2.7%	1.34%
Avg Household size	3.4	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.4
Location Distance & direction from CBD	16km east	15km southwest			
Gender					
- Male	51.98%	53.25%	49.75%	50.8%	48.6%
- Female	48.02%	46.75%	50.25%	49.2%	51.4%
Racial Distribution:					
- African Black	98.9%	99.1%	75.9%	77.9%	79.2%
- Coloured	0.4%	0.2%	2.0%	3.5%	8.9%
- White	0.1%	0.1%	20.2%	15.7%	8.9%
- Indian Asian	0.2%	0.1%	1.9%	2.9%	0.5%
Age profile:					
- **0-14**	24.9%	24.1%	23.2%	23.7%	31.3%
- **15-64**	71.8%	72.4%	71.9%	72.0%	63.7%
o 15-19	8.9%	8.7%			
o 21-35	35.0%	34.9%			
o 36-65	27.9%	28.8%			
- **65+**	3.2%	3.9%	4.9%	4.3%	5.0%
Highest level of education (aged 20 and older)					
- Higher	6.7%	7.2%	16.6%	12.4%	8.5%
- Grade 12	30.2%	29.8%	30.1%	27.7%	20.4%
- Some Secondary	35.9%	36.6%	29.1%	34.1%	30.8%
- None	9.6%	8.6%	8.9%	8.7%	17.9%
Level of employment					
- EAP	70.9%	70.7%	67.8%	70.5%	57.8%
- Employed	56.3%	51.4%	68.5%	63.1%	58.6%
- Unemployed	43.7%	48.6%	31.5%	36.9%	41.4%

Occupation profile:					
- Elementary	24.9%	23.9%	19.5%	20.5%	26.5%
- Service workers	16.3%	15.9%	11.6%	11.4%	10.2%
- Craft & related	15.7%	13.7%	13.9%	12.4%	12.1%
- Clerks	13.9%	14.5%	11.5%	13.0%	10.9%
- Plant & machine	8.5%	9.6%			
- Professionals			10.8%	9.7%	9.6%
Industry Employed In:					
- Community, Personal & Social Services:	29.6%	34.6%	34.6%	27.3%	28.0%
- Trade:	23.2%	19.0%	15.6%	16.8%	15.2%
- Manufacturing:	11.8%	13.6%	11.6%	14.0%	12.7%
- Finance & Business Services:	9.8%	11.3%	13.5%	13.9%	9.4%
- Private households:		7.0%			
LSM Profile					
- LSM 1-5:	**38.4%**	**52.3%**	**32.1%**	**35.7%**	**49.4%**
- LSM 4-10+:	**61.0%**	**47.7%**	**67.9%**	**64.3%**	**50.6%**
Average monthly hh income					
- Of HHs earning income:	R5 244.60	R5 405	R12 730.10	R11 329.80	R7 032.90
- Of LSM 4-10+:	R11 991.70	R7 582	R19631.90	R18 575.40	R14 408.50
Primary Mode of Transport to school and work					
- Pedestrian:	**36.4%**	**36.1%**			
- Taxi:	**27.4%**	**22.3%**			
- Train:	**15.7%**	**15.1%**			
- Private vehicle:	**10.1%**	**11.7%**			
- Bus:	**9.0%**	**14.8%**			

Source: Census 2011; Demacon 2011

But there are also less visible common characteristics. Socially, both areas have significant youthful populations and face challenges with high incidence of teenage drug and alcohol abuse. Youth are considered to be "lost" and lazy, only interested in revelry and instant gratification. Middle-aged community members consider their values to be work, church and community (providing services such as home based care), but at the same time there is also recognition of greed in this group ("deferred dreams" and jealousy about the success of others) which is deemed to lead to corruption. In both communities, residents refer to elders caring for grandchildren for various reasons. The prevalent social activities and dynamics are similar – cultural and religious activities, social clubs (grocery, burial and ceremonial; these are essentially "*stokvel*" arrangements which are a form of savings club where members

collectively pool financial contributions and in turn gain periodic benefits). Crime was also expressed as a challenge: house break-ins, robbery, cell phone snatching and carjacking were referred to in both areas.

Economically, it is a common feature that the areas seldom refer to education and training, and many of their skills-based enterprises are run by immigrants (whether foreign or from other parts of the country). There is not much evidence of formal business expansion or innovation, and supply chains appear to be mainly external in both areas (re-selling or repair of things produced elsewhere). Formal and informal economies co-exist in both areas, though formal businesses were found to draw higher value (profitability) and have had lower turnover (most formal businesses surveyed had been running for 10 to 30 years, while informal ones had been operating for 6 to 24 months). Another interesting common feature was that, for both neighbourhoods, many people operating there – particularly those in formal jobs – did not necessarily live there within the neighbourhood.

Although the City of Tshwane claims to view informal trade positively, there were indications in both communities that the municipality consistently clashed with the informal sector role players, and the city was accused of trying to displace the informal activities. In this regard, informal traders in both areas were acutely aware of the need to organise and protect their interests. In that sense, it was unfortunate to find that the informal trade association in Saulsville was disbanding because it would mean that there would no longer be an organized structure for engagement with the City, and no strategic way to collectively avoid being intimidated by officials. In contrast, T-Section was reportedly just starting to organise a similar association due to a recognised need for such.

In terms of actors and institutional dynamics, both areas clearly referred to ANC control and appeal politically. References were made to the political party's liberation and development role in both areas. There were similarly optimistic views in both

areas that if only the national government would intervene and hold its local representatives accountable, then the future would definitely be better.

Somewhat in contradiction of this positive attitude towards the state, local government service delivery was also said to be a mess in both areas. There were high levels of conflict between City and communities regarding common issues such as housing allocations, treatment of informal traders and land issues. There was also a shared perception that decisions about money and development (power) are overly centralised in government (national and local spheres, both located in the Pretoria CBD). People in both neighbourhoods believed that if things continued as they did, there was a high likelihood that violent protests would be likely to escalate, leading to anarchy and looting (of which there had been recent incidences in both Mamelodi and Atteridgeville). This underlying threat of social unrest was lingering in both areas.

These similarities, among others, could perhaps be considered to be reflective of legacy challenges faced by townships generally. However it is necessary to reflect on whether there were any differences observed.

From these data (Table 10) and observations, it is evident that both neighbourhoods and their townships are characteristically relatively deprived. They demonstrate high population densities, and low, declining population growth rates. They have higher unemployment rates than regional and national averages, and the predominance of blue collar occupations is characteristic of a lower to middle income consumer market (Demacon 2011). Living standards are low to moderate, and higher education attainment is lower than city and provincial averages.

6.4.2 But there are Differences!

However, it also begins to emerge in the observations that there are subtle but important differences between the two neighbourhoods that at least begin to hint at

different developmental opportunities and responses. At a neighbourhood level, high densities in Saulsville have been a challenge, creating intense competition for space. The lack of innovation has made this worse, as everyone is trying to operate the same businesses. T-Section less constrained, being less dense and seeming to have more co-operative local circumstances even though there are complaints here too about poor social capital.

Saulsville has more businesses functioning, and a greater proportion of formal (relative to informal) enterprises than T-Section. Even though T-Section's economy has a relatively higher proportion of informal activity, it also reflects a stronger presence of professionals and specialisation (government services, entertainment, auto, professional services). As a result, T-Section's economy seems more legible than Saulsville's to an observer, with the latter seeming to have a much more random range of small businesses operating.

Informality seems to be perceived differently in the two areas. Informal traders in T-Section seemed to only be seeking the freedom and support to continue operating. Informal traders in Saulsville seem to aspire to formalise and grow, for example, into wholesalers. To some extent, there is better co-existence between formal and informal activities in T-Section

Although the two areas have a similar age profile, there is a sense in T-Section that "The older generation is not running businesses but the younger generation from many different sections of Mamelodi." If this is true – and it does seem to be reflected in terms of the representations of various local residents and operators who participated in this study – then this could be another difference between the two areas. In Saulsville, the city officials indicate that the older generation controls properties and business, in some ways serving as a constraint to younger entrepreneurs' access to business premises and opportunity. The relatively older age of business owners may also be a reason for the low levels of innovation. T-Section has been much more dynamic, but property claims and issues have prevented

ownership for a long time as a result of which most of the enterprise owners are now either renters or illegal occupants of their spaces.

The Saulsville station area is also identified in City of Tshwane Spatial Development Strategy 2010 as a Metropolitan Activity Node. This indicates an intention by the city to focus on strengthening economic activities in the area, including through retail and commerce. The Metropolitan Activity Nodes are the highest order activity nodes within the Tshwane area with the highest concentrations of residential, commercial, social, cultural and other urban activities (City of Tshwane 2009b). T-Section is only considered to be a secondary node and historic precinct. This means that there is less strategic and public investment focus on T-Section relative to Saulsville.

However, there has been relatively more planning undertaken for Mamelodi and T-Section than for Saulsville. The city planning documents reflect that "Not much planning has taken place for the [Saulsville] precinct. Moreover most actions are ad hoc and sectoral in nature with no integration between the different departments" (City of Tshwane 2009, p.25). The documents also indicate that "The development of Saulsville as Metropolitan Activity Node seems to lag behind the other areas that have been identified as Metropolitan Activity Nodes" (ibid, p.34). In this sense, T-Section has much more going for it on paper than Saulsville does in that there has been much thinking and planning for its future. Saulsville seems to be "on pause" with bigger intentions, but relatively little of these advanced into solid strategising and planning.

6.4.3 Conclusions

The appreciative observation of the two areas was a rich experience. Although it does not pretend to have interrogated all aspects in depth, it provided a useful insight into the local actors and dynamics. The local stories reflecting upon what a place was

about, where it was coming from and where it was going to was the key to identifying and understanding the development potential and needs that the communities saw themselves. While on some level there may be similar constraints in the two areas, what emerged was a variety of strengths and opportunities.

There were common requirements for government intervention in relation to human capital development, basic services and social development. Beyond these basics however, there were more specific needs. T-Section calls for enterprise development and support through development facilitation, business capital and addressing of the property and land issues in the neighbourhood. However, the city has chosen to prioritise other nodes for attention (Denneboom and Eerste Fabrieke), and has not been able to engage the entrepreneurs in an inclusive and consultative way. Saulsville is a "chosen" area and therefore has real potential and intention to grow, but requires a strategic intervention to reconcile its realities and actors into concrete solutions and plans, which will necessarily include economic development strategies and a resolution of space issues, perhaps requiring new building forms. The existing tensions and distrust will not allow for common plans to be established, and this therefore requires careful facilitation and community building.

Chapter 7: Reflections on the Findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects on the relationship between the LDA findings and the appreciative findings using the study's initial "six-point critique" as a frame. This frame is used as representing the study's concern with transformative development through neighbourhood-level planning. In addition to the primary observations, the chapter also draws upon the additional information and insights gained through the supplementary key informant interviews and secondary studies (ABI evaluations).

7.2 Revisiting the "Six-point Critique"

In order to maintain the narrative style of the presentation findings, as well as to avoid attribution given the small number of informants, verbatim comments are presented without citation. However the respondents are all qualified and/or practicing planners who have had some interface or role in the NDPG (informants are listed in Annex: "List of Study Informants", and are coded in this discussion as Informant A, B, C, et cetera, to preserve anonymity).

1) Standardised

"Some similar denominators might apply to most township areas due to their common history… five out of ten common elements everywhere. The mistake may be that we try to come up with the same solution." Informant A

The review of the LDA plans shows, and most respondents agree, that there has been a cookie-cutter approach to planning for township nodes such the two cases reviewed. They seem to suggest that the drivers of this are:

i) "Planners are all trained the same way, therefore their approach will be the same" – Informant D (none of the richness or variety of planning theory in terms of for instance perspective, approach and role came up);

ii) Funder (Treasury) requirements: "Everyone is just trying to pitch what they think the NDPG wants to fund" – Informant C;

iii) A perceived need for action, not "over-analysis"; and

iv) A South African tendency to "throw money at problems" – Informant B.

There is recognition of the need to balance between novel or contextualised insights, and the idea that there are some basics which may be common due to a legacy of underinvestment in these areas. One respondent warned that "An [obvious] action can be overlooked by doing over-analysis" – and indeed there may be some "hygiene factors" that apply in general; refuse removal, paving and the like. "Some of the proposals are basic pre-requisites and might therefore be common in several different townships" (Informant C).

However, there were still strong statements made about the unhealthy uniformity in approach which was considered to be common. Statements made included:

> "I am aghast at some of the plans I see for townships... there are planners who simply apply a formula… they don't get down to what the local stuff is." – Informant A

> "There are uncritically applied, popular planning models – e.g. nodes and spines" – Informant B

> "Have a look at [development framework XYZ] and the 2011 Business Plan; there is very little difference." – Informant C

In spite of the LDA showing the two areas up to be relatively similar, the observations support a differentiated view. An argument can be made for the need to differentiate and contextualise planning's approach to townships because they are *not* all the same. A general example is regarding location. There are townships which are

relatively better located than others. Atteridgeville and Mamelodi are in fact quite well located in terms of their proximity to the urban core of the city. A township like Alexandra in Johannesburg is even better situated. These might then suggest particular opportunities for growth and integration. However, a township like Orange Farm, which is also included in the NDPG and is located 45km south of Johannesburg is, in one respondent's view, an example of "throwing good money after bad". He says "Some townships were really purely creatures of apartheid – the 'We'll bus them in' kind of settlement planning… the location is just plain bad and senseless" (Informant E). The argument is that planning's perspective and the development approach to a place like Orange Farm simply cannot be the same as how one treats a more viable, or better located, township.

2) Top-down

"He who holds the purse strings calls the tune…"

Karuri-Sebina, Hemson and Carter (2010) found from a public sector assessment that there was a tendency to an inherent "correctness" of the public service, and they argue that South Africa suffers an implicit "statism" in its dominant "developmental state" notion "which might make the state more inclined to behave autonomously rather than consultatively and responsively" (p.99). Indeed, the findings support this perspective.

One official (Informant C) stated quite frankly that there has been "over-consultation" with communities, and planning in Mamelodi for example was merely for compliance with funding requirements, otherwise he was fairly certain that the planning process was not expected to discover anything not already known or decided. There was in this sense a very functionalist view of the role of planning, conflating planning with resourcing project lists, rather than a process of analysis. Comments made included:

> "It took two years and R7 million in planning to get approval for the same projects that it had taken me two weeks to identify!" - Informant C

> "Communities do not understand that the plan is only implementable if it is funded. A plan without a budget is not a plan." – Informant F

While participation and empowerment are entrenched in development and planning language in South Africa, in practice the NDPG experienced an aversion to consultation and the priority appeared to be securing politicians' buy-in and commercial (big business) interest. These were prioritised as being the important keys to development success and the benefits to local communities was unquestioningly assumed (NDP 2009). The fact that communities may have different priorities or pertinent constraints, may themselves be potential investors in the area, or may organise themselves in opposition to development due to their exclusion (which in fact happened in several NDPG projects around the country) were considerations not factored into the top-down approaches applied.

There was also a view that "A lot of parties are willing to pay for plans, but not for projects" (Informant C). This view matches the researcher's experience that there has been a lot of faith in paying for continual planning in NDPG (to the point of making statements that the only beneficiaries of the first half of the NDP were the planners) with inadequate focus on the quality, value and implementation of the plans.

There was simultaneously a pragmatic perspective about the plans. This was that the days of IDP "wish-lists" were now over, and that councillors and communities are very sensitive to what gets committed which forces planners to be more modest about the claims in plans. In this sense, there was perceived to be less interest in broad and grand [fictitious] plans, and more interest in simple and guaranteed "project lists". An extreme example of what this could imply was an example given of where a municipality had created parallel municipal structures to conduct development work in a township while there had been over 500 local organisations in the same

community which could have been strengthened to play the role much more effectively than the municipality ever could (Informant E).

3) Economism

One respondent (Informant D) commented that the economic development model used in thinking about townships was deficient. The reflection was basically that South Africa has a capitalist economy which tends to focus on consumption and on "big business". The NDPG was fashioned within this backdrop and system, seeing itself as trying to get this economic system to work for townships. This is evident in the founding Minister's position about stemming leakage from townships as local disposable income was growing. This was translated in the NDPG model largely into exposing the township as a market prospect for external investors and providers. It was therefore not designed to review or disrupt the existing economic system and structure. In this sense, the market rationality was assumed and accepted as a condition and perhaps even as a goal.

Another planner (Informant B) stated that "If anything, there is insufficient market bias!" based on the view that he had seen in the NDPG plans too much focus on simply attracting investment rather than grappling with more fundamental and holistic economic development which should build the township's productive capacity. In this sense, the market fundamentalism fails to meet its own objectives by being too narrowly defined. This point raises the issue that the two critiques posited about economic rationality can actually contradict each other in that a programme may appear to privilege market economics, but may in fact sub-optimise its economic performance by failing to engage with key structural market factors.

The linkages made between planning and local economic development (LED) are weak within government. There are also conflicting objectives – for example township mechanics may be seen to contribute to LED, but they are also often located

in road reserves and engaged in nuisance or environmentally problematic uses and practices such as oil spillage. Similar concerns have been raised around informal food traders and health and hygiene considerations related to for instance water and sanitation, and food storage and handling.

The analyses and opinions also depict township economies as being constrained by two challenges, neither of which come up in the NDPG plans:

i) Low creativity and innovation capacity in townships for various reasons, including a legacy of poor education and skills development; and

ii) Limited opportunities for expanding local, small-scale production. "South Africa is not like India which is not dominated by large supermarket chains [so there is opportunity for small producers and traders]… We cannot just undo our Western model" (Informant A).

4) Physical bias

"We think in capital" / "Planners lack an understanding of the economic and social side of things." – Informant D

Informants generally seemed to agree that the physical bias is true, though perhaps not so irrational or unjustifiable: Given historic backlogs, infrastructure is certainly needed in townships. Planning would certainly pick up on these overt deficiencies. Secondly, given the pressure to deliver, it is easier to plan and deliver on physical projects than addressing the softer, more complicated and structural developmental issues. As short-term, tangible "ribbon-cutting" or "photo-op" outputs, physical projects also draw the political support required to enable other developments.

The lack of planners' attention to non-physical issues is not deemed to be the only problem, however. Significantly, there is also an absence of non-built environment professions in focused township planning:

> "But I have not ever come across a process where other line functions were involved – education health, et cetera; so it is normally about the spatial planning and some physical elements… You very seldom find the social departments having a sector plan for a township area… you just get a dot on a map as a facility." - Informant D

In addition to lop-sided teams, there is also a concern that there can be lop-sided agendas:

> "There is a naiveté in local government about driving these initiatives… [they] seem to think that parks, roads, et cetera will do it; a focus just on infrastructure. But even the infrastructure selection doesn't support social capital [formation]." – Informant B

A respondent (Informant A) indicated that a municipality for example would opt to prioritise the building of council buildings and sidewalks instead of building much-needed schools and playgrounds to strengthen human capital.

Another example given of a hollow physical focus is in township mobility. Even in a township where the majority population is pedestrian, not vehicular, there would be no recognition of this in the approach to physical planning. Such consideration would imply different road widths, and a different conceptualisation of how the movement spaces could be used and designed considering their socio-economic roles and opportunities. However, "[Planners] don't go into detail with socio-economic analysis of the area for which they plan" (Informant E).

As previously mentioned, NDPG proposals were ultimately almost always for capital improvements. In spite of the programme's claim that its design allowed for "soft infrastructure" too (programmatic and capacity building interventions), this was barely recognised or taken up by any of the grantees and planners, and certainly not in the two sets of plans reviewed in this study.

5) Exogenous

"We set up structures and institutions rather than starting with what you've got." – Informant B

Respondents indicated that there was a tendency to haste and to orienting to external rather than internal knowledge. One planner commented that planning in general (as in not only in South Africa) has a tendency not to empower local communities. "We don't trust people" he said, "Our idea of participation is incomplete, and policies limit what we can negotiate about" (Informant B). As a result, prescriptive norms and standards abound, and then professionals and officials get to choose any other reference points to inform their approaches.

> "We don't look at local knowledge or local conditions." – Informant E
>
> "We set up new processes instead of empowering the people who are already doing something" (For example the bypassing local CBOs and creating new government structures). – Informant B

The issue of what local norms and practices have been for the use of space seem to be ignored, replaced with generic planning standards and bylaws considered to be the formal and universally correct standards for urban management practice (Jenkins 2004; Godehart 2006). So for example people in Mamelodi have been converting residential properties (houses) for mixed use; they might for instance use the living room area as an office, one bedroom is a store room, and there is then some living space left over for other domestic uses. This is seen to be undesirable to most planners. A City of Tshwane official referred to it as a result of "market failure" in the sense that there are seventy-five well-located business sites available in the area which are stuck in either litigation or administration in the city. The assumption is that the formal sites would be a preferable and affordable alternative for the local users, eliminating the need for home-based commercial and industrial uses.

Another respondent indicated that a cause of this could be the rushed conditions under which planning processes now happen:

> "In the 90s, planning projects and appointments of this sort lasted twelve months. Now, it gets to the end of the financial year, then there is a rush to dump money… The consequences are: 1) There is no time for meetings with stakeholder groups for real participatory inputs, and 2) The costs [of participatory processes] become a problem." – Informant D

That particular planner believed that a minimum of six months including twelve to fourteen engagements with local communities is probably the most basic level of local planning study and consultation required to get to understanding local conditions and opportunities. This would require a higher time and cost input. However, it would also deliver greater benefits qualitatively and in terms of sustainability of solutions.

6) Formalistic

> *"The goal is to formalise" – Informant A*

> *"The informal is seen as messy" – Informant B*

Formalisation is the focus of planning, it seems. Informal activity was seen as an impediment to economic investment and growth in many of the plans reviewed, and the informants affirmed this to be the dominant tendency. The appearance of informality was considered to lead to flight:

> "The private sector is very sensitive to whether places are in decay… The real investors who can access R50 million from the bank need to feel confident in the area… There is a place for informal trade, but it must be properly placed and structured." – Informant D

> "I really love the formalised informal trade stalls." – Informant D

The role, contribution or development needs of the informal actors themselves was not specifically mentioned by the key anti-informal (or pro-formal as they may perhaps see themselves) commentators.

Some respondents were clearly focused on townships being "ripe for market entry", particularly for retail in the form of shopping centres:

> "Twenty years ago there was no shopping centre in any township in South Africa… Whereas previously, trade and retail in the areas was low-key and informal, now big corporate businesses are moving in and establishing shopping centres e.g. in Mamelodi… In Atteridgeville, land has already been acquired for new shopping centres; we are waiting for the economic climate to make the project viable… This is really positive – it is a trend." – Informant D

Indeed, a study by Urban Landmark on township retail (McGaffin 2009) found that about one-third of new shopping centre developments (by space) between 2004 and 2009 were in township (or "secondary economy") locations, and that these locations are a principal avenue for private sector investment in these areas. However, in spite of some perceived benefits from an access and employment perspective, there has also been a real difficulty in engaging with informal trades while pursuing the big retail approach. The Urban Landmark study found that while shopping centres did not necessary completely displace informal and small traders, there were complicated dynamics that tend to be inadequately addressed from a planning and LED perspective.

One approach used in townships has been to create semi-formal stalls to relocate informal traders into. These have tended not to be very successful in the researcher's experience – specifically, she has seen several "white elephant" market stalls in Johannesburg townships and also in Tshwane (including Atteridgeville). Another respondent confirmed that, in his experience, efforts such as the removal of hawkers, or simplistic moving of informal traders into formal spaces with formal rules generally fails (Donovan [2008] and Porter et al [2011] among others have articulated well the challenges of relocation of informal traders). Even examples which are touted as being successful such as Johannesburg CBD and Warwick Junction (Durban) have been extremely problematic. In both cases, the respective municipalities have eventually found themselves in protracted conflict with informal traders as agendas and requirements have failed to align. When respondents in this

thesis study were asked about why trade stalls built to accommodate informal traders are still locked up in Atteridgeville, two indicated that it was an "administrative problem" relating to beneficiary identification. One claimed that this solution is working better in other places such as in Soshanguve.

Cities generally seem to set themselves against the small and informal because small traders are precarious; they generally do not have product differentiation, so their location tends to be very precise and it always matters (NDP 2010c). Most efforts to interfere with them generally causes them, whether by intent or not, to lose out to bigger commercial interests. In the case of the NDPG, it is of course necessary to note the dominance of shopping centre-led strategies which already prioritised big retail as having greater economic value than small traders, so one could say that the disadvantage is with intent.

7.3 Other / Additions Emerging to the Six Points…

In addition to the six-point critique, additional questions or themes were explored through the study. These are reported upon here.

7.3.1 What are the chances of planning / NDPG's success in transforming townships?

"On the physical part, we are doing our part. The human development part is worrying me. It is fundamental to the capacitation of the communities. The environment of townships is creating losers from the start – ruining their lives…" – Informant D

There were two responses to this question. One was that there was frankly no chance because of the "wickedness" of the problem (Informant A). One informant stated that township youth are "losers from the start" because they have poor schools

and poor quality controls, for example to ensure that learners and teachers are actually in schools (Informant D).

The second was a "maybe" view that it would be possible if funding could be appropriately channelled: "When [township transformation will be achieved] depends on the resourcing… If the plans are funded over a consistent term, then we can talk about having an impact" (Informant C). But this would also require prioritisation, and another respondent stated that "Currently prioritisation is impossible because we are trying to satisfy everybody" (Informant A).

7.3.2 What does / will it take to transform townships?

"Even for a place like Alex where over R2,3 billion has been spent over the past ten years… it was unrealistic to imagine that this would be enough to transform a place which had been neglected for fifty-sixty years!" – Informant E

The answers to this question ranged from concrete demands for funded projects, assignment of planning capacity,[24] stronger linkages between planning and economic development functions, more time, investments in skilling, and resolution of land/ property issues, to more abstract requirements such as power, integrated development planning, conflict resolution and trust.

The property issue repeatedly comes up as a binding constraint. Property ownership issues (land and buildings) were estimated by one knowledgeable informant to affect over 50% of township commercial properties in the T-Section

[24] At the time of interview, it was estimated that out of 75 Planners in the Tshwane municipality, 75% were assigned to the Land Use section (meaning that they were working on development control, processing applications in establishing and vibrant areas – mainly in the expanding eastern and northern suburbs). At best, 25% of the planning capacity is assigned to dealing with all the proactive planning issues including sector planning and regeneration. These largely consist of plans with no budgets. The respondent indicated that "You can therefore conclude that 75% of planning capacity is *not* focused on townships, but on white and formal areas."

Node for example. There are now groups of people in legal contest for ownership of properties, and forming factions. Conflict and distrust have resulted.

As found in a study of township property markets, relatively limited property transactions are taking place in townships (Nel et al., 2004). “Land is a serious strategic issue and is limiting entrepreneurial access and business growth” said one respondent, while another indicated that “Land is dealt with in an ad hoc way in townships. It’s a mess.”

It was proposed that there must be a detailed and transparent audit done with local stakeholders to identify the land ownership and rental arrangements in townships, including rights, agreements and levels of payment. “The system is blocked with old agreements and vested interests. There are under-handed deals and lots of non-payment… Proper administration is long overdue.”

A second key lever was considered to be getting jobs closer to townships. One respondent stated that “Economic transformation is important. We need to find many successful, commercial industrial and light industrial areas closer to township areas… to generate the jobs needed.” Unfortunately attempts to create the industrial nodes have not been very successful. Tshwane has only had a few successful ones, including the Rosslyn industrial area and Pretoria West.

Although the focus of programmes like NDPG has been on retail, another respondent (Informant D) suggested that the job creation potential of the manufacturing industry would be much more significant. “Everywhere [in townships], industrialisation zones are now being used for scrap yards and funeral parlours when billions of Rands worth of infrastructure is lying there. If the local communities were capacitated to fund real industrialists among themselves, then the industrial areas could be thriving.” But there is a sense that local people do not invest their money locally. If subsidy zones continue to only attract external (and usually white capital) interest, they will never be sustainable. The interviewee offered the example of Babalegi industrial area in Hammanskraal township, Tshwane. The

programme was heavily subsidized and funded as part of a national decentralisation programme, but the interview indicated that the scheme fell apart as soon as the subsidy programme ended and the externals left.

7.3.3 Can planning bring about the transformation?

"We have a major and permanent impact." – Informant A

There was also a range of reflections about the possible limitations that planning may face in trying to be transformative:

- Because of the complexity of the challenge, it is not as simple as planning it away. There are serious constraints that are external and structural: townships are poorly located, far from places of work, are a largely mono-income group (which is low or no income) with low levels of affordability, low contribution to buying power (though this may be slowly changing as there may have been some increases in earnings, for example among civil servants).

- This isn't green fields – planning is not starting *de novo*. Internally, there are also pre-existing spatial lock-ins. The original township layout plan also already defines the area and has a major impact. To compound that negative legacy, there has also continued to be a "spatial mess of location of public investments" (Informant A). Community facilities are scattered everywhere, with no clear concentration of services and economic activity to create any clear nucleus. "Some planners or politicians might be thinking it's a very nice distribution across space, but it is very stupid. It wastes money, resources, underutilizes property, facilitates vandalism, and loses out on the importance of achieving critical mass" (Informant B).

- Limited time and budget for proper planning: Government and other clients want planning to be completed within three months; the driving consideration is budget cycles rather than planning horizons. The increasingly constrained parameters within which "good planning" is expected to happen do not give enough time to go through the planning processes and outcomes required.

- Planners generally don't have power. There are "lots of external influences that planners don't have control over" (Informant C). Planners are left to try to influence politicians (councils) and communities.

7.3.4 Introspection

The review of the findings raises several reflective points. The points are raised here but then deferred to discussion or resolution in the final section of the thesis.

One is about planning professional capacity. A respondent (Informant B) indicated that "Planning advertises itself as the plum in the middle of the fruit salad" in the sense that they take the position of being the profession that is integrative and can co-ordinate other specialist inputs. However, it doesn't always deliver. This is partly because of the limitations of planning training which may not equip planners with adequate facilitation and integration skills. But it is also because of the pressures the profession is under: Planning quality relies on time, practical knowledge and experience – not just textbook learning. It is a problem-solving activity, but not in a reductionist problem-solution sense. It is within the context of complex administrative, economic and societal dynamics. However, there is a sense that "We expect planners to act miraculously too early in their career…. straight out of planning school" (Informant D).

A second reflection was about the set of planning skills or competencies required to play the necessary roles**.** "Planning is the only professional discipline able to make you look beyond the box… to see what can be… searching for the idea" (Informant

B). However, the nature of "planner" required has changed. "We don't need planners who can only develop master plans and broad development frameworks. We need a different set of competencies which *can* be taught: conflict mediation, development facilitation, partnerships brokering, innovation, et cetera." said another respondent (Informant A). Planners also need to be able to learn through trial and error, public consultation with the people, listening, facilitating.

Related to this was the possible influence not just of planning training, but also of planning professionals' identity and bounded experience. The planners tend mainly to be white male urban planners in the NDPG context – this was certainly the case for the two case studies in this research project. This is an issue that had come up as far back as 2008 in the course of NDPG, leading to the development of TTRI (Training for Township Renewal Initiative, http://ndp.treasury.gov.za/ttri) – a partnership-based initiative which sought to build up a more diverse cadre of officials and planners skilled and focused on township development.

However, there was also some recognition that hard skilling was not an adequate route and change would take time as some respondents considered planning practice to be much more experientially determined. One respondent indicated from his own experience that "I don't think we are properly trained. What I have learned in between is what I read or came across. Definitely what I learned 25 years ago [in school] was not adequate… 90% of what I am and do today is experience, not about what I was taught [in planning]" (Informant D).

7.4 So is this Just an NDPG Problem?

One of the studies commissioned by the City of Tshwane for NDPG (DEMACON 2011) engaged on a more conceptual level about the development approach being taken by the NDPG, distinguishing between local economic development and what NDPG does; and cautioning about the lingering "risk of

underdevelopment" which they defined in terms of low levels of living, low self-esteem and limited freedom. The 330-page study report concluded that:

> Given the relatively large consumer base (i.e. in excess of 100 000 people) and underlying characteristics of the settlement nodes it is evident that a pure NDPG approach will have increasingly initial effect in attracting viable and sizeable private sector investment. Certain underlying dynamics such as the extremely high social grant dependency, limited skills base and high unemployment rate coupled with low levels of active job seekers is a clear indication that other types of community building interventions are of utmost importance. A comprehensive integrated strategy is recommended to support the regeneration and development of Atteridgeville / Saulsville (DEMACON, p.329).

This supports the need to use a more holistic framework for seeing the neighbourhood, as the physical planning interventions cannot proceed devoid of the other critical development considerations. In fact, the well-intended and seemingly obvious interventions can work counterproductively (for example displacing local beneficiaries, or creating conflict with traders) if there is a lack of understanding of local dynamics and priorities.

While it might be argued that it is yet early days to judge the efficacy of the NDPG, there are prior programmatic experiences of similar ilk which offer some perspective on likely trajectories. The following sections offer a snapshot of key relevant findings from evaluations of other major South African ABIs.

7.4.1 SIPPs Evaluation

As introduced in Section 4.4, the Special Integrated Presidential Projects on Urban Renewal (SIPPs) were launched in South Africa in 1994, at the dawn of democracy, under the government's broader RDP programme. The SIPPs were intended to support integrated community development and facilitation in major, violence-torn urban areas, with a focus on achieving reconciliation and stability in violence-torn communities and communities in crisis. Importantly, a key objective of

the programme was to transform government from its "business as usual" (Napier and Rust 2002a, p.21) towards a more democratic and integrated governance and delivery approach reflective of the new dispensation. Thirteen projects around the country were selected and publicly funded between 1995 and 1999 (some carried on an additional year or two).

In 2002, the Department of Housing commissioned an evaluation of the programme with the aim of extracting lessons for ongoing urban renewal efforts. The evaluation involved detailed assessment of five out of the thirteen SIPP projects: Katorus (East Rand in Gauteng Province), the Integrated Serviced Land Project or iSLP) (Cape Town in the Western Cape), Duncan Village (East London in the Eastern Cape), Cato Manor (Durban in KwaZulu-Natal), and Molopo River Basin (Mafikeng in the North West Province).

The evaluation was robust, systematically interrogating the efficiency, effectiveness, impact, sustainability and replicability of the SIPPs. In general, the evaluation claimed reasonable efficacy of the programme, at least in so far as it achieved visible and agreed effect in the communities, with stakeholders agreeing that there had indeed been delivery of the promised infrastructure and facilities, and that the crucial reconciliatory efforts had been made (Napier & Rust 2002b). However, it had been a challenging process and there was much yet to be learned and achieved. Indeed, in spite of a recognised impact on settlement form of the project areas, a decade later all of these areas are still low-income, relatively deprived areas.

Not only was the spatial development transformation incomplete, but so too was the institutional transformation that had been intended:

> In a sense, national government was hardly transformed by the SIPPs programme which, despite the scale of funding and impact, remained essentially a pilot project, with the main focus of efforts remaining on other forms of delivery of urban services. The area of local government transformation suffered to some extent by lack of attention to capacity at a national level to promote and facilitate this goal (Napier and Rust 2002a, p.24).

The SIPPs may also be considered to have somewhat entrenched the top-down and physical inclinations of government programmes in that this is where government cut its teeth, so to speak, in the implementation of large-scale delivery projects which future renewal programmes ultimately emulated (Napier & Rust 2002b, p.49). Factors such as pressure to show short-term physical delivery, a narrow focus thereby failing to integrate with the broader development system, and inadequate attention to sustainable socio-economic structure and development are familiar critiques raised by the evaluation.

However the findings of the overall SIPP evaluation must also be considered in relation to the specific programmes which expressed some diversity of approaches and successes or outcomes. For example, the Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) was set up as a dedicated urban management NGO agency, deliberately adopting a participatory planning approach and inclusive governance approaches (CMDP website; Govender 1996; UN-Habitat, 2002). While Cato Manor still remains a relatively deprived area today, the practices and lessons from the CMDP are celebrated and used as a basis for much development learning.

7.4.2 Urban Renewal Programme

The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) was announced by then-President Thabo Mbeki in the February 2001 annual 'State of the Nation' address. The programme was described as coordinating the resources of the three spheres of government towards a "sustained campaign against urban poverty and underdevelopment" so as to improve living standards and reduce poverty (State of Nation Address, 2001). The programme focused on eight selected national urban nodes: Alexandra (Johannesburg), Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha (City of Cape Town), Inanda and KwaMashu (eThekwini), Mdantsane (Buffalo City), Motherwell (Nelson Mandela Bay), and Galeshewe (Sol Plaatje).

Various evaluations of the URP ABIs have been undertaken, some by the government itself and yet others by researchers. While some of the former take more

the form of profiling and marketing, these combined with more critical assessments (such as that of Peter 2008) conclude that the URP was mainly successful in advancing basic service delivery (water, sanitation, electricity) and 'quick win' LED-type programmes. To the extent that there was certainly a need and opportunity for these, URP may be considered to have been successful. The Alexandra Urban Renewal Programme which has now existed for over a decade was an important legacy outcome and is considered to have engaged significantly with local needs through extensive participatory processes; one evaluation indicated that "The Alexandra URP, after starting off as being infrastructure driven, is today possibly the most balanced with regard to addressing both infrastructure and human development needs" (p.10, dplg 2007).

Khayelitsha's URP which leveraged into the successful Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrade Programme sponsored by the German Development Bank, the City of Cape Town, and later the NDPG too, was also ultimately reasonably successful in integrating the local community's safety and economic considerations in the process of analysing and planning for urban development.

However, in spite of supposedly learning from the SIPPs (dplg 2006), the more transformative and sustainable impacts remained elusive. The projects by and large continued to be strongly state-driven, physically focused, and exogenous.

7.4.3 ABM in eThekwini

eThekwini Metropolitan municipality launched their Area Based Management and Development Programme (ABMDP, also referred to as ABM) in 2003, supported with a significant budget-support grant from the European Commission (€35million over five years). It is probably the most significant ABI implemented directly at a local government level in South Africa. Although it was at its core an ABI, the ABM programme was approached slightly differently from the SIPPs and URP in that its

leading objective was to develop municipal capacity in economic stimulation (for job creation and income generation) capacity through an area-based approach to local infrastructure development and service delivery. The programme was based upon intervening in five selected learning areas: Cato Manor, INK, South Durban, iTrump and the Rural node (Albertyn and Associates, 2009).

In 2008, the city commissioned an independent research team to assess the ABM. This study, very similar to the SIPPs and URP assessments, found that there were indeed successes, albeit modest ones. The programme had indeed delivered services in an accelerated and innovative way to the targeted areas through a large number of projects, with increased coordination and efficiency in government.

Also similarly, however, the majority of the projects were capital, infrastructure and services projects (over 75%). There were some social projects delivered, mainly in relation to health issues (home-based care and HIV/AIDS) and policing, but by and large the inclination was primarily towards physical intervention. Furthermore the project-based (rather than strategic) approach adopted meant that the extent and sustainability of socio-economic interventions were limited. The evaluation raises concerns that project selections did not appear to consider the relative social or economic returns associated with investment choices, nor was existing asset utilisation a factor (ibid, p.41).

The ABM did appear to begin grappling more substantively with some of the six-point issues though. Warwick Junction in iTrump (Durban CBD) is cited in the evaluation as a good practice in "supporting survivalist activities" (ibid, p.39, 54), and is even today one of few large-scale examples nationally of an effort made by a city to engage more positively and innovatively with informal traders.

The ABM also evidenced rigorous and sustained attention to participation and empowerment of local residents and actors in general. For example, the Cato Manor Development Project ABM that was implemented between 1994 and 2002 was implemented through the Cato Manor Development Association which created

various programmes and localised institutional arrangements intended to ensure responsive, integrated and sustainable development. The project's repository (http://www.cmda.org.za/) presents several accolades about the programme, and declares that "The Cato Manor project has achieved world-wide acclaim from development specialists as a model for integrated development." While the Cato Manor area today continues to faces significant developmental deficiencies and challenges (Goodenough, 2006), the ABM was indeed able to advance the area significantly from its prior condition as a shanty settlement riddled with extreme violence.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reinforced the six-point critique of planning LDA as applied to these neighbourhoods when it is subjected to a review based on appreciative observation and expert opinion. The more general ABI experience does not suggest that there have been different results in other programmes, even though they begin to foreground factors such as the need for dedicated area-based teams (a lesson from the ABMs) and avoiding reliance on consultants (a lesson from the SIPPs) might also be considered to present important performance parameters for local area development..

The inadequacy of a "one size fits all" depiction of townships and consequent standard solutions, a top-down approach lacking local empowerment, an over-focus on the economic and physical development aspects to the exclusion of social and human development considerations, a lack of reference to endogenous development potential and a formalistic approach are thus all supported by the research findings.

The general, as well as the nuanced aspects of the contexts and how these are treated or seen, begin to emerge as being significant in considering the efficacy of LDA in relation to transformative development goals.

Chapter 8: Systems of Innovation Application

8.1 Introduction

SoI was proposed in the research design as a heuristic device that would be used to consider alternative perspectives on how conventional LDA sees township neighbourhoods. SoI was not proposed as a solution, but rather posited as a potentially relevant and useful framework for analysis given its evolutionary and transformative conceptualisation. This section takes the empirical study findings and interprets them within the SoI framework – both to test applicability as well as to see how SoI relates to what LDA sees / does not see.

This chapter presents the application of the SoI framework to the two case study neighbourhoods.

8.2 Approach to Applying the SoI Framework

This application was undertaken in two stages. Firstly, Charles Edquist's four categories of innovation activities will be applied as a framework for identifying innovation in the study area (Edquist 1997; Kraemer-Mbula & Wamae 2010). This was considered to be necessary as a basis for determining the kinds of activities that could be considered for the second step, the application of the Baskaran and Muchie (2010) SoI framework which was then applied as an analytical tool for describing the neighbourhoods as "SoI's".

8.2.1 Innovation Activities

The first step was the identification of local innovation activities. Edquist's four categories of innovation activities in a developing context are summarised by Kraemer-Mbula and Wamae (2010, p.46-48) as:

i) *Product and /or Process innovations* – new product design versus modifications, for example of organisational structures of production to improve efficiency

ii) *Innovation in low and medium technologies* – sophisticated innovation for low-tech / low-income contexts

iii) *Incremental innovation* – technology improvements and adaptations; "a process of experimentation which mainly involves a myriad of modifications and transformations of products and processes"

iv) *Absorptive capacity* – ability to absorb knowledge, technology transfer; "a firm's ability to recognise the value of new external knowledge, assimilate it and apply it to commercial ends".

These four categories of innovation activities in a developing context were initially used to attempt a categorisation of local activities identified in the study, the results of which are depicted in Table 11.

Table 11: Neighbourhood innovations

	Product / Process Innovations	Low-Mid Technology intensity	Incremental innovation	Absorptive capacity
T-Section	- High-density residential accommodation	- Low-cost products - Repair / reuse - Entertainment	- Automotive support	- Fashion / trend-setting
Saulsville	- Anecdotal stories about inventions, never scaled	- Traditional services - Food industry - Recycling	- Automotive support - Food manufacture - Transit node-oriented services	- FET college - jewellery - Imitation / replication

Source: Author

It was difficult to fit much into the framework. It was evident that there were low levels of technology intensity and innovation in general in both neighbourhoods. However, the framework was useful at least in helping to confirm this low innovativeness in both contexts, which serves as a constraint to SoI application.

8.2.2 SoI analysis

The second step was the application of the SoI framework. Gault (2010) proposes that applying SoI as a framework for analysis should include consideration of three key aspects:

i) Recognising the system's **context**, meaning developing an understanding of the framework conditions or institutions that influence how business is done;

ii) Framing a **description** of the system by classifying: *actors* (business, institutions of education and research, governments, households); their *activities* (R&D, technology transfer or adaption, training, capital investment) ; their *linkages* (grants, contracts, outsourcing, collaboration, finding funding); the *short-term system outcomes* (meeting payroll, providing jobs, selling new goods or services) ; and the *longer-term impacts* (creation of new markets, changing the culture of communication and learning, …); and

iii) Commenting on the system's **performance**, which asks how successful and efficient the system has been, and what challenges it may be facing.

At a high level, there was some information about all of these that could be derived from the existing LDA work complemented by the appreciative observations. However, the focus for this study would be the descriptive step (ii), given the study's focus in trying to describe the neighbourhood as an SoI. The exercise focused

therefore, for purposes of SoI description, on populating the Baskaran and Muchie (2010) conceptual framework which had been selected for abstracting the system and its conditions. To some extent, there was also a preliminary step taken towards commenting on SoI performance by displaying relative strengths and weaknesses, and then going one step further in proposing primary areas for intervention.

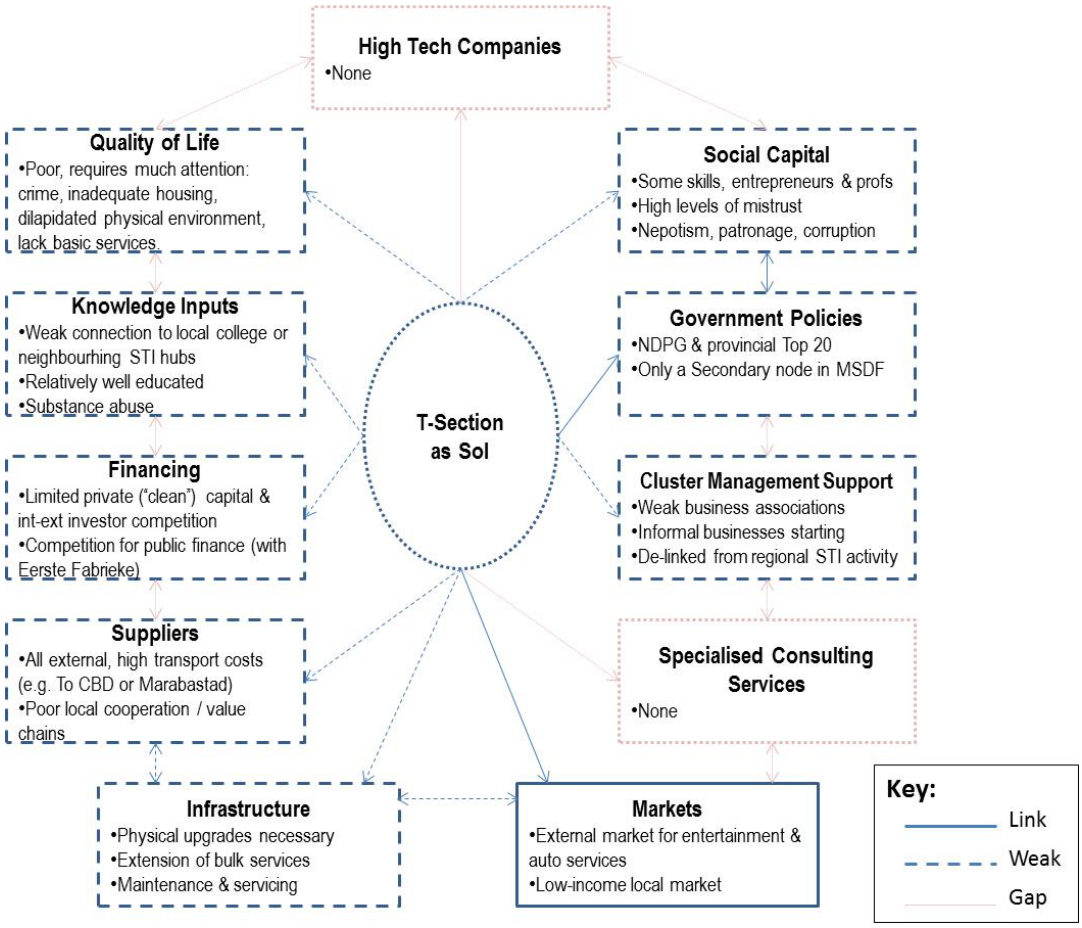
8.3 T-Section SoI Application

The observations about T-Section in Mamelodi were applied to the framework as depicted in Figure 22. As the legend indicates in each of the figures that follow, the framework was simultaneously used to depict the SoI elements, attributes and linkages, as well highlighting performance by dotting and colour-coding any missing or weak elements. Text in the application frameworks was used to qualify what exactly was being considered for each judgement.

What emerges quite clearly is that T-Section is a weak SoI as it is weak in most elements, particularly the technological one. However, it does demonstrate a relative advantage in its established markets which could be the key lever for development. This would not be without its challenges though as the neighbourhood as a development node is somewhat vulnerable in several regards.

Firstly, the area requires major physical rehabilitation (physical environment, bulk services, building renovations and replacements). Also it continues to be faced with significant challenges with land release, while the council is slow to move with its own sites. Moreover, it is in competition with the Eerste Fabrieke node for investment and development focus and is considered only as a secondary node (historical precinct) within the MSDF. All of these work against concerted investment both by the public and private sectors.

Figure 22: T-Section SoI framework (I)



(Source: Author's adaptation (I) of Baskaran & Muchie (2010) conceptual framework)

Furthermore, although the sectors with potential can be easily identified, some of these are extremely vulnerable. For example, the government services in the area may be relocated, the property market is affected by pervasive land and property issues, and the growth of the entertainment industry is coupled with concerns about its vice factor in a neighbourhood already concerned about a high-risk youth population.

The politics of the area may be described as difficult and counter to development co-operation. There are precedents of development initiatives falling apart due to vested interests, internal-external investor competition, and poor communication. Given weak local organising, the city's focus (even through the NDPG planning)

seems to be on attracting outside investment, and not enough on building local firms or consulting local investors. There is therefore weak enterprise support and capitalisation. The physical and spatial agendas of the city also take poor cognizance of firm level activity and interests.

Human capital is considered to be weak and perhaps even in decline. However, there is no HET / STI strategic agenda to speak of, and human capital formation and investment are further affected by deep, serious social challenges including crime and substance abuse.

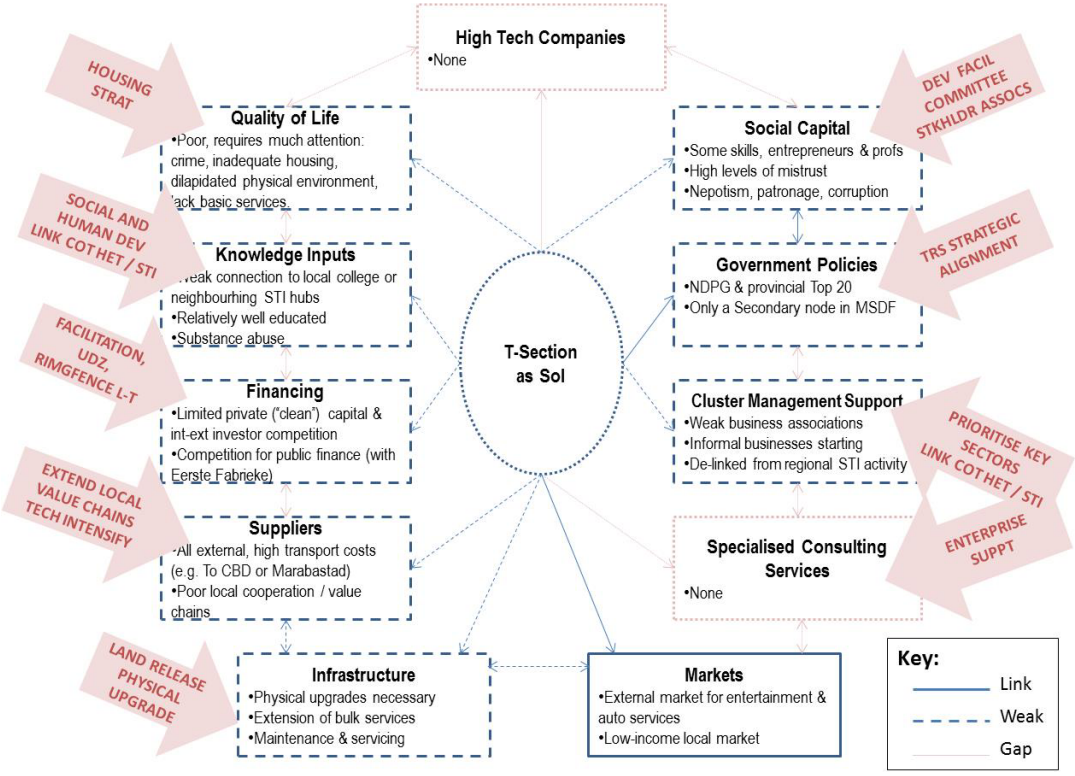
There is low technology- or knowledge-intensity in the local industries due to weak technology foundations. Technology use and awareness is minimal, and the possible development of this through the FET colleges for example is not referenced at all. It has also been difficult to extend local value chains due to poor enterprise co-operation.

Overall, the internal "system" which emerges is weak technologically, politically and economically. It is not adequately bolstered by actors to break through the framework conditions, and therefore remains blocked or stuck.

As discussed here, the SoI framework already begins to show the neighbourhood and its potentials in a richer way and with a stronger analytical framework than the conventional LDA had. Without necessarily going into the depth of each dimension, it reflects the critical dimensions in relation to each other which begin, in T-Section, to reveal that there is potential mainly regarding existing enterprises and markets while much intervention is required on all other dimensions.

In a second step, the framework is used to identify and indicate intervention opportunities as an example of points in the "system" where development intervention may be required in order to unblock and catalyse transformative development. The conventional LDA view had not picked up on some of these vulnerabilities by not taking a systemic view.

Figure 23: T-Section SoI framework (II) with intervention propositions



(Source: Author)

This second representation (see Figure 23) suggests both basic interventions relating to physical issues and basic services, but then focuses on how to strengthen the neighbourhood's position towards leveraging its existing market potential. The rationale applied is as follows, working clockwise through the propositions in Figure 13:

i) *Social Capital*: The high levels of interest coupled with high levels of competition and mistrust could be addressed through engaging and strengthening stakeholder associations (such as the business associations), while supporting the area towards a common and supported development agenda.

ii) *Government Policies*: The deprioritisation of T-Section requires that there is a transparent clarification of government's strategic intentions for the area as it loses certain key public functions (such as the police station and post office). This is not necessarily about arguing for increased status, but perhaps negotiating what the strategic role of the neighbourhood will be within the broader region, and confirming the corresponding support to be planned.

iii) *Cluster Management support*: As key sectors for priority support are identified (for example, industrial services and entertainment), their enhancement through a concerted focus on STI attention should be prioritised. Mamelodi has precedents of this in other specific areas (such as health care centres in Mamelodi West with CSIR, and environmental focus with a Dutch university)

iv) *Specialised consulting services*: The shortage of office space in the neighbourhood has limited the accommodation of professional practices. These should be developed and channelled to providing administrative and specialised support to the business clusters.

v) *Markets*: This is already identified as a relative strength for the local socio-economy, and should be a focus of development and leverage through the other activities and dimensions.

vi) *Infrastructure*: Basic physical maintenance and upgrades are necessary in the area, and there is evidence that these have already been underway. However specific issues around property and land ownership and claims must be resolved to facilitate a functioning property market for social and commercial uses. Environmental considerations also need to be taken into account given sensitivities in the area.

vii) *Suppliers*: The local value chains could be extended and this is partly linked to the strengthening of social capital in the area to get beyond petty biases and disputes. There needs to be greater mutual awareness of what is good for the local economy, linked to a strategic and common longer-range vision for the area and what is required to attain it.

viii) *Financing*: Capital is already identified as a key gap in the area. Targeted industry support, as well as existing economic instruments (such as tax incentive regimes like the Urban Development Zones, UDZ, which the city has discretion over) could be focused in support of clarified area plans and strategies.

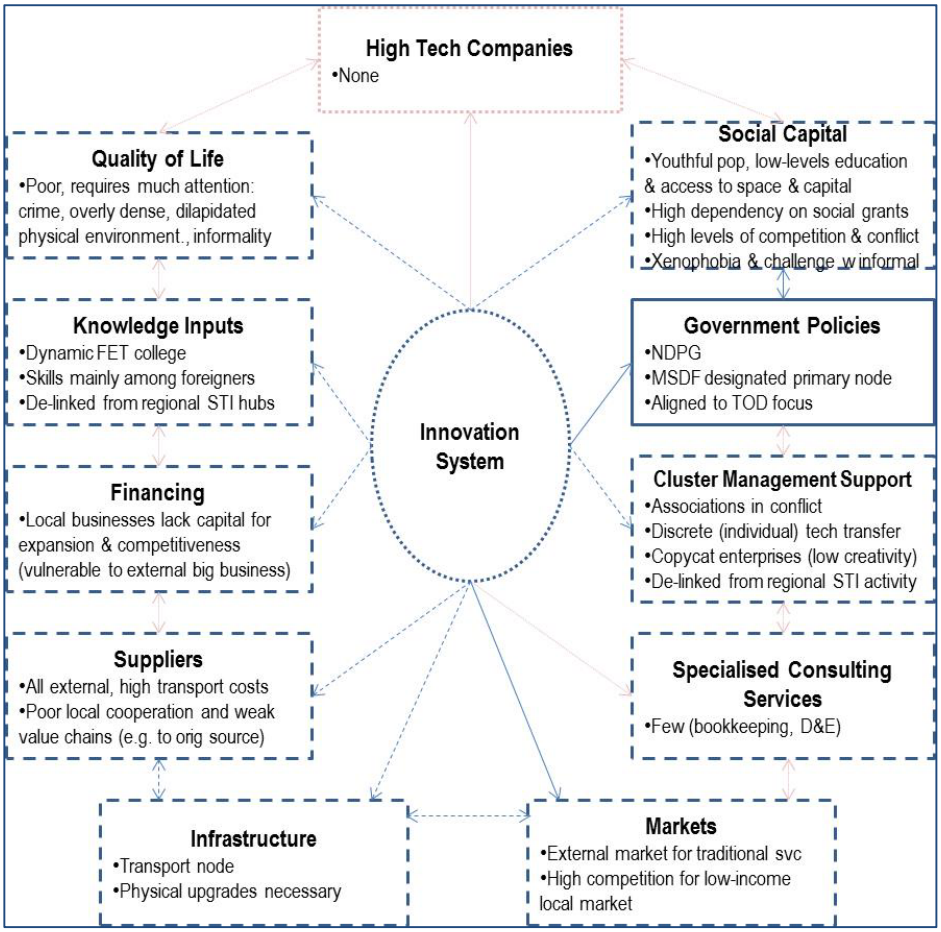
ix) *Knowledge inputs*: Human capital development through strengthening local basic education, but also the higher education linkages (enhancement of the local FET college, also considering the proximity to major regional universities) will be key. This will also form the basis for STI linkage to and strengthening of the local economy.

x) *Quality of life*: As with infrastructure, this is a generic precondition for area development. While much is already underway through public investments in physical upgrades, the issue of decent and affordable housing remains a key impediment. The expressed intentions in existing area plans for developing a mixed-use node are in the right direction, and private investments in dense infill housing are already underway, though in an ad hoc and unregulated way. Rather than being arrested, the latter could be channelled towards meeting the housing demand while supporting the local economy (empowering local landlords).

8.4 Saulsville SoI Application

The observations about Saulsville in Atteridgeville were also applied to the framework as depicted in Figure 24. As with the previous case, Saulsville emerges as a weak SoI in almost all dimensions of the framework.

Figure 24: Saulsville SoI framework (I)



(Source: Author)

The area has a tremendous advantage in being a prioritised TOD (transit-oriented development) node in the City. Physical upgrade is necessary and has started. Not much can be done about the internal space constraints, though. The City owns a lot of the land, but struggles to enable affordable access without disadvantaging existing

informal traders and new market entrants (the older generation and external interests have more capital).

Many new and informal local businesses seek formality and growth, but are not profitable enough to afford the legal and municipal requirements. Formal businesses have generally operated for a longer time in the area, but newer market entrants (both formal and informal) are vying for physical and market space, both of which are in limited supply. The area is also facing external pressure from interested developers and investors, partly attracted by the public sector focus on the area. This competition in a relative "small pond", coupled with an ineffective approach to addressing informality, is leading to local conflicts (for instance government-business, business-business, local-immigrant xenophobic aggression) which in turn affect the socio-economic conditions.

Physical and spatial agendas take poor cognizance of firm level issues, and are often even at odds with actual development needs and opportunities. For example, erecting informal trader stalls for traders who actually wish to formalise into already-saturated markets, or who wish to pursue a different growth path, such as going into wholesale), or ignorant of local levels of affordability (this short study found that the turnover of many informal traders is inadequate to afford the city's conditions and requirements). Indiscriminate development approaches are likely to marginalise local business interests (both formal and informal), and continue to instigate conflict.

The economic potential of the area is relatively strong with potential markets, but innovation, growth and new market development are challenges. Even with wide ICT access (commercially offered) and use, there is low technology development and deployment, and locals seem not to consider people in their locale to be creative. Skills are seen to reside mainly with "foreigners", who are then discriminated against. Overall, there is therefore low enterprise differentiation, with high competition in few business types and saturated markets.

Traditional industries (for example products and services in health, catering, customary events, fashion) demonstrates unique potential, but has not advanced beyond old production approaches and survivalist home-based enterprise. The unique indigenous knowledge is also tacit and not necessarily being transferred to younger generations.

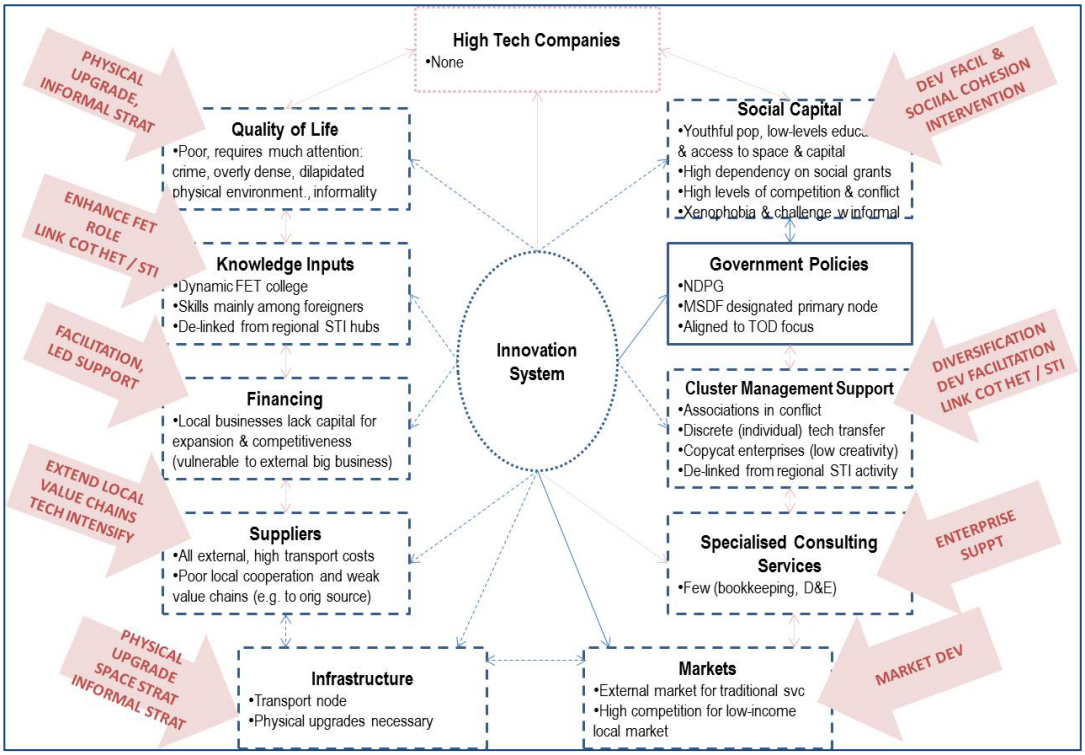
In spite of its reputed peacefulness and relatively low levels of crime, the neighbourhood has experienced social instability with locals pitched against the city (informal traders due to evictions, residents about housing allocations, and so forth), and South Africans against foreigners (such as Somali traders). Intense competition also weakens co-operation between businesses to such an extent that the strong social cohesion in the communities in social and cultural matters (social clubs) does not manifest into any commercial collaboration, advantage or opportunity. In fact, the few local associations have tended to clash (disputes between the two major residents associations) and even disband (as with the informal traders association).

So although Saulsville has a recognised economic role to play in the township backed up by a concerted public intention to develop the area, it requires major re-strategising and restructuring in order to build a coherent and sustainable socio-economy. An effective economic development strategy for the area could build upon the area's unique role in provision of traditional products and services, light manufacturing, or other specialised services.

In the second step of the SoI application, intervention potentials were mapped onto the framework as shown in Figure 25.

Social Capital: Before trying to facilitate development conversations, there is much mediation and community building required in Saulsville (and perhaps the wider Atteridgeville) due to preceding conflicts.

Figure 25: Saulsville SoI framework (II) with intervention propositions



(Source: Author)

i) *Government Policies*: The area's prioritisation for public focus and expenditure is the area's key strength. However, this potential needs to be approached more strategically considering the other dimensions.

ii) *Cluster Management support*: The economy of the area needs to be rendered more legible through an economic development strategy that makes clear, competitive industry choices and gives careful consideration to diversification, technology intensification, local value chains and market development in order to contribute to a vibrant local economy.

iii) *Specialised consulting services*: The existing capacity should be extended and focused on supporting the economic development strategy.

iv) *Markets*: Corresponding market development activities should be undertaken, and cast most broadly than just the township itself. The proximity of Atteridgeville to Pretoria CBD and other suburbs, as well as to the rural hinterlands northwards of Tshwane, could be exploited more strategically.

v) *Infrastructure*: Although external transport connections are in place (road and rail), there is still a need for physical upgrades of internal roads, sidewalks, stormwater, sanitation, and other infrastructure. Extension of businesses and industries in the area are currently constrained by limited space and infrastructure. However, it may be possible to review the built form of the area if it were strategically approached, for example by taking a more vertical approach (the dominant form of the area is single-story).

vi) *Suppliers*: The cluster strategy should focus on value chains instead of replication and redundancies. Innovating within some of the existing industries (such as the traditional ones) may offer some easy starting points.

vii) *Financing*: Capitalisation should also be considered in the economic development strategy. It will be necessary to consider the imbalances raised by locals in terms of younger and newer entrepreneurs who struggle relative to more established capital (large external corporations, but also older, local business-owners) without unduly disadvantaging these as well.

viii) *Knowledge inputs*: A focus on youth development linked to education, STI and enterprise development is important. These interventions should, however, also be linked to the local economic strategy and value chains. Currently, the promising aspects of the FET institutional presence do not explicitly feed back into the local economy.

ix) *Quality of life*: In addition to the physical upgrades and service delivery activities of the city, it will be necessary to consider how the spatial quality of the area can be addressed in relation to the high levels and concentrations of informality present in Saulsville. This issue has been a source of conflict so far.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the SoI framework forced a wide and systematic consideration of over ten aspects of the socio-economy, and that it was indeed possible to apply the SoI framework to the neighbourhood data at a basic level. Even though some of the spatial characteristics were difficult to account for, they were inserted into available dimensions such as Infrastructure and Quality of Life. It was even possible to go a step further into considering the performance of the systems, and to consider at a synthetic level what the opportunities for development intervention might be. The functionality of the model is discussed in the next section in greater detail.

The SoI application reflected both neighbourhoods as very weak SoIs against the framework's criteria, particularly in technological terms. However, it also revealed differences between the two areas. They are shown to have relative strengths, with T-Section's strength being its existing market base, and Saulsville's being its prioritisation through regional policies and plans. As a consequence of this difference in relative strengths, the model begins to suggest differentiated development planning opportunities for intervention in the two neighbourhoods.

SECTION III: INTERPRETATION

Chapter 9: Discussion

9.1 Introduction

The introduction suggested, based on the work of Muchie and Baskaran (2006), that the SoI would be applied both as a *heuristic concept* for articulating the elements of the local socio-economies of the neighbourhoods contexts, and also as *a metaphor* for the development orientation or capabilities of the context. This thesis opened with a motivation from Archibugi (2004) about using applied research to help in developing an understanding of what it is that practicing planners appear to know using their existing approaches, and then reflecting back on the implications for planning theory and practice.

This chapter will first focus on the heuristic aspects of the study, focusing on key issues emerging from the application of different lenses in the empirical work. It then goes on to consider the relationship of these findings and any insights arising out of them to the broader question of enhancing planning practice and theory towards achieving transformative development.

9.2 Lessons from SoI Framework Application

Thinking through the SoI application undertaking logically, a first question that could be asked is whether the SoI framework was **usable** in the sense of being applicable to the neighbourhood level and data. The answer to this question is yes. It was relatively easy to apply the framework with the extent of local data collected. The neighbourhoods' depictions that resulted also seemed like plausible reflections of the context. These were seen as indicators of the model's applicability.

A second question could be whether the application was found to be **useful** in terms of providing any additional insight to the neighbourhood socio-economy? Did

the framework effectively show anything that was novel, similar or different to the conventional LDA approach? Again it is proposed that the answer is yes. The resultant frameworks are deemed to show meaningful results in terms of providing insight into the neighbourhood socio-economy.

By providing a holistic basis for representing the neighbourhood context, the SoI framework reflects upon additional systemic dimensions beyond what the conventional LDA appeared to consider, in particular the social, economic, institutional and technological dimensions. It must be noted here that the intention is not to suggest that planning was incapable of recognising information about these dimensions, but more that the framing used in conventional LDA clearly did not valorise and include these explicitly in its findings. The SoI framework is therefore considered to demand a broader, more holistic framework of socio-economic issues to be considered when analysing a local socio-economic system.

In addition, the application also showed some important differences between the two neighbourhoods which suggest different development strategies and interventions. While T-Section has a vibrant entrepreneurial base and an existent market opportunity which it can gear up to exploit, for example by intervening to strengthen cluster management support and STI linkages, unblocking property markets, and targeted SMME support, Saulsville is in a different situation. Saulsville's potential lies in its recognition as a focus for public investment as a TOD node and as a priority for the City of Tshwane, and effort is needed to build social cohesion and a shared local vision, supporting development of dynamic and competitive SMME's, and market building. While this study will not seek to validate the accuracy of these strategic options, what the framework does definitively show is that all townships are *not* the same, and the SoI application began to highlight some specific examples of this.

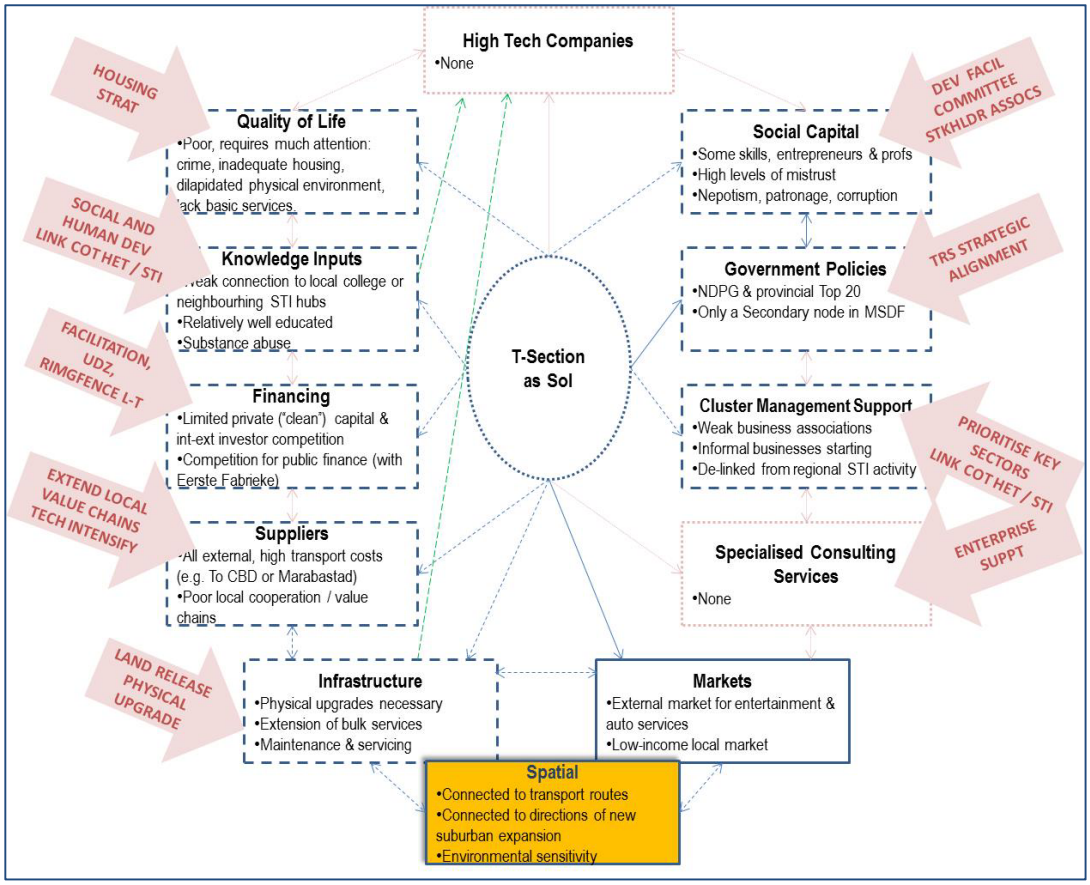
A third question might about how **meaningful** the application was. Did it make sense to depict the neighbourhoods in this way? Can neighbourhoods, particularly

ones that are relatively deprived, be effectively described as SoI's? The answer here is less definitive. As found with the two case studies analysed, there is some difficulty in describing these neighbourhoods as effectively performing SoI's due to certain systemic gaps which might be stereotypical of many townships given the common aspects of their history and trajectory. For example, they may consistently perform poorly against spatially distinct and historically determined challenges such as a weak human capital base (education, skills, health), weak institutions, weak linkages to external markets, a low technology base, poor spatial quality, and a lack of basic infrastructure. This is a question that could be examined in future research which could help to conceptualise more generally the notion of townships (or their neighbourhoods) as effective systems of innovation.

One shortcoming that was identified during the application was that the SoI framework was found to be limited in its application to planning in that it does not account for the spatial aspect which is a key planning consideration, and about which there had been specific observations in the case neighbourhoods. It includes an infrastructure category which is useful for some of the practical physical considerations (access and maintenance). However, other spatial considerations such as locational benefits or constraints (such as environmental constraints in Mamelodi, or the severe shortage of business space in Saulsville) are not accommodated and the efforts to fit in such criteria did not fit well.

In Figure 26 and Figure 27 below, the SoI model is experimentally expanded to include a spatial category which includes locational, strategic and qualitative aspects. This is offered as an enhancement of the model at this stage – a modification that comes from introducing a planning consideration into SoI. The enhancement seems to fit in reasonably well in that it helps to account for some of the additional key characteristics of the two areas. The location of T-Section for example has both advantages and disadvantages. Its location in relation to identified transport nodes and city growth is strategic and can be capitalised upon in some ways. However, it is also constrained by an environmentally sensitive terrain.

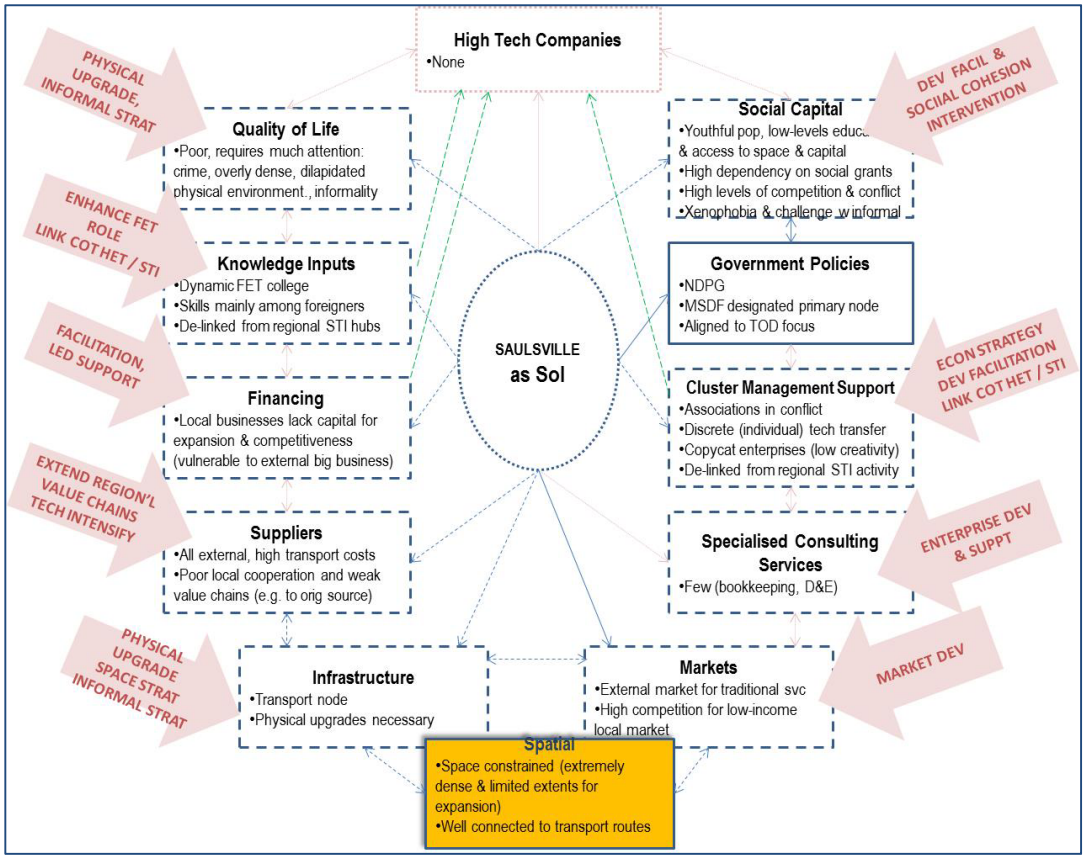
Figure 26: Augmented SoI framework applied to T-Section



(Source: Author)

Saulsville on the other hand is an identified transport node and as such is a designated primary node in terms of state plans and investments. However, growth of the area is constrained by an undersupply of vacant property due to high density and the area's relative geographic containment. These factors will affect the growth potential of the area, or at least suggest the need for innovative approaches to business and residential expansion (such as a different housing typology from the current norm of single-story dwellings).

Figure 27: Augmented SoI framework applied to Saulsville



(Source: Author)

This enhancement of the SoI model with a spatial dimension is intuitively proposed in order to account for some of the other key affecting factors identified through the observations. However, this question might be considered as a subject for further experimentation and study to specifically research how the SoI model could be made to be better suited for planning or LDA application if that should be of interest.

9.3 Reflecting upon Transformative Development and LDA-SoI Lenses

In reflecting back to the study's rationale which emphasizes the connection between the quality of LDA and the goals of transformative development, it becomes necessary to reiterate some of the motivations made earlier. It may be argued, particularly from an economic perspective, that the real problem is not a planning issue per se, but simply a failure to see the economy holistically. This would itself already foreground a number of the elements presented in the SoI framework which are typically left out of planning consideration. This may be somewhat true given that planning, as evidenced by the LDA products studied and supporting interviews, has tended to deal with economic issues in an anaemic way (as also reflected in Doucet 2008). Disciplinary boundaries are one constraint here. The researcher has often heard the comment made that planners do not understand economics, and vice versa. However, Moulaert (2000) also warns against economic rationality and functionalism. Planners cannot simply abdicate their role, or swing to narrow economism, and justify it as the means or as the ends of development. A more holistic and dynamic perspective must be taken.

For sure, planning alone cannot change or transform communities, particularly when they are ere embedded in complicated systems and path dependencies. There does need to be some recognition that socio-spatial transformation is a challenge for the long-haul. It is therefore important to be modest about claims for what even "improved planning" could achieve.

However, as long as planning continues to occupy a privileged role in determining development interventions in relation to which transformative claims are made, planning has to grapple with its competencies, tools and limitations in informing and delivering that transformative development. This section will argue that how (and why) planning *looks* influences what it *sees*; and that this influences its transformative potential as evidenced by some key issues arising from this study.

Looking and seeing: Process versus Outcomes

This study has shown that conventional LDA (as undertaken under the NDPG) took a limited view of neighbourhoods. The SoI frame contributed a more holistic and systemic view, a foregrounding of the role of actors, relationships and institutions within a framework that engages with the reality of multiple dimensions and complexities head-on. It must be pointed out, however, that the NDPG planning toolkit technically offered the basis and space for all of these issues to be studied and analysed. The question could be asked then what the problem was. Where did the cookie-cutter come from? One answer from the interviews is that the time and budget constraints of the projects possibly did not allow adequate time for better or more in-depth planning. It seems unlikely to the researcher that this is an adequate defence as some of the townships have had planning processes that have gone on for years and cost millions of Rands in planning, yet with much the same process, output and outcome.

This study has proposed that the analytical lens applied might be the key. If planning goes in with a normative and narrow view of what its aims are (physical improvements to a context in deficit), then the lens is not just constrained by discipline (**what** it is looking for), it is also biased (**why** and **how** it is looking). SoI's potential contribution here is to provide a systematic framework which embeds the fundamental objectives of transformative development in its analytical constructs. Unlike the conventional LDA frameworks studied which "cookie-cut" their way to generic recommendations about basic services provision and physical upgrades, the SoI framework does not easily promote one-dimensional interventions because it requires consideration of all the dimensions and linkages simultaneously, and has an outcome orientation. So the question is always how the system is performing or will perform once interventions are made, not just focusing on the interventions themselves.

Besides physical renderings and lists of projects, the outputs of planning LDA seems less inclined to advance any specific answers about what the actual transformation envisaged and being invested into would be. There seems to be a comfort with being merely technicist, presenting more on the procedural aspects (lists of interventions and investments, not too far removed from a master-planning approach) than on the stakeholders and outcomes (such as the context or trajectory of structural shifts envisaged, benefits to beneficiaries). Yet, there is often an acute awareness among practitioners that for several reasons – including a historical bias against locating businesses in townships, weak human capital, a low-technology base, and spatial quality – intervening only physically will not magically transform these neighbourhood economies. At best, a slight improvement in spatial quality ("development pre-conditions") tends to be assumed.

Power and empowerment

Returning to the Williams' (2000) definition of transformation, he focuses on the notion of intervention into urban spaces with the explicit intention of changing them. Specifically, he refers to reconfiguring their power relations, enabling spatial equity, social integration, institutional transformation, capability building, and other programmatic interventions and structural projects. While the SoI framework embraces these explicitly, the conventional LDA approach was found to risk missing what is actually happening in a place by adopting what Chambers described as "analytical neutrality" (1986). The top-down and determinist approach taken ignores imbalances in power relations on multiple levels: market drivers of public investments versus a social development agenda, agendas of planners and politicians versus poor community role players, planners versus administration and politicians, locals versus foreigners, big commercial interests versus local small businesses, and so forth. Facilitation, empowerment, and capacity building for the various actors and institutions (particularly those with no power and high interest) are the key to the

transformative development project, and these are not neutral, technical processes (Huchzermeyer 2009, Miraftab 2005).

The space for change

Another key transformative issue that came up was on land markets. Conventional LDA presents data about property ownership or issues, but then fails to engage more deeply with reasons, implications and options for how the local economy can be sustained and expanded. In the case of these township neighbourhoods, this also related quite significantly to questions of power. Who owns property, who controls access to property and land usage, who is included or excluded from investing? The implications of space quality and access can be interrogated across the SoI framework elements, and a specific recommendation has been made to introduce a distinct spatial aspect to the framework as well.

Human capacity as pre-requisite

This study has expressed human capacity as one of the most serious vulnerabilities facing the case study neighbourhoods in relation to levels of education, skills, employment and so forth. This came through very strongly from the appreciative observations, and was emphasized by the key informants. Yet, it was notably lacking from the LDA view. No transformation is possible without addressing human and social development.

To quote Richard Winter, one of the fathers of evolutionary economics:

> … in the present era, the education system is of vital importance. Over the last century, all the countries that have been successful in catching up have had a system of primary and secondary education that endowed a large fraction of the young population with the basic skills needed to operate in a modern technology, and also provided high level training for a sufficient cadre of scientists and engineers to enable foreign technologies to be absorbed. The fact that today so much of technology is science based means, I

> believe, that a country's system of advanced training in science, technology, and the other bodies of knowledge needed to master modern ways of doing things, is going to be even more important in the 21st century than it was in the 20th (Winter 2007, p.18).

He goes on to explain that contexts without the skills base to at least adopt new technologies and innovate in the 20th century will find themselves at a very serious disadvantage. On the other hand, he points out that knowledge is increasingly open or widely accessible to everyone as compared to the past, therefore there are fewer obstacles to education access. Theories of endogenous growth also emphasize the centrality of investment in human capital, innovation, and knowledge as significant contributors to economic growth (OECD 2013; Wikipedia).

Even if one wished to ignore these modern, "knowledge society" arguments for why education and skilling matter, there is clearly no form of development intervention that would sustain or transform a community in the absence of building human and social capital. Education and health are the most basic measures of human development, and have a correlation to life expectancy and livelihood (Preston 2007). One of the most grave path dependencies that low-income neighbourhoods around the world are straddled with is the cycle of poverty, with poor health and education firmly at their core.

For LDA not to recognise and locate this most fundamental challenge is perhaps the most glaring example of why different thinking and fresh lenses may be required.

Were these just examples of bad planning?

It is significant here to refer back to one of the identified study risks, and perhaps the easiest critique that will be raised about the study: did the study choose bad, atypical examples? So could it be that LDA practice is much better in other cases? Although the researcher maintains that the study doesn't seek to generalise, she does use the two cases to illustrate that there is a gap in LDA practice and this claim would

be significantly weakened if indeed the cases used to construct the evidence base is completely unique or unusual.

Fortunately, this is not the case. The review of NDPG documents from the two areas, as well as a scan of NDPG plans for at least 20 additional township neighbourhoods, as well as the corroborating perspectives from the key informant interviews and secondary assessment all show that there are some generalised problems with the state of LDA, and of planning practice. It is reasonably certain that expanding the number and variety of cases beyond these two would find much the same.

There is no reason to believe that South Africa is unique in this regard. However, it is beyond the scope of this study and its methodology to generalise or comment in this regard. The goal of this study was to identify that there was a problem, and to begin trying to understand it.

9.4 Implications for Planning

So what are the implications for planning? This section begins to synthesize some of the key messages emerging.

The challenge is transformation, not regeneration

While the study acknowledges that there are some common issues of underdevelopment which point to an obvious need to invest in some "basics," it also emphasizes that planning is not called upon to "tinker" in contexts such as the NDPG; the call is *to transform*. The rational comprehensive tendencies, physical bias, and all the other "normal professionalisms" of planning do not lend themselves to advancing a transformative planning agenda. If public policy and local development financing is to continue privileging planning as the guide, then both the clients and the planners

need to be far more critical of the quality of LDA they are undertaking, and the plans being tabled need to be carefully interrogated about their potential to result in the transformative outcomes desired. The question is how these better plans are to be achieved and tested? This leads to the next point.

LDA methods should extend beyond the discipline

Having demonstrated that the SoI application was useful, what does this mean in terms of how it could relate to the existing LDA approach? This is a question about the nature of contribution, if any, that the SoI approach can bring to conventional planning's LDA conceptualisation and practice.

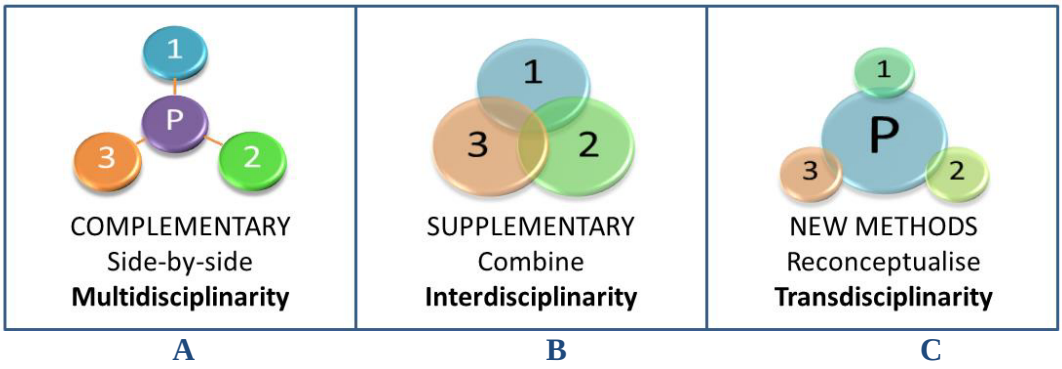
One important answer to this is that the study did not intend to impose or parachute the SoI framework into planning practice. It was introduced as a heuristic device for purposes of learning. Therefore it would be quite reasonable to answer that the contribution has already been made through the SoI application and its findings.

However, another answer is also possible. In proposing the exercise of applying an SoI lens (from the economics discipline) to the workings of planning, the study was already broaching the prospect of cross-disciplinarity. In addition, comments from the professionals who were interviewed also began raising the question of what planners are trained in versus what they encounter in the reality of doing planning, and specifically what the daunting task of "transformative planning" might require beyond their traditional methods and toolkits.

In examining the continuum of cross-disciplinary approaches Mobjörk (2009, p.29) provides a useful categorisation through which he seeks to distinguish between how the three broad approaches (multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity) relate to the disciplines. In this way, he shows that the goal of transdisciplinarity is promoting new knowledge and understanding, not just tinkering

within existing disciplinary boundaries. This, as illustrated in Figure 28, could for example be to complement, supplement or augment conventional LDA.

Figure 28: Progression in cross-disciplinarity



(Source: Author's adaptation from Mobjörk (2009)

The arguments for transdisciplinarity (Example C) are that the nature of complex and critical societal problems we face in modern-day society typically defy classification or solution within any single discipline. While Examples A and B reflect the typical ways in which practitioners have tried to extend beyond their disciplinary limits in a rational and convenient way, these approaches retain their epistemological and ontological bases – therefore not allowing the emergence of new knowledge production.

The argument for transdisciplinarity seems to make sense in the case of LDA. Simply adding SoI to LDA (per Example A or C) would be a "band aid" response and risks exactly what Archibugi (2004) warns against in terms of randomly conflating planning with other disciplinary inputs. An even stronger caution against this is issued by Lynch and Rodwin who state:

> …the currently fashionable broader definitions [of planning] lead in our judgment only to integrated, comprehensive incompetence... [The planner] does not pretend to be a sociologist, an economist, an administrator, or some megalomaniacal super-combination of these (as quoted by Ferreira et al. 2009, p.33).

So, rather than randomly expand planning in what might be a counter-productive way, the opportunity may be to argue for the imperative for planning to consider the need for transdisciplinary collaborations and methods in order to make any sense of the complicated call for transformative development. Rather than go it alone with inadequate tools, or valiantly trying to create more and more complex tools, a message emerging from this study could be that the lenses of planning alone are inadequate. Adding a second lens, as this study has done, may slightly improve the vision, but would still likely suffer its own disciplinary deficiencies. Experimenting with compounding method upon method would not be an efficient approach. However, an open and reflexive engagement between planners and other experts and stakeholders in the course of LDA, perhaps focused on particular categories of application contexts, might be an important step towards more relevant "LDA" which has transformative development, and not just the planning discipline or process, at its core.

Bridging the Planning Theory – Practice divide

The divide between planning theory and practice has been discussed. The planning practices reviewed in this study have shown a very generic approach to LDA which easily validated the six-point critique. However, planning in theory would likely have had a much more sophisticated handle of how the contexts ought to have been studied, would immediately have picked out key themes of power relations, advocacy and empowerment, for example, and would have had a critical view on the question of transformative development. Holistic planning approaches exist in theory – in this thesis, Moulaert's Integrated Area Development, Chambers' participatory holistic approach, and even the anthropological experimental approaches of Demologos have all been referred to. However, as two key informants confirmed, there is very little connection between planning theory and what they do. So, while it is quite possible that planners many know how LDA could be done better

theoretically, it doesn't seem to be reflected in how planning is practically being done.

There is no explicit theoretical grounding for how planning practice is being approached. From the study, it appeared as though the toolkits issued by National Treasury and other very standardized processes were applied for LDA. Whether this was unique to low-income contexts (in the sense that the planners or planning processes may be biased in addressing the poor), or whether it applies to planning in general, is difficult to tell. However, even some practitioners who themselves teach theory acknowledge that a different rationality appears to apply to planning practice; indeed it seems to function as "an a-theoretical practice" as argued by Archibugi (2004).

It does seem that there is a need for critical and grounded planning practice, however. Beyond the blueprint, we need more robust planning theory that speaks to transformative objectives and means at a practical level (such as the neighbourhood). The means or methods could, as proposed in the previous section, be pursued as a transdisciplinary undertaking, learning from and designing with other knowledge streams and practices towards developing relevant processes that could actually support a transformative development agenda.

Afterthought: Are planners the right people anyway?

Advocating transdisciplinarity may sound like a "vote of no confidence" in planning itself, or at least would call for some serious introspection from the planning profession. One key informant interviewed was very adamant that: "Planning is the only profession with the synthetic competencies to drive transformative development. It's all about pulling in the various disciplines." This claim is both an interesting acknowledgement of the centrality of the planner, while at the same time a significant recognition that the planning discipline is inadequate in scope to adequately deal with

the task at hand on its own. In advancing towards a transdisciplinary collaboration to engage regarding LDA, the planning fraternity could therefore take a lead as long as it is able to transcend its own limitations, particularly its biases (as articulated, to start, in the six-point critique) and normative tendencies.

A deeper question that was raised by another informant was whether planners actually have the competencies and ideological inclination to be trusted with genuinely driving a transformative agenda. This was partly a global question about a perception of the planning profession or professionals as elitist and market-serving, but it was also a highly contextualised point about the South African context where the planning profession is seen to also serve exclusionary interests defined by both race and class. There is evidence that the latter is also still somewhat institutionalised, as found for example in the report by an interview on skewed assignment of city planning capacity with 75% of professional planners being assigned to deal with a few affluent suburbs and suburban extensions, while the majority black population remain underserved. It is beyond the scope of this study to deal with these psycho-social questions. However, the issue is flagged as one of the potential areas for future research.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

The final chapter of the thesis summarises the key results, implications, contributions and recommendations of the study. This is done by summarising the key arguments, then systematically reflecting back upon the stated research aims and objectives, and presenting limitations and recommendations.

10.2 Summary

The core argumentation of this thesis has followed a logic that begins with the submission that planning has been privileged in the public processes associated with driving transformative development, and that the neighbourhood level has been an increasing scope of focus. It then goes on to suggest simply that how planners look at a place (the "lens" they use) in the process of LDA determines what they do or don't see. What they see, determines how they define "the problem" and therefore how they approach forging "the solutions". Ultimately, because planning is privileged, their solutions reflected in plans become the determinant of what understandings for and what investments and interventions are made. These will or will not advance the transformative development of the neighbourhoods. It is therefore motivated that it is useful to focus on assessing the planning lenses of LDA as one important line of enquiry.

The next stage of the study then goes on to argue that, while it has particular potential to drive towards transformative outcomes, planning **in practice** has also been the subject of critique. Specifically, it is proposed that conventional planning suffers six key biases – all reflective of still being stuck in rationalism. Under these circumstances of a planning form limited by standardisation, disempowerment, economic rationalism, physical bias, exogeneity and formalism, transformation is

unlikely. A review of the plans produced through conventional LDA in two case studies shows that these biases are indeed evident, and there is not much distinction between the assessments of the two areas ultimately.

The argument follows that using different "lenses" could produce different analyses and solutions. To this end, an SoI framework is applied as a heuristic device, applied appreciatively to the case study neighbourhoods. This application results in different diagnostics and recommendations for development for each of the two neighbourhoods. This is treated as evidence that there is a different, more nuanced way of seeing local socio-economies. If these findings are valid, then it suggests that the intervention opportunities, for example for a programme like NDPG, which is seeking direction for its investments and interventions, are very different.

Finally, there is a discussion about what this means for policy and planning. It is concluded that the application was useful, but that the most important future direction for LDA is not in simplistically adopting additional methods, but rather in fundamentally reconsidering how transformative development and neighbourhood study could be advanced through a transdisciplinary approach.

10.3 Comparison to Research Objectives

This research project aimed to model how conventional approaches to local development analysis could be enhanced through the SoI approach, based on an appreciative application to the South African case of townships. This was effectively achieved by conducting research in two case study township neighbourhoods. By combining a review of conventional LDA products produced for the NDPG programme and appreciative observations through primary study, the researcher was able to utilise rich local information and knowledge to populate a generic but robust SoI framework and test its usability, usefulness and meaningfulness. The application showed up interesting differences and insights into the contexts that had not been

apparent in the conventional LDA findings. However, the ultimate recommendation was not in the direction of tweaking the LDA lens or processes. Rather it was to propose that a transdisciplinary approach to planning should seriously be considered.

10.4 Comparison to Research Questions

In addition to these broad objectives, specific research questions had been identified. These are returned to in this section.

The principal question was about the ways in which the Systems of Innovation approach can enhance conventional approaches to local development analysis for neighbourhood-level planning. Two streams of enquiry were explored towards answering this question, underpinned by appreciative observations.

The first was an examination of how conventional LDA practice has approached and conceptualised local socio-economies. The emerging findings largely supported the six-point critique. Evident in the plans and in the reflections of planning professionals was that the LDA as practiced reflected a “one size fits all” approach in its uniform depiction of townships, and consequent standard analyses and solutions. This reflects a skewed, top-heavy power relationship, lacks genuine participation and empowerment of local communities, and implies an over-focus on the economic and physical aspects of the locality to the exclusion of, in particular, social and human development considerations. Also, it lacks reference to endogenous solutions or potentials as a foundation to build upon, and forms an inappropriate approach to dealing with the reality of informality in townships. The plans for two neighbourhoods which were found to be relatively distinct and unique in their specificities had been depicted remarkably similarly in conventional diagnoses, and had therefore been directed to a very similar suite of interventions.

The likely shortcoming of this, also as supported by the literature on the subject, is a failure to see the transformative development potential of an area through planning. Indeed, how planning looks affects what it sees. The "paradigm blockage" described by Uphoff and Combs (2001) presents the perfect storm, combining the positivist belief in the validity of planners' knowledge and analysis with the constraining conventional wisdoms of planning practice. In a context where planning is privileged as *the* determinant of policy and intervention investment, the consequence is likely to be a great deal of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the transformative effort. The "cookie-cutter" plans for neighbourhood redevelopment become a predictable output, and the neutral outcomes almost a guarantee.

The second stream was an exploratory application of the SoI approach to reflect on how it might contribute to the conventional LDA approaches. Here, the application of the SoI was found to be usable, useful and meaningful in representing the neighbourhood socio-economies in a way that recognised both their similarities and their differences. The application reflected that both of these neighbourhoods could not be considered to be strong innovation systems by any measure, a likely reflection of similar aspects of their histories and the fact that townships may consequently suffer some similar or generic afflictions. However, this did not mean that the neighbourhoods were the same.

T-Section emerged as having a strong market and offering in entertainment (restaurants, bars and night clubs) and secondary industrial services (repairs in leather, clothing, electronics, automobile, and so forth). However, the neighbourhood was also found to require significant investment in development facilitation, industrial development and land release.

Saulsville on the other hand demonstrated a strategic opportunity due to its strategic location for the city, and its prioritisation for TOD by the state. However, it required enterprise support, diversification and market development in order to create new and competitive industries.

At a minimum, this kind of differentiation suggests that development plans for the two areas cannot possibly be identical. In the context of a programme like the NDP, some level of differentiation of townships is required as areas. Townships or even neighbourhoods are likely to have certain kinds and sources of potential. To the extent that planning is expected to exploit these for the goals of transformative development to be attained, it would be important that its LDA approach has the capability to reveal or see them.

The systems view also shows up the likelihood that any development solutions will likely have to be both internal as well as external. This is because the actors, institutions and value chains extend beyond the physical jurisdiction of the neighbourhood. This is an important point because it highlights the possible risk of reproducing apartheid if one focuses only internally, or being standardized and ineffective if one focuses externally only where there may be structural biases against an area.

Reflecting back on the main question about what SoI could contribute: although modifications of the SoI framework to incorporate a spatial dimension in order to account to some of the key planning variables identified in the study, the point is made that the application of SoI is not meant to suggest that it ought to be simplistically imported into planning LDA. SoI here has been used as a heuristic device to elucidate what else could be seen in a neighbourhood socio-economy. The results of this are used rather to argue for planning to adopt a more transdisciplinary approach wherein new epistemological and methodological approaches can be used to engage with the complexities of understanding neighbourhood socio-economies and undertaking the transformative development project if indeed it is a serious undertaking.

10.5 Implications and Contributions

This study has continually argued that the privileging of planning means that planning is either a route or an obstacle to transformative development. The evolutionary perspective suggests that the route to transformation is innovation and learning. This study has advocated these both instrumentally and substantively. Instrumentally in suggesting that some innovation may be required regarding planning itself towards increasing its efficacy, and proposing a transdisciplinary approach to LDA in this regard. Substantively in applying a systems of innovation perspective and effectively illustrating how this may reveal different and more insightful results than conventional planning practices have done.

There are several implications to this. Firstly, while this thesis has not argued against the privileging of planning in influencing development policy and investment, it has at least motivated that development policy- and programme-makers or agencies need to be more vigilant and critical of the quality of plans being tabled, as well as of their assumptions about the transformative outcomes purported. Higher standards and support (including in allowing the necessary time and resources for proper planning and consultations) are likely to be required to enable greater rigour in planning LDA, and the evaluation of plans would need to be more considered towards achieving desired outcomes. The implications of the call for transdisciplinarity would have an impact on both the evaluating agencies themselves who may have to expand the range of competencies brought into plans evaluation, as well as their consulting planners who may have to expand the skills bases of their LDA teams to form the transdisciplinary collectives required.

From a planning theory perspective, the study calls for more careful attention about what planners do in practice, which involves addressing the pervasive practice – theory divide. If transformative development objectives are to be reached, then there needs to be a much more critical approach to practice, and as this thesis has shown, a more robust engagement with the means to achieving transformation at a

neighbourhood level. This will require sharper planning methods and tools, and ones that are informed by a more transdisciplinary approach to generating local knowledge and methodologies that create a stronger foundation for transformative planning.

Relating this back to Archibugi's call for planning to understand better "what we know about our needed know-how," the six-point critique which has been framed in the study as representing some of the most typical objections to conventional planning approaches provides a useful mirror for reflecting upon the quality and gaps of planning processes. It could be strengthened, through further research, to provide a framework for testing the "blind spots" of planning which have been articulated by Doucet.

There are also specific messages about planning practice. The tools of LDA have to be less generic, and take on board much more fundamentally and holistically the social and economic dimensions in particular, as well as accounting for endogenous contexts and potentials. The SoI framework application has been used as a heuristic to demonstrate this, focusing on key innovation system dimensions. In arguing for a more critical approach to planning practice, the point about the practice – theory divide is reiterated, as an a-theoretical application of planning process in practice is shown to be deficient by (Hillier 2002).

10.6 Limitations and Further Research

The researcher deliberately focused on LDA as an important influence on the prospects for township transformation. However, the quality of planning practice is obviously not the only determinant of township development or underdevelopment, and it is difficult to even quantify its role relative to other factors (operational, strategic, structural or global, for example). The researcher contends, however, that quality LDA is a necessary – even if not sufficient – condition for township transformation given its role in informing development policies and interventions.

In addition to the research design not supporting generalisation due to its small number of case studies, an additional limitation of the study's scope might be considered to be its specific application only to South African township neighbourhoods which have a relatively unique and recent history of relative deprivation due to the affliction of apartheid. Further research towards a more generalised critique and address of LDA might consider taking on additional, international, diverse and even comparative case studies.

The study did not aim to redesign LDA or planning, but rather to understand what LDA is seeing or not seeing. Therefore any expectation – being a practical profession – that the thesis would resolve the findings with specific remedies would be frustrated. The need for this is alluded to and a general direction is proposed in the recommendation to apply transdisciplinarity in reviewing planning's epistemological and methodological approach to the challenge of transformative development. Further research could focus more on intervention and redesign.

Another consideration for further research would be the continuation and expansion of SoI application and adaptation to the study of neighbourhood socio-economies. The heuristic application in this thesis found interesting results and an augmentation of the model was recommended. Further exploration and wider application could help to gain perspective on the conceptualisation more generally of the notion of "neighbourhoods as systems of innovation" and how they could be strengthened in this regard.

It is also necessary to refer to an underlying concern inferred through the study, and this was the deep challenge of achieving transformative development in deprived neighbourhoods such as the two cases presented. The SoI application may have produced a compelling framework for analysing these local economies, but it also showed them to be fundamentally weak and difficult to ultimately describe as effective SoI's because they are deficient in most of the key dimensions required for transformation as defined. The technological dimension was completely lacking, and

other key pre-requisite elements such as social capital, knowledge inputs, quality of life, infrastructure and so forth were uniformly weak. The problem is not only that conventional LDA failed to pick up on these aspects, but that they reflect the very complex range and mix of interventions that would require intervention if transformation through learning and innovation were to be achieved in these neighbourhoods. It goes beyond the scope of this study to engage with this very fundamental and challenging concern. However, again, the recommendation towards a transdisciplinary approach is made as a step in the direction of how to engage with large, messy problems such as this. Further exploring how this could be (or has been) done and whether it would produce different results is an important topic for further research.

Finally, it is acknowledged that the study raises but does not engage in any depth with the politics, psychology and capabilities of planning and planners. Various respondents raised the question of the role of the planners themselves, and their suitability or inclination to work towards transformative development. Is the poor LDA lens, perhaps, reflective of more insidious or competency issues regarding the willingness or ability of planners to understand and work towards transformative outcomes? Is planning in a country like South Africa effectively continuing apartheid, or is it inclined to undoing it in fundamental, transformative ways? Does it have the vision, capacity, and means to do so? One could extend the questioning further to ask whether planners can even effectively drive the transdisciplinary processes proposed? These may all be important questions for further research.

10.7 Recommendations

This thesis has recommended a review of how local development analysis is done for neighbourhoods, and a broader consideration of how planning could be enhanced to support transformative development. It recommends a transdisciplinary

planning approach to planning and analysis of neighbourhoods, proposing that this may be necessary towards evolving more appropriate knowledge and methodologies for dealing with the complexities of local socio-economies and the imperative for social transformation. The study has also recommended that further consideration of the systems of innovation approach could be used in analysing neighbourhood contexts and considering how their transformative potential might be enhanced through strengthening them.

10.8 Conclusion

The study has shown that there are deficiencies in how conventional planning practices "see" neighbourhoods as local socio-economic contexts. It has used a systems of innovation framework as a heuristic tool for studying this. It has concluded with the need for a transdisciplinary planning approach which can evolve appropriate knowledge and methodologies for analysing local neighbourhoods.

> "…when planners are simultaneously involved in theory and in practice, in quantitative and qualitative methods, in philosophical ventures and in the development of tools, planning will have become one of the most exciting professions"
>
> ~ Ferreria et al. 2009, p.51

END

ANNEX 1: List of Study Informants

T-section Local

1. Busisiwe Mnisi, fieldworker & resident of Mamelodi (2012)
2. Mamelodi Focus Group (2012/09/15)
    a. Sam Maluleka, Community Library Secretary
    b. Zandile Skhonde, resident, works at University of Pretoria
    c. Josiah Malebye, resident, works at Tshwane North College
    d. Skhumbuzo Jele, Thuthukani Development / Second Chance Centre
    e. Dimakatso Modipa, Daily Sun journalist
    f. Mr. Bila, local restaurateur
    g. Patrick Mnisi, leather repairs business owner
    h. Tsholofelo, local events coordinator
    i. Peter Mareme, local ANC youth league chairperson
3. Peter Mashabela, 88 year old Mamelodi resident (2010/10)
4. Mr Ledwaba, T-Section business owner (2010/10)
5. Sam Maluleka, Mamelodi community resident & Secretary of community library (2012/11/21)
6. Patrick Mnisi, Mamelodi community resident & T-Section business owner (2012)
7. Tebogo Mohale, Mamelodi library assistant (2010/11)
8. 2012/10/16 supplementary short interviews:
    a. Mmabatho, T-Section part-time employee
    b. Michael, Mamelodi community resident
    c. Vusi, T-Section resident

Saulsville Local

1. Mandla Msibi, fieldworker & resident of Atteridgeville (2010-2011)
2. Interviews with local business owners (2010/10)
    a. Doctor Mochangane, Fruit and vegetable stall owner
    b. Meshack Shoba, Pay-phone / cellular shop owner
    c. Elias Kgathuke, Second-hand clothes street seller
    d. Ndileka Sonti, Sewing and tailoring business owner's daughter

e. Samuel Dau, Welding business owner
f. Daniel Baloyi, Shoe repairs street-side
g. Gogo Grace Mashego, Traditional / herbal chemist street-side
h. Amos Tshokwe, Sweets and Cigarettes Seller
i. Fluid Ledwaba, Funeral Parlour owner's son
j. Mmabu Shilote, Restaurant owner
k. Bongani Sikha, Carpentry business owner
l. Ntombizodwa Mazibuko, Spaza Tuckshop owner's wife

3. 2012/10/09 short interviews:
    a. Tebogo, Matebeleng
    b. Gontse, Atteridgeville Community Hall
    c. Thembikazi, Atteridgeville Faith Mission Church
    d. Thando, Tshwane Municipal Office, Atteridgeville
    e. Penny, local resident
    f. Thomas, Oorstead Atteridgeville

General Key Informant Interviews

1. Marius Nadel, Deputy Director: City of Tshwane (2011)
2. Andy Manyama, Deputy Director: City of Tshwane (2010; 2011/09/28, 2012/08/23)
3. Li Pernegger, former Chief Director of NDPG (2012/02/15)
4. Adrian Masson, Adrian Masson Associates (2012/02/08)
5. Theo Pretorius, Plan Associates (2012/02/13)
6. Neels Letter, Manager: Alexandra Renewal Project, City of Johannesburg (2012/10/17)

ANNEX 2: Participant Selection Guide

Saulsville

Scope: Saulsville informal and formal business zone is located less than five minutes from Saulsville train station. The area (estimated to be ~ 250x70 square meters) is bound between Mamogale west-side, Mboweni south-side, and Malebye east-side.

Participants selection proposed to include 8-12 participants and might include:

- Formal business owner - diverse
- Informal business owner - diverse
- FET College
- High school
- Saulsville Community Police Forum
- Atteridgeville Saulsvillle Residents Organization [ASRO]
- An active Church (one with strong local outreach/ development programmes)
- Molambo community hall
- Other key actors: "Community activist", "Community elder", "Youth leader", Local journalist

T-Section (A5)

Scope: Section-T is also known as [T-Section] but popularly known [A5] together with the following sections A4, A3, A1 and D4 were the first settlements after evictions. T-Section is not a residential area but a business / mixed-use area, which starts at the library on Nchabeleng Street, and ends at Mphaki Street next to [Sekati Garage]. To the north there is a main road, Kuboni Atreet.

Participants selection proposed to include 8-12 participants and might include:

- Thuto Mathlale Technical College
- Mamelodi Development Forum [MADEF]
- Mamelodi West Public Library
- Mamelodi Community Information Services [Macis]

- Mamelodi Heritage Forum [Mahefo
- Thuthukani Development
- Black Education Upgrade [BE-UP]
- Thibo café (Lethabo - owner)
- Formal business owner - diverse
- Informal business owner - diverse
- Other key actors: "Community activist", "Community elder", "Youth leader", Local journalist

ANNEX 3: Focus Group Schedule

Objectives:	To understand, from a local perspective, how actors and dynamics have played out in the local area towards meeting social and economic objectives, and that the potential for future improvement is considered to be. *The underlying purpose of this ultimately is to find out whether there are aspects of local development context understanding / potential that: 1) Are not captured or leveraged in the local analysis and plans that have been developed for the area (there will be interrogated in detail); 2) Are supported or identified through systems of innovation theory, whose potential value I am exploring.
Background:	The researcher is doing PHD research with Wits Planning Dept. She is studying the appreciative application of a Systems of Innovation approach to local development analysis of South African black townships to find out whether the approach could add value by providing different or enhanced insights and conceptualizations for township redevelopment planning. This is intended to contribute to knowledge on how some of the existing challenges and gaps in township redevelopment analysis and planning might be addressed through consideration of other disciplinary approaches, such as Systems of Innovation.
Protocol:	Per detailed Research Protocol, each participant will be briefed on the study purpose and use, and asked to sign regarding: • Informed consent (includes: Assurance of Privacy; Assurance of Confidentiality; and where necessary, Permission to record)
Description:	**Approach**: - FGs will be conducted in the 2 case study areas: Mamelodi (T-section), Atteridgeville (Saulsville) - FGs will be held per area depending on assessment of characteristics and compatibility relative to study objectives - It is intended that these happen over a day per area. - Local CBOs may be used to assist in recruiting and hosting sessions - Sessions will be facilitated by a pre-selected and trained multi-lingual facilitator. The researcher will serve as a scribe and may occasionally interject with prompts or questions of clarification. **Size**: Each FG will comprise of 6-12 volunteer, invited participants from the local area **Sample**: Purposive, considering the following characteristics Gender, age, education level, length of time in township, national / foreign immigrant, primary occupation (student, employed, self-employed, unemployed, formal/informal, sector). **Draft Programme**: - Each FG will last for approximately 2 hours - Sample programme: o Introductions (5 min) o Facilitator explains the discussion topic (5 min) o Q&A, Consent & Profiles (10 min) o Facilitated discussion (60-90 min) o Invitation to make concluding remarks (15 min) o Thanks and Closure (10 min) **Post-session**: Immediately after each FG discussion, the facilitator and scribe should meet (30-60 minutes) to discuss the main themes of the discussion; summarise and categorise patterns of responses; confirm consensus or conflicts that emerged from the participants; highlight useful direct quotes or issues.

Detail:

Physical Location:			
Date:		Time:	Start: End:
Participants:	Profile forms should capture basic descriptive information	Number:	
Facilitator:			
Scribe:			

Discussion Guide:

Major Themes	Probing / follow-up questions
1. General	• Why is this a good place to live? • Why is this not a good place to live? • Have you participated in any planning or policy activities in this area (IDP, *izimbizo*, studies, development projects, etc.)? About how many or how often? [tally]
2. "What is"	**How does this area / community work – socially, economically, politically?** • What is considered to be the boundary of this community / area? • What is the history of this area to where it is now? • How long do you think it will take for the area to be a [developmental] success? • What do you think that success story or a realistic future would be? (what do you think is the future of this area) • Where (which places) do you think people in this area aspire: o To live? o To work? o To start businesses? o To do business with? o To retire? • In this area, who controls: o Money / how money can be made?? o Decisions about community development / services? o Housing / where people can stay? • What are the main challenges to people solving their own problems or becoming successful in the area? • What could other roleplayers do to help? (who and what?) • How are the relationships between local organisations, business people and the local authorities? Do key community organisations collaborate / compete? • How do formal and informal activities in the area co-exist? (e.g. commercial, housing, services)

3. Envisioning – "What might be"	**What appears to be the future direction of this area and why?** • Do you know of any unique ideas or products that have come out of this area? (what would people from outside (who?) come to this township and/or area for?) • *What are the main things people talk / care about? Things that keep coming up?* • What do you think will determine the future of their area? • Do you think the future will be better or worse? Why? •
4. Dialoguing "What should be"	**What is a possible positive future for this area and what is necessary to actualise it?** • What kinds of industries or businesses do you think could be very successful in this area? (interrogate both supply and demand potential) • What capabilities are needed for that? • How can they be created? Are they being created? • What else is important for the people / future of this area?
5. Innovation & Entrepreneurship	**Would you consider people in this area to be innovative? Why/how/not?** • What are the most common businesses in this area and why? • What frustrates entrepreneurs in this area? • How has technology been used successfully in the community / not? (cellphones, internet, computers, other technologies) • Are the technologies seen as a cost or a benefit?
6. Intervention	• If you were in a position of taking over this area, what are the 3 things you would prioritize to do over a 20 year period to make people more successful in this neighborhood? • What are the basic things you think that must happen with / by [the people of] this area to unblock its success? (by who and what)

ANNEX 4: Key Informant Interviews guide

Detail:

Candidate:	Name: Contacts:
Role:	
Session Details:	Date: Time: Location:

INTERVIEW

0) Introductions and some background on interview candidate's relationship to township development / NDPG.

A. "TOWNSHIP TRANSFORMATION"

1) What do you think have been the main impediments to "transformation" in South African townships?

2) Do you believe that NDPG will result in transformation of the townships?

3) What do you think are the transformation prospects / directions for:
   a. T-Section / Mamelodi
   b. Saulsville / Atteridgeville

B. PLANNING PRACTICE

4) To what extent do you think that the following critiques might apply to how we plan for townships in South Africa:
   a. A 'one size fits all' approach?
   b. Physical bias?
   c. 'Economism' or a market bias?
   d. Exogenous?
   e. Formalism; difficulty in engaging with / having a bias against informality?
   f. Dependency / lack of empowerment?

5) How important are planners / planning theories / planning practices / LDA in whether South Africa achieves township transformation?

6) What is the typical planning process for LDA for townships? What are its strengths / weaknesses? Does it have any discernable planning theory foundations or influences?

C. GENERAL

7) Other important thoughts / questions / referrals?

ANNEX 5: Township Transformation Timeline

The following overview published in the Township Transformation Timeline project (CoGTA, 2009), periodises the history of South Africa's townships, showing key triggers that defined the progression.

1900 - 1922 **Early segregation (Emergence)**	**First Townships (called 'locations') emerge** some within towns (on a mixed race basis) but increasingly over time on the outskirts of towns. They are allowed by Government so as to ensure a labour force in urban areas but **limited investment** is made into their development. **Living conditions are extremely poor**. **Influx control** is applied to regulate labour supply for farmers and mines. Africans **excluded from rights** (political and land). **Segregation** is applied by government but on a **fragmented and decentralized** basis. Civil society begins to **emerge** to contest segregation and living conditions.
1923 ◆ Black Native Administration Act – National legislation that regulated the segregation of Townships ⇩	
1923 – 1947 Segregation consolidated (Adoption)	Townships assume **increasing importance** in urban areas as the reliance on African labour increases. Investment by Government in Townships **increases but is still not able to keep up with demand due to high levels of urbanization.** As a result **informal settlements emerge** and **living conditions remain poor. Relocation of Africans** commences. Central Government takes on a **more direct role** in regulating the nature of Townships through oversight and funding. Civil society **increases resistance activities using deputations and petitions.** The potential to **mobilize in Townships emerges,** as does the use of strikes and boycotts.
1948 ◆ National Party comes into power ⇩	
1948 - 1975 Apartheid (Control)	Initially there is **extensive development of Townships** by Government – despite this **informal settlements and overcrowding increases.** From 1960 development **slows down** as the focus shifts to **homeland development**. Townships are **segregated physically, socially and economically** from towns and residents become progressively isolated and **poorer** as access to economic opportunities and urban amenities are restricted. Civil society becomes increasingly **militant. International sanctions and boycotts** are applied.
1976 ◆ Soweto student uprisings initiate country wide mass resistance ⇩	
1976 - 1993 Apartheid dismantled (Resistance)	Civil unrest, international sanctions, increasing urbanization and a declining economy contribute to the **dismantling of apartheid policy**. There is increasing acceptance that Africans will **remain permanently in urban areas** and 99 year leasehold and full property rights are provided

	respectively. Funding for housing is **increased** and **extensive private sector housing** development in Townships commences. Racial Local Authorities are established but are dysfunctional. Africans are no longer restricted to living only in townships and **start moving** into the inner city and suburbs. South Africa is left with **cities structured by apartheid**. Townships are characterized by **small, poor quality houses**, with a large number of **informal settlements**, **poor service infrastructure and amenities** and lack of affordable **public transportation.**
1994 ◆ first democratic elections ⇩	
1994 – 2004 **Democratisation (Upgrading)**	Local Authorities undergo **substantial transformation** resulting in constraints in respect of capacity and processes. **Significant investment** into Townships occurs through the **Special Integrated Presidential Projects** (SIPPs) and **Urban Renewal Programme** (URP) launched in 2001 as a ten year pilot programme and **sectoral initiatives**. Success is **variable and impact limited.** Access to housing, services and amenities **improves** but Townships **remain separate and marginalized**. A key difficulty that persists is **capacity and coordination across and within spheres of government.** South Africa reflects **'two economies in one country' –** one white and wealthy (formal-first economy), the other overwhelmingly black and poverty stricken (informal-second economy). Townships fall into the latter.
2004 ◆ Ten years of democratic rule ⇩	
2004-2009 Towards urban integration (Inclusion)	The **URP continues to be implemented** – Provinces and Municipalities start **replicating** the methodology but **funding and capacity** remain key constraints. Implementation of the **sectoral programmes** impacts positively on Townships. **However upgrading of Townships continues to be largely uncoordinated**. **Better and more comprehensive planning and budgeting** is pursued (through IDPs and the National Spatial Development Perspective. The **Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme** is launched in 2006. The **Housing Development Agency** with a **focus on integrated human settlements** is launched in 2009. Townships still remain **marginalised and isolated within towns and cities.** The emphasis of development initiatives in Townships **gradually shifts to a recognition of the critical need for integration of Townships into towns and cities**. The role of **Local Government in respect of the development of Townships remains unresolved,** with a greater devolution of responsibility towards Local Government but generally with inadequate authority, capacity and funding. There is **increasing recognition of the role of the private sector** in developing Townships. However tensions remain around the impact on existing Township business interests.

ANNEX 6: Business Surveys Summary

T-SECTION LOCAL BUSINESSES TALLY

Category	No of businesses	%	No of staff	%	Avg No of staff
Formal Business	24	63%	172	85%	7,2
Informal Business	14	37%	31	15%	2,2
TOTALS:	38		203		

BUSINESS TYPE	TALLY IN ZONE
Hair Salons	17
Tuck Shops	15
Taverns	12
Television, Car, Furniture Repairs	8
Funeral Parlors	6
Panel Beaters	6
Bottle Stores	5
Supermarkets	5
Internet Cafes	4
Clubs	3
Hardware Stores	3
Restaurants	3
Pharmacy/Chemist	2
Printers	2
Butcheries	1

SAULSVILLE LOCAL BUSINESSES TALLY

Category	No of businesses	%	No of staff	%	Avg No of staff
Formal Business	186	55%	1338	83%	6,3
Informal Business	152	45%	282	17%	2,3
TOTALS:	338		1620		

BUSINESS TYPE	TALLY IN ZONE	BUSINESS TYPE	TALLY IN ZONE
Public cellular payphone	50	Shoe repairs	3
Recycling plastics & bottles	50	Petrol station	2
Liquor store	20	Brickmaking	2
Supermarket	20	Carpentry / Woodwork	2
Sweets & Cigarettes	20	Motor spares	2
Fruits & Veg stalls	15	Bicycle repairs & spares	2
Restaurant / Eatery	10	Dairy	2
Funeral Parlour	10	Early childhood dev (ECD)	2
Boutique	10	Psychologist	2
Motor mechanic	10	Herbal Chemist / *Sangoma*	2
Car wash	7	Surgery	1
Second-hand clothes seller	7	Optometrist	1
Sewing / Tailor	6	Pharmacy	1
Hair salon	6	Ice cream manufacture	1
Spaza / Tuckshop	5	Food manufacturing	1
Fat Cakes seller	5	Poultry	1
Traditional beer making	5	Livestock sales	1
Driving school	5	Bakery	1
Upholstery	5	Florist	1
Electronic repairs & sales	5	Liquor distribution	1
Glazing	5	Hardware	1
Print & Copy	5	Firewood	1
Tavern / Drinking lounge	4	Pawn shop	1
Dry cleaning	4	Internet café	1
Welding	4	Manicure / nail salon	1
Panelbeating, spraypaint & autobody	3	Weight lifting / gym	1
Butchery	3	Bookkeeping	1
		Civic: Residents Org	1

SUMMARY OF SAULSVILLE BUSINESS INTERVIEWS

Interview 1

About the interview subject 1		
1	Name of business	*Rasta Fruit and vegetable Stall*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?:	
	Business owner | Employee| Other:	*Business owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business| Premises| Market|	*Informal Market*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville Station*
6	Business type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Five years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working in Atteridgevile former [Iscor] now Arcelor Mittal steel corporation*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Fruit: Banana, orange, apple, pear and Vegetable: Cabbage, carrot, pumpkin, tomato, onion and potato.*
10	No of people employed	*Two people [the owner and his son]*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Train passengers and Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of customer re-sellers?	*No, they purchase for cooking.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Three thousand five rands [R3 500]*
14	In an average week, list all main cost for the business:	*Storage, transport, travel salary payment and purchasing stock*
15	In an average week, list all main income from business:	*Fruit and vegetable sales*
16	Has business (profits) gotten better or worse over past year? Explain.	*Better, because when started there were few customers, now have more regular customers and provide credits to a lot of household social grants beneficiaries.*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main material/ supplies/ equipment required for the business?	*Fruit and vegetables, transport and space*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Green Market in Tshwane*
19	What form of transport does the business use:	*Hires private bakkie or van*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. owner)	*Local public transport [Taxi]*
21	For transporting produce/goods	*Private [Hired] bakkie*
22	Where/how does the business source electricity?	*No electricity required*
23	Where/how does the business source water?	*No water required but for drinking brings own two litre bottle*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Saulsville station*

25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Storage, uses the nearby panel beating business*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's so far?	*Selling fresh produce and maintaining standards*
27	What are any other major issues/ constrains affecting the business & how?	*Own transport like bakkie because is costly to always hire private transport*
28	What does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*If he can get a formal place to operate and storage to reduce renting*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would they would need in order to increase their business success?	*Having cooling place or refrigerator to preserve the produce in summer*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community groups (list all)	*No*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation/ linkages to support its business?	*Yes, Green Market offers credit facility in times of stress*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes, to City of Tshwane Municipality R139 monthly for operating space*
33	Is the business paying any taxes or government? Describe	*No, not yet registered but in the process of doing so.*
34	Is the business willing to pay any public rates/ charges	*It is already doing so.*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*The business already pays R139 monthly for operating space*

Interview 2

About the interview subject 2		
1	Name of business	*Public Cellular Pay-phone*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?:	
	Business owner| employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville cnr Mamogale (east) Street and Mboweni*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone else's home| Formal business Premises| Market|	*Informal market operating in a steel container*
5	Taxi/ Train station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville Station*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*One year seven months*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working in Tshwane CBD*
About the business and its performance		
9	What services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Providing pay-phone service to the public*

10	No of people employed	*One person [The Owner]*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where fr**om)**	*Train passengers and Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of the customers' re-seller?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Four thousand rands [R4000] monthly*
14	In an average week, list all costs for the business:	*Purchasing airtime*
15	In an average week, list all main income from business:	*Charges ninety cents [R0.90c] per nit per call per customer and selling airtime and gains thirty cents [R0.30c] for every ninety cents call sold.*
16	Has business (profit) gotten better or worse over past year? Explain.	*It has gotten worse due to market over saturation and individual household phone enterprises, internet cafes' Facebook technology innovation.*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ suppliers/ equipment requires for the business?	*Only airtime units and container*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Bought from cellular network companies*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public transport [Taxi]*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. owner)	*Taxi for only the owner*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Taxi*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*No electricity required*
23	Where/ how does the business source water	*No water required but for cleaning the container goes to the newly installed taps*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Saulsville station*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Steel container, phone instruments, airtime vouchers purchased from suppliers in Tshwane CBD or Marabastad*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success do far	*Position or location and providing a cheap call at ninety cants*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business & how?	*Business training to develop financial management skills.*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*If he can have enough capital to cover expenses and provide credit*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Get a proper operating facility and provide credit*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*No*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No*
Relationship with Institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes, to City Of Tshwane municipality*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe.	*Yes, to SARS*

34	Is the business willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*It is already doing so.*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*R139 monthly fee.*

Interview 3

About the interview subject		
3		
1	Name of business	*Second-hand Clothing Seller*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street*
	Owner's Home/land| Someone Else's home| formal Business Premises| market|	*Informal market*
5	Taxi/ Trains Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville station*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Eight months*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working In Tshwane at Consol Glass Company*
About the business and it performance		
9	What service/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Selling second-hand clothes: Trousers, jackets and coats*
10	No of people employed	*One person [owner himself]*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Train passengers and Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of the customers re-sellers?	*No*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Eight hundred rands [R800]*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Transport, Lunch, Storage, Washing & ironing [R250]*
15	In an average week, list all main income from business:	*Income is from sale of clothes one trouser cost about one hundred and fifty rands [R150]*
16	Has business (profits) gotten better or worse over past year? Explain.	*Worse, people do not have cash at hand and prefer credit which is not provided by the business and therefore will opt to big brands credit stores like John Craig, Edgars or Salveskous.*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Shelter/ Tent, Rail, storage, Transport, Water, and Electricity*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Clothes are bought in Johannesburg and the rest is sourced local*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public Transport [Taxi] & Private Hired Transport*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. owner)	*The respondent uses public taxi transport*

21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Private Hired Bakkie*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*At home*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*At home*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Nearby Mamogale street residential houses*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Storage- Has to rent at nearby houses*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far	*Clothes that are sold are imports brand from Europe.*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business & how?	*Lack of credit facility and competition from new malls and local sellers*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future	*If he can have enough capital to cover expenses and provide credit*
29	What does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Get a proper operation facility and provide credit*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community groups (list all)	*No.*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*Yes, wholesalers allow small businesses credit*
Relationship with Institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! One hundred and fifty nine [R139] monthly*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe.	*Not yet, but has registered with SARS for taxation*
34	Is the business willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*Yes! But it depends to profitability*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Three hundred rands annually*

Interview 4

About the interview 4		
1	Name of business	*Sewing and Tailor Business*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business Owner| Employee| Other;	*Business Owners's Daughter*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale street West-side*
	Owner's Home/land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| Market|	*Informal market*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*One Year Nine Months*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where	*Running 'Spaza' Tuckshop*

About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Sewing traditional Dresses Tailor & Trousers and other*
10	No of people employed	*Three people*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Adult woman, Saulsville Hostel residents and community residents units (CRU)*
12	Are any of the customers re-sellers?	*No, only purchase for wearing or dressing*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Respondent could not tell and said the owner was not available to answer.*
14	In an average week, list all main cost for the business:	*Buying raw materials, transport and labour*
15	In an average week, list all main income from business:	*Sales of dress and tailoring*
16	Has business (profits) gotten better or worse over past year? Explain.	*Worse, because of other business which were already there before*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Sewing machine, needles, threads and dress raw material*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Tshwane CBD [Metro store]*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public transport [Taxi]*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. owner)	*Walk to work since they are staying around*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*[Taxi] public transport*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*No electricity required*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*No water needed nut bring own for drinking*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Old part of Saulsville hostel*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*No, except mentioned*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Training, marketing and increased client base*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business & how?	*Competition with unregistered and illegal operators*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Expanding and becoming a training school for other people*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Get relevant skills on business management and development*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community groups (list all)	*No.*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No.*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe	*Yes! To City of Tshwane*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe.	*Yes! R139 monthly to City of Tshwane*

34	Is the business willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*It already does.*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*The amount paid is sufficient.*

Interview 5

About the interview subject 5		
1	Name of business	*Welding business*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Industrial Site, Saulsville*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| Market	*Formal Business Premises*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| NO Fixed Location| Other:	*Industrial site with workshop area*
6	Business Type	*Formal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Thirteen years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Operating the same business at home*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Service/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Window panes, gates, frames and butler doors*
10	No of people employed	*Five people*
11	Who are the main customer of the business (where from)	*Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of the customers re-sellers	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Twenty five rands [R25 000] monthly*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Steel frames, welding rods, electricity, transport, labour and communication.*
15	In an average week, list all main income from business:	*Sales of product*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Better, because of space and labour that can meet the demand*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment required for the business?	*Steel, rods, electricity and transport.*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Locally in Atteridgeville [Arcelor Mittal Steel Corporation]*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Mini- Truck or private Car*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. owner)	*Local taxi and some walk to work*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Mini-Truck [KIA]*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*In the premises provided by City of Tshwane*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*In the premises*

24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Within the premises*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source	*None, except mention*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have you been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Training, marketing and increased client base*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business & how?	*Competition with unregistered and illegal operators*
28	What opportunity does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Expanding and becoming a welding training school for other people.*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Get relevant skills on business management and development*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community groups(list all)	*No.*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No.*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! To City of Tshwane about Three Thousand rands [R3 000]*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe.	*Yes! To SARS.*
34	Is the business willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*It already does*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*No comment*

Interview 6

About the interview subject 6		
1	Name of business	*Shoe repairs*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street west-side*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Informal market*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville station*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Three years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working in the mines in Johannesburg*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business	*Repairing shoes, soles, heels, stitching.*

	providing (list all)	
10	No of people employed	*One person*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Saulsville hostel and [CRU]*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*One thousand seven hundred rand [R1 700]*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Glue, soles, heels, polish, and nylon thread.*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Shoes repair payments*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Worse, there are no customers because there are many of such business.*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Polish, heels, soles including glue.*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Tshwane [marabastad]*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public transport [taxi]*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*None works in the business except the owner who uses local taxi.*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*[taxi] public transport*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*Old hostel part*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*Old hostel part*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Old hostel part*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Structure that is erecting own informal tent*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Being near the market especially the residential centre*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Funds, profits and clients*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Creating jobs if doing well*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Getting a formal place.*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*No.*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No.*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! To City of Tshwane [139] monthly.*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*Not yet*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any	*Is already pays*

	public rates/ charges?	
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Amount paid is enough*

Interview 7

About the interview subject 7		
1	Name of business	*Traditional Herbal Chemist*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner and Traditional Healing Practitioner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street west-side*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Informal market*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville station*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Thirty one years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Traditional healing practice at home*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Traditional medicine and diagnosis*
10	No of people employed	*One person*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Saulsville residents and outsiders*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Four thousand six hundred rands [R4 600] monthly*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Lunch, transport, medicine digging, casual labour, water and paraffin*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Sales of medicine and consultation*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*It has been slightly better since the government's recognition of traditional practices*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Digging peak, spade, saw and transport*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*All above are owned except transport which is hired.*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Hired Private Car*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*None, respondent is the only worker but casual walk when needed*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Hired Private Car*
22	Where/ how does the business source	*No electricity required*

	electricity?	
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*At newly installed taps*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*In the old hostel part*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Training on business financial management*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*The government has made traditional practicing successful because people are no longer afraid to consult even in daily broad light*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Getting permission to dis medicine in private owned land*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Integration with the Western medicine can lead to many ailments being cured*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Establish a single operation place for traditional practitioners like at the hospital*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*Yes. Traditional Healers Organisation of South Africa*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*Yes, mentoring and graduating other healers*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! To City of Tshwane [139] monthly.*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*No. not in the stage financial to can pay taxes*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*Yes, if only they are fair and considerate of our plight*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Amount paid is enough according to monthly profits*

Interview 8

About the interview subject 8		
1	Name of business	*Sweets and Cigarettes Seller*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street west-side*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Informal market*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Footpath to Saulsville station*
6	Business Type	*Informal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Two years eight months*
8	What was the business owner doing	*Working in Johannesburg*

	previously/ where?	
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Sweets and cigarettes*
10	No of people employed	*One person [owner himself]*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Train passengers, school children and Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Two thousand eight hundred rand [R2 800] monthly*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Purchasing stock, lunch and transport.*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Product sales [sweet & cigarettes]*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Worse, because of competition.*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Sweets and cigarettes*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Tshwane [Marabastad]*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public transport [taxi]*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*The one person owner uses local taxi or sometimes walks to work if conditions permit*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*[taxi] public transport*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*No electricity is used*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*In the old hostel part*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*In the old hostel part*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*None*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Selling cigarettes at a cheaper price*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Not being able to make desired profit*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*None, actually the owner is looking for a job*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Nothing*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*No*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services	*Yes! To City of Tshwane [139] monthly.*

	to the municipality/ other? Describe.	
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*No*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*Is pays already*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Fifty rands [R50] monthly*

Interview 9

About the interview subject 9		
1	Name of business	*Funeral Parlour*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner's [son]*
4	Location:	*Malebye [east] Street, Saulsville*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Owner's Land*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Fixed land or property*
6	Business Type	*Formal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Twenty three years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working at a funeral parlour named 'Grobellar Funeral services' in Tshwane*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Burial society, coffins, burial service including hearses and entourage cars*
10	No of people employed	*Fifty [50] people*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Saulsville, Atteridgeville residents and country wide.*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Refuse to disclosed*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Purchasing grave for burials, phone, electricity, water, petrol, and labours*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Burial society premiums, collecting corpse at the hospital or government mortuary*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Better, because it was the first in Saulsville and has a stable client base all over countrywide*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Coffins, Electricity, Refrigerators and fuel for cars*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Coffins are self manufactures in factory in Hammanskral and petrol for cars is filled at Shell garage, Atteridgeville*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Private own cars, bakkies, trucks*
20	For the people working in the business (incl.	*It differs family has own cars and workers use*

	Owner)	*local taxi transport and some walk*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Business cars, bakkies and trucks*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*provided by City of Tshwane*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*Within the premises by CoT*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Within premises, in the property own built*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Tents, chairs, shovels and services [flower girls] business has them*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Initiating burial societies where members pay monthly to reduce the cost of an actual funeral*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Lack burial land and grave yard because most land is now allocated for housing and business development*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Expanding the coffin manufacturing sector and supplying other funeral parlours*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Train people in coffin manufacturing*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*Yes! Funeral Parlours Association of South Africa*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*Yes, Hammanskraal Coffin Manufacturing Plant or Factory*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! Twenty thousand rands [R20 000] monthly to City of Tshwane municipality*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*Yes to SARS*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*It pays already*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Already mentioned*

Interview 10

About the interview subject 10		
1	Name of business	*Restaurant [Eatery], Fruit & Vegetables*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Malebye [east] street, Saulsville*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Formal Business Premises*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Fixed land of footpath to the station*

6	Business Type	*Formal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Sixteen years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Selling vegetables at home which started as a family business*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Selling Pap & Meat, Fruits, Vegetables and Beer.*
10	No of people employed	*Seven people*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Train passengers, residents of Saulsville and Atteridgeville*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*Yes, people who make potato chips buy bags of potatoes for resale*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Cannot tell is confidential*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Electricity, water, labour, salary, petrol or transport, meat, maize, fruit & vegetables*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Selling of food plates @R30 thirty rands and fruits, vegetables and beer*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Better, even outsides who come to Saulsville eat here including soccer fans during WC2010 spent lunch at the place*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Maize, meat, vegetables, plates, electricity or gas stove, water and labour*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Meat is purchased in Brits west of Saulsville and vegetables in the east Tshwane at the [Green Market] and maize supplied by Ruto Mills Tshwane west no local Saulsville or township suppliers*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Private own bakkie*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*Walk to work*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Private own bakkie*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*Provided by the City of Tshwane*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*Within the premises of CoT*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Within premises*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Catering opportunities, tender with government departments*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Providing delicious food and comfortable sitting place*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Space to expand and accommodate more customers*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Expanding to a family eating place like Spurs or Nandos*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would	*Invest in establishing other setups and*

	want to be to increase their business success?	*purchasing land*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*Yes, Atteridgeville Saulsville Chamber of Commerce*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! Seven thousand five hundred rands [R7 500] monthly to the City of Tshwane municipality*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*Yes to SARS*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*Pays already*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Eight thousand rands [R8 000] would be a limit*

Interview 11

About the interview subject **11**		
1	Name of business	*Carpentry or Woodwork Shop*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	
	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Cnr Malebye east & Mboweni south streets, Industrial Site, Saulsville*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Formal business Premises*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Fixed land on footpath to the station*
6	Business Type	*Formal*
7	How long has this business been running?	*six years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Doing the same business at home*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Fitting rugs, ceiling, doors and wardrobes*
10	No of people employed	*Three people*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Household in Saulsville and Atteridgeville*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Refuse to disclose*
14	In an average week, list all main costs for the business:	*Purchasing working material, electricity, water, transport and labour*
15	In an average wee, list all main income from business:	*Fitting and fixing carpentry service*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Better, due to development extensions in location*

What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Wood/ Carpentry tools, drill, saws, measurement tapes, electricity, paints, scrubbing paper.*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*From Tshwane [Cash Build]*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Private own bakkie*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*Walk to work*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*[private own bakkie*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*Provided by City of Tshwane*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*Within the premises by CoT*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Within premises*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Wood, tools and transport*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Formal training and providing excellent service*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Lack of enough staff impedes operation*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*To open a mini factory and train the youth if only government could provide funds*
29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*Manufacture Furniture*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*No*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*No*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! Seven Hundred and fifty rands [R750] monthly to City of Tshwane municipality*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*Refuse to answer but says he is registered*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*Yes*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*Pays R750.00*

Interview 12

About the interview subject **12**		
1	Name of business	*Spaza / Tuckshop*
2	Name of respondent	
3	Who is the person you're interviewing?	

	Business owner| Employee| Other:	*Wife of Business Owner*
4	Location:	*Saulsville Mamogale Street*
	Owner's Home/ land| Someone Else's home| Formal Business Premises| market|	*Formal Business premises*
5	Taxi/ Train Station| Footpath/ Street Corner| No Fixed Location| Other:	*Saulsville Industrial Site*
6	Business Type	*Formal Tuckshop*
7	How long has this business been running?	*Ten years*
8	What was the business owner doing previously/ where?	*Working at Murray & Roberts Construction*
About the business and its performance		
9	What Services/ Products is the business providing (list all)	*Bread, tin-stuff, packaged pepper/ soup, sugar, tea and cigarette packs*
10	No of people employed	*Two people [the owner and wife]*
11	Who are the main customers of the business (where from)	*Saulsville residents*
12	Are any of the customer re-sellers?	*No.*
13	What is the estimated monthly turnover?	*Six thousand rands [R6 000] monthly*
14	In an average week, list all main <u>costs</u> for the business:	*Stock, private transport hire, electricity*
15	In an average wee, list all main <u>income</u> from business:	*Produce sales income*
16	Has business (profits) gotten or worse over past year? Explain.	*Average, but of other competitors*
What the business uses		
17	What are the main materials/ supplies/ equipment requires for the business?	*Food stuff (groceries) and electricity*
18	Where is the business sourcing them from?	*Tshwane [Kit Kat] Wholesalers and Marabastad*
19	What forms of transport does the business use:	*Public or private hired transport*
20	For the people working in the business (incl. Owner)	*Walk to work because all stay within the area with the CRU*
21	For transporting produce/ goods	*Local Public Transport [Taxi]*
22	Where/ how does the business source electricity?	*Provided by City of Tshwane*
23	Where/ how does the business source water?	*Within the premises by CoT*
24	Where/ how does the business source toilet facilities?	*Within premises*
25	What other key facilities/ services does the business require and where/ how do they source?	*Bread which is delivered by local Kotu Bakery*
About the enabling environment for the business		
26	What have been the key reasons for the business's success so far?	*Selling products at lesser prise and being close to customers*
27	What are any other major issues/ constraints affecting the business &how?	*Competition stemming mainly from newly established malls including supermarkets*
28	What opportunities does the interviewee see for this business in future?	*Opportunities are slim due to bigger business infiltrating and killing small business*

29	What does the interviewee feel they would want to be to increase their business success?	*If local tuckshop owners could for a cooperative and pen one big shop success is guaranteed there*
30	Does the business have memberships to any associations or community group (list all)	*No*
31	Does the business have any other cooperation's/ linkages to support its business?	*Yes, wholesalers allow small business credit*
Relationship with institutions/ local government		
32	Is the business paying for any rent or services to the municipality/ other? Describe.	*Yes! Pay five hundred rands [R500] monthly for renting space*
33	Is the business paying any taxes to government? Describe?	*Yes registered and pays to SARS*
34	What exactly would they be willing to pay any public rates/ charges?	*It pays*
35	What exactly would they be willing to pay government for?	*R500 for renting space is sufficient*

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