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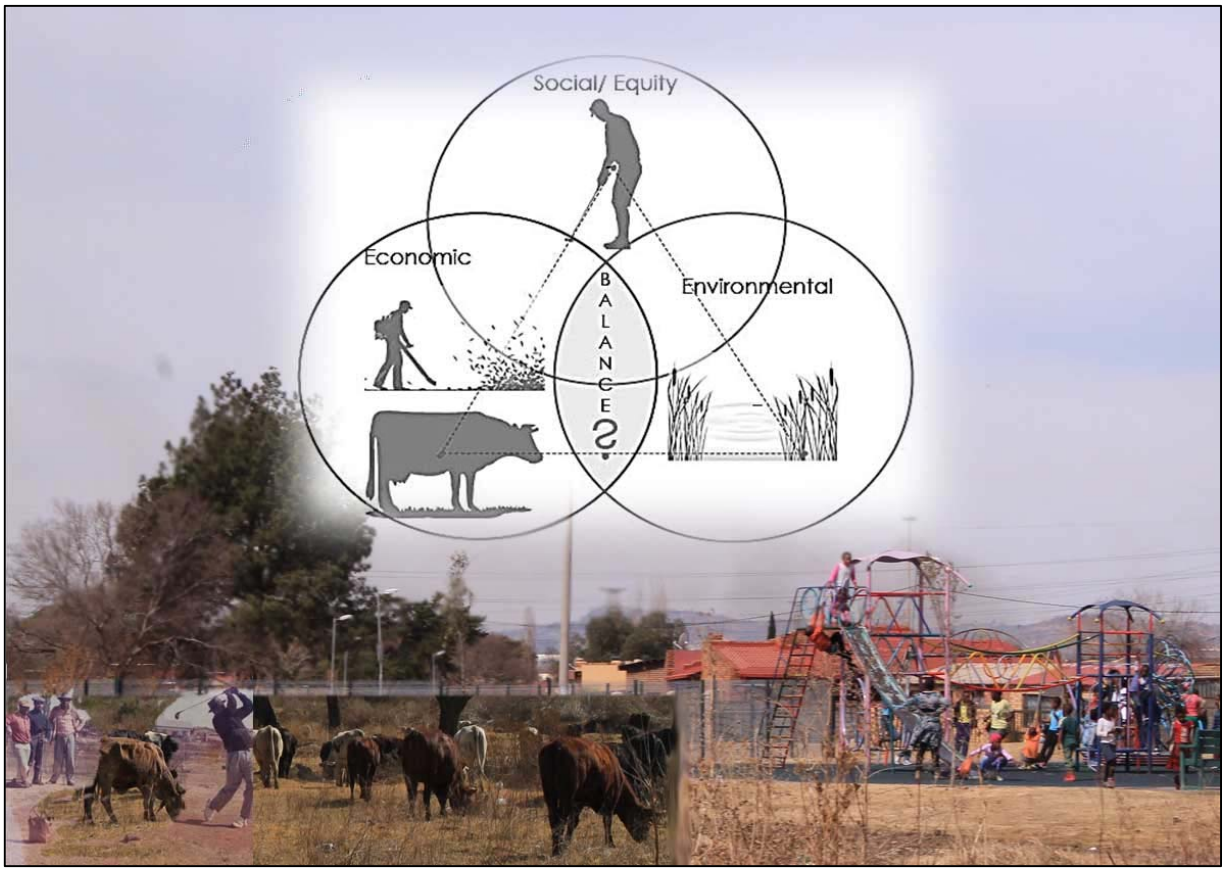
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Sustainable development of parks:

Investigating the trade-offs in the conflicting development process of parks:

The case of the Mshenguville Park, Soweto.



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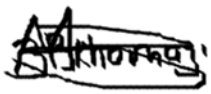
Submitted in partial fulfilment towards the degree MSc Development Planning in the School of Architecture & Planning, Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology, University of Witswatersrand.

September 2017

Declaration

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

Signed on the 08 day of September 2017.



Aknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

OSIM : Open Space Infrastructure Management

CoJ: City oJohannessburg

DA: Development Appraisal

DAFF: Department of Afgriculture Forestry and Fisheries

EAP: Environmental Assessment Practitioner

EIA: Environmental Imapct Assessment

EISD: Environmental Infrastructure and Services Department

IDP: Integrated Development Plan

JCPZ: Johannessburg City Parks and Zoo

PDNA : PD Maidoo and Associates

SLO: Stakeholder Liaison Officer

SDF: Spatial Development Framework

ROD: Record of Decision

Abstract

A sustainable approach to development brings together social, economic and environmental aspects. However this does not occur in a vacuum, development decisions take place in a palimpsest of underlying decisions and a myriad of conflicting uses and tensions. The sustainable development of parks entails making trade-offs within a conflicting environment. This study reflects on officials' practices in the processes of park developments. It evaluates the decision-making terrain for park developments to understand the challenges, the advantages and the limitations in achieving an integrated and sustainable park. To this end, I have reviewed JCPZ (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo) officials' practices in the park development of an urban wetland in Mshenguville, Soweto. The methodology used for this paper is mainly the case study approach and reviewing archival documents used for the development process. What makes this case study interesting is that this park has some contested, proposed and appropriated land uses such as golf, cattle grazing, and an eco-park. The research report mainly shows that a balance or win-win approach to development is not easy to attain especially in highly contested developments but rather a compromise can be reached provided that the other forces (stakeholders) within the sustainability triangle (particularly social, economic and environmental) persistantly negotiate their space to be included in the development plan.

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

There is a tendency and a danger to assume that the incentive to develop a park automatically makes it a sustainable development. This can be equated with painting a building green and calling it a green building. Campbell (1996) warns against the environmentally biased lens that planners tend to use, equating parks with sustainable development - which does not encapsulate the extent of a sustainable development. Sustainability, even in park developments, needs to encompass the socio-economic and environmental attributes of the area to function sustainably. This is even more significant in economically marginalized settings which are deficient with regard to economic and social attributes. Sustainability, similarly in park developments, needs to encompass the socio-economic and environmental attributes of the area to function sustainably. I argue this grave necessity in economically marginalized areas such as townships. There is a dearth in literature which engages with parks and their specific use and meaning in a Southern African context (Stoffberg et al., 2005), and the even larger gap in previously disadvantaged areas such as townships. Evaluating the sustainability of park developments in such a context is relevant considering the recent proliferation of park developments in townships following government's efforts to bridge the green divide between the northern green suburbs and the dusty townships of the South (Stoffberg et al., 2005; Young, 2003). The post- apartheid government has opted for a "linked incentives strategy" which is integrating human settlements and promoting care for the environment as opposed to the segregationist approach of the past wrapped in the guise of environmental conservation (Aliber, 2002).

This ethos is said to be in harmony with the principles of sustainable development (Aliber, 2002). Within the environmental policy document, the ANC (the ruling party in South Africa) subscribes to an integrated approach to environmental issues. This has been initiated through the introduction of an environmental policy framework that embraces democratic and participatory forms of government (Rossouw and Wiseman, 2004a) . Rossouw et al. (2004) however questions whether enough has been done to reach this objective. It is alleged that Environmental Assesment tools, such as Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mainly focuses on environmental attributes and

negates the social and economic aspects. Therefore this case study analyses officials' practices; How do they integrate open spaces? What policy instruments do they use? What are the forces that maintain this integration ? (if integrated at all).

This case study (Mshenguville Park in Soweto, Johannesburg) exhibits some dynamic and conflictting land uses (which I discuss in detail later on in the study); officials are faced with the challenge of administering an appropriate development in this context. Mshenguville development is an interesting case mainly because it is a politically sensitive issue. City Parks have made mistakes and changed views from a driving range to an eco-park, therefore the residents want answers. The site is located in an urban wetland, categorized as an environmentally sensitive space for development. The study enquires to what extent the ecological status of the site constitute a hindrance to integrating various uses sustainably. Can an integrative approach to residents' claims be factored in despite the environmental and legislative constraints? what are the challenges and trade-offs that officials encounter in their decision-making? What are some of the tools, policy instruments and norms used to frame their decisions? What institutional context do officials operate in? How do officials navigate conflict? The research considers key policy instruments such as Environmental Impact Assessment, participatory tools and spatial policy tools and their influential role in the manner which officials operate. I will also be considering how the institutional reform into a more business-orientated institution has affected the work culture of official practices. How has this affected their incentive to integrate various components of planning amidst an ardent culture of efficiency and score keeping?

1.2 Rationale

The South African National Development Plan states that, "Many of the challenges are not a result of a vacuum in policy, but rather insufficient institutional capacity and a lack of strong instruments for implementation" (NDP 2013: 238). The institutionalization of the notion of sustainable development is still lacking, and so is its practical development within institutions (Connor and Dovers, 2004). Rationale

Through this study I would like to "unpack the black box" of decision making in the state.This is to understand the casual processes that occur during the pursuit of sustainable development goals, specifically considering development process for

urban wetlands. This will highlight some of the challenges that officials face in managing and developing urban parks which are integrative and holistic. The study is cognisant of the fact that development decisions are not made in a peaceful democratic environment. The purpose of these findings is to engage with the specific limitations of this policy requirement and process, as opposed to referring to blanket statements such as "sustainable development is unattainable."

1.3 Aims and objectives

The goal of this study is to unpack state officials practices and the decisions and trade-offs that they make to understand the limitations and opportunities for sustainable development in practice.

To accomplish this aim, these are the objectives of the study:

- To unpack the decision-making process that officials have followed for Mshenguville Park.
- To understand the policy instruments and tools that officials have used to make decisions.
- To understand how officials respond to contestations and conflicts using specific policy instruments.

1.4 Research questions

The central research question is:

- How do JCPZ officials make trade-offs in the conflicting development process of Mshenguville Park?

To answer this general question, the following sub-questions will be applied to the case study of Mshenguville Park development:

- Which decisions were made by officials in the development process of Mshenguville?
- What policy instruments do officials use to make their decisions?
- How has the co-ordination and organizational framework influenced officials decision-making terrain ?

1.5 Hypothesis

Difficulties faced by officials in achieving sustainable parks are multi-faceted. I have endeavoured to map the fundamental problems in the form of a diagram (see Figure 1). Environmental bias and institutional reform and administration constitute the key problems, while the others form part of the problem and will also be explored in the study. This section unpacks each thread as predicted in the study.

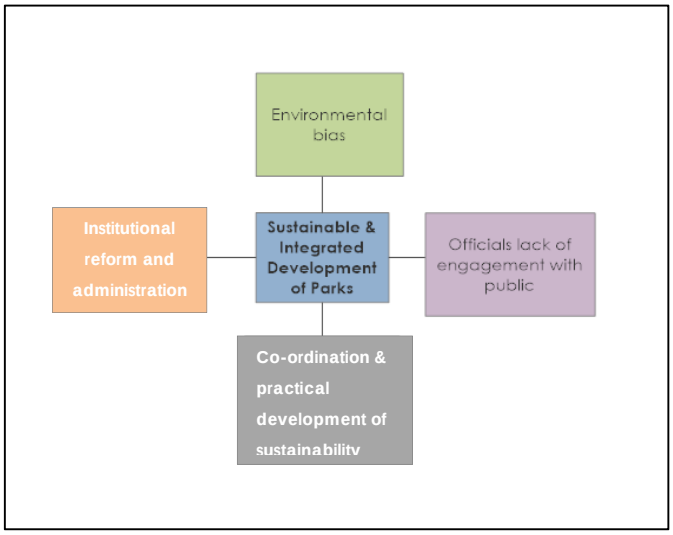


Figure 1: Key problems addressed by the research

1.5.1 Environmental/ professional bias

The consistent problem that I point out throughout this research is that park development tends to be environmentally biased, especially with sensitive ecological features such as wetlands. This bias is a nominally accepted practice. Campbell (1996) posits that sustainable development comprises of a triangle of conflicting values and that the planner is located in the centre of the hurricane trying to harmonize and reconcile these various land uses. He highlights that due to certain limitations and constraints the planner often falls short of achieving the balance.

"In an ideal world, planners would strive to achieve a balance of all three goals. In practice, however, professional and fiscal constraints drastically limit the leeway of most planners. Serving the broader public interest by holistically harmonizing growth, preservation, and equality remains the ideal; the reality of practice restricts planners to serving the narrower interests of their clients, that is, authorities and bureaucracies" (Marcuse 1976 cited by Campbell, 1996, p. 297).

"In the end, planners usually represent one particular goal [for] planning perhaps for increased property tax revenues, or more open space preservation, or better housing for the poor while neglecting the other two" (Campbell, 1996, p. 297).

In the case of parks, we can expect that there is a tendency to be more considerate of open space preservation, than other social or economic considerations.

1.5.2 Institutional reforms and administration

Reforms that have been introduced within state organizations. Connor et al. (2004) as initiated by the principles of New Public Management has influenced the attainment of sustainability. Local authorities have been amalgamated in fulfillment of efficiency and the introduction of business based administrative practices has in a sense affected the manner in which officials practice. Officials have been re-badged as CEOs' and managers, this has all influenced the work culture in local councils (Connor and Dovers, 2004). The reformation process includes the separation of offices in order to be more productive.Conner et al. (2004, p. 115) explains how this has affects the institutionalization of sustainability.

"So it seems that the dual emphases of the reforms-efficient administration and integrated effects-based resource management have to some extent brought about a separation of urban design and economic development planning from resource management".

The delegation of project tasks to separate entities and outsourcing of individual components of a project make the process of integrated development difficult; furthermore, officials find it challenging to work across borders of specialization (Connor and Dovers, 2004).

Another challenge accompanying the institutional reforms is the monitoring and evaluation (M & E) frameworks that have been instituted in fulfillment of efficiency. Municipal officials are increasingly concerned with efficiency and KPI's monitoring and evaluation systems (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). They are often driven by a norm to achieve criteria outlined in the score cards as they face punitive measures for falling short of these. The pursuit of sustainable development may conflict with the New Public Management agenda since sustainability is premised on an integrated approach.

While this is the main thread, officials also have a form of agency and individuality which they express in their decision-making. I discuss this in the next thread.

1.5.3 Officials lack engagement with public

One of the critiques for sustainable development is that it does not consider governance and politics as a crucial factor determining the sustainability of urban developments (Pieterse, 2004). The political dimension that Pieterse (2004) makes reference of includes democratization and high level of civil participation (Allen, 2001). Furthermore Manor (2004) points out that if local government is dependent on the national government for resources, then it will struggle to be responsive to the local needs. Pieterse (2004, p. 5) puts it this way;

> "If local governments act unilaterally, or isolate themselves from the voice and actions of the organizations that represent slum dwellers, pavement dwellers, street traders, orphaned children, religious orders and so on, they are unlikely to recognize or understand the innovations that can only come from the effort and ownership of citizens themselves" (Pieterse, 2004, p. 5).

Therefore a lack of purposeful engagement between the officials and the citizens might inhibit the sustainability of parks. Citizen participation unlocks the possibility of parks that are diversified and rich in history and gives parks a sense of ownership. This is not to say that citizen's views are always right. However engagements should allow for consensus and compromise.

1.5.4 Co-ordination/ practical development of sustainability within institutions

According to Connor and Dovers (2004) the practical development of sustainability still lacks within institutions. Sustainable development has been adopted in the constitution and in a number of policy documents in South Africa such as the Growth Development Strategy. However, its practical implementation and appropriate tools/ instruments guiding development are under much scrutiny. Some policy instruments have been developed to initiate sustainability, for example, the EIA. It has been criticized as a project orientated approach as opposed to a strategic policy approach; with a tendency to focus on mainly the environmental components of development (Rossouw and Wiseman, 2004a). Sustainable development without a clear incentive on how it will be achieved is lip service. Sustainable development requires a high level ofintegration which is not easy to achieve.

For example this case study is located in local government; in fact, JCPZ is a municipal entity. The park serves a dual function; a socio-economic role as a park and an environmental purpose as a wetland. As a park, it is managed by local government and as an environmental, ecological service concurrently by provincial and national spheres of government. To have an integrated and sustainable park, a high level of integration is required by these departments as espoused in the Constitution of South Africa. The Constitution views the spheres of government as interrelated. Intergovernementalism is enshrined in our Constitution; Section 41 (1) of the Constitution states that South Africa's spheres of government are premised on the principles of co-operative government and intergovernmental relations, which is unlike the conventional 3 tier system in which the local government is obligated to the provincial government and so forth (van Wyk., 2012). Therefore co-ordination amongst various spheres and departments (or the lack thereof) could be an issue affecting decision-making.

The study postulates that these threads could make up the components of the sustainability puzzle that riddles officials' decision-making.

1.6 Context

I have chosen a particular site, Mshenguville Park (see figure 2 below).

This particular case is interesting because of it being a contested development whereby some of the JCPZ officials are advocating for an eco-park, and some of the community members are advocating for a golf course. Furthermore there is cattle grazing on site which is the white elephant in the room (Mcetywa et al., 2015). All these elements are located in an environmentally sensitive area (wetland). Mshenguville Park was chosen due to its unique characteristics; the site displays a myriad of conflicting land uses which are social, environmental and economic in their nature. Therefore it is an interesting case to investigate JCPZ attempts to balance and negotiate these various claims in the spirit of sustainable development.

Mshenguville Park is located in Soweto, a township in the south of Johannesburg, with an estimated area of 200.03 km² and a population density of 6357 persons/km2. 34.8% of CoJ's population resides in Soweto (Statssa, 2011). Soweto is located within the Klip River catchment, which is one of the most impacted catchments in South Africa as a depository of the mining and industrial effluent from the North. The Klipspruit River is the main river which runs through Soweto into the Vaal Dam and is, therefore, an indirect source of drinking water in Gauteng.

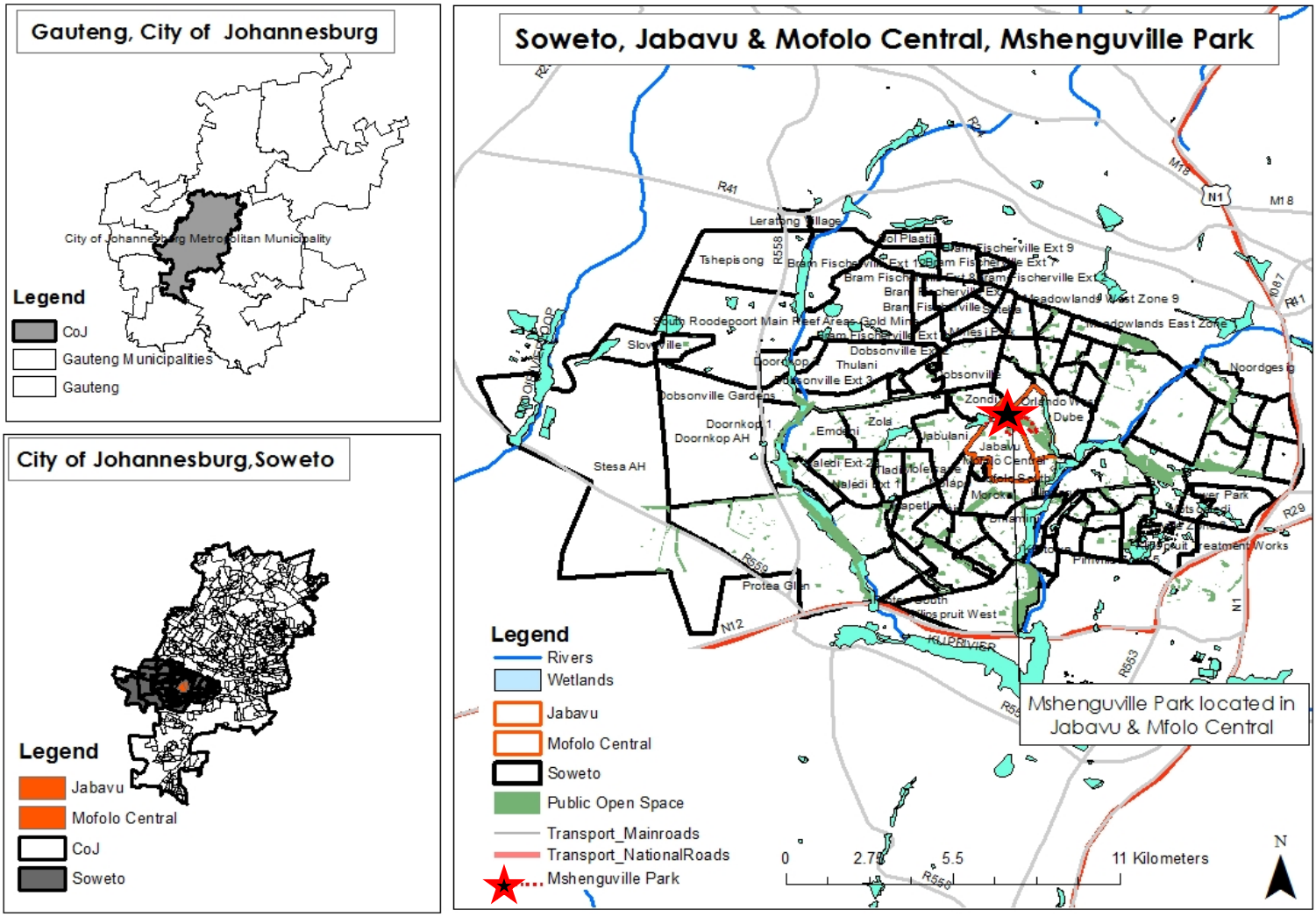


Figure 2: Site location within Gauteng and CoJ
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

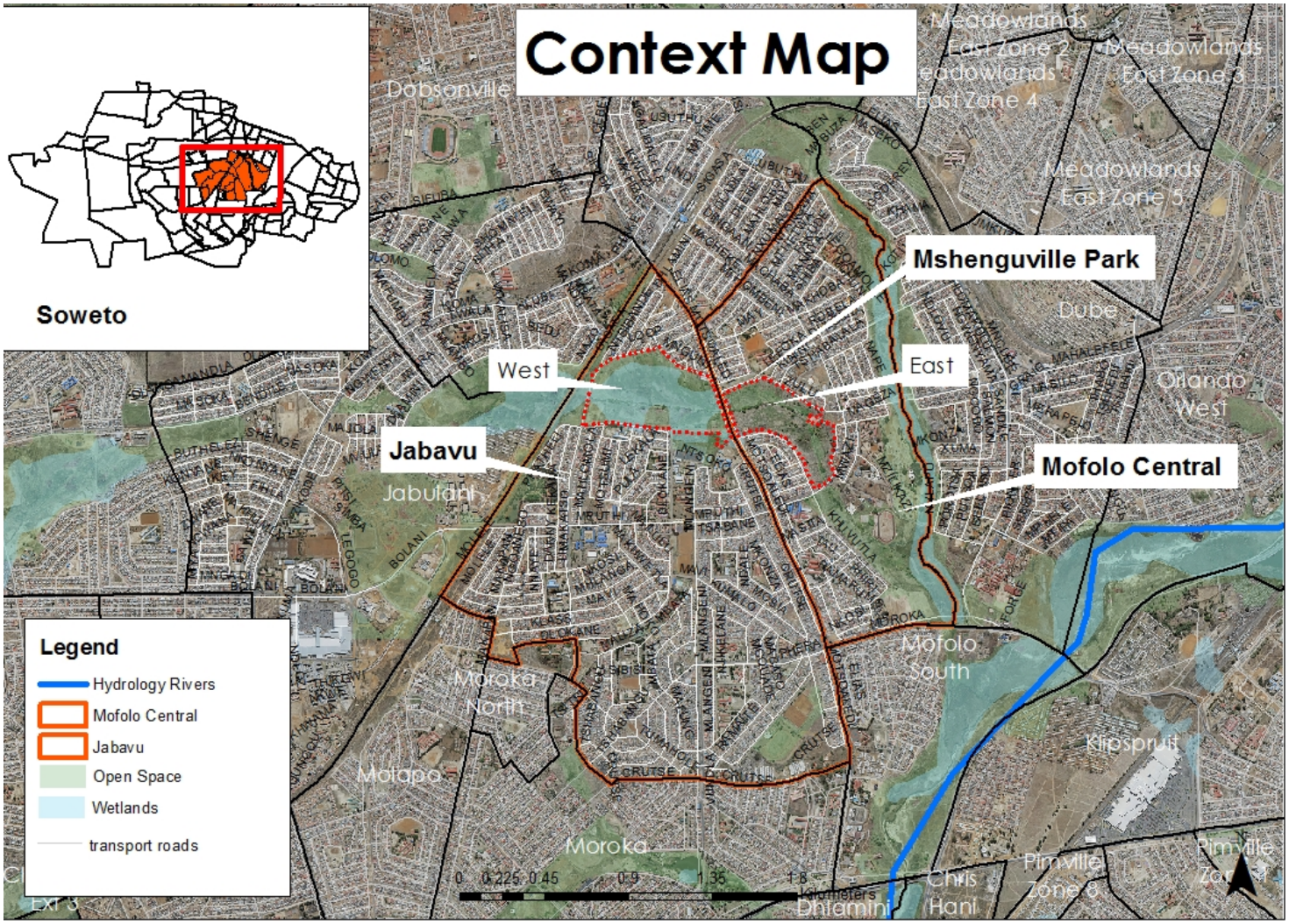


Figure 3: Context map of Mshenguville Park
Author: (Mkhomazi 2016)

The backbone of open space in Soweto is linked to the urban wetlands which are a natural drainage for the Klip River (See Figure 3 above). The case study (Park) is also located adjacent to a wetland. Mshenguville Park spans the areas of Jabavu and Mofolo Central which are intercepted by a major road- Elias Motsoaledi which is one of the major roads leading to Johannesburg. The site is therefore also linked to important public transport systems such as taxis and Rea Vaya Bus stops and the Ikwezi Train Station which is a walk away from the site (CoJ, n.d.). The road crosses the site, thus

divided the open space into two. Currently, development is taking place in the east part of the site.

Mshenguville is part of the 2010 Greening Soweto initiative (JCPZ, 2012). The greening initiative includes the rehabilitation of the Klip River/ Klipspruit (KK project); this involves the development of a framework of parks adjacent to the river system as well as tree planting. Mshenguville is currently undergoing development for an eco-park and development has been interrupted by discontent community members who are opposed to the development of an eco-park. The study focuses on the officials' practices, therefore, the main stakeholders involved in this study and the development process of Mshenguville namely: Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ), Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (GDARD) and City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Environmental Infrastructure Services Department (EISD). Other affected and interested parties include a local Community Forum, linked with a Golfers Association and Induna's (who own cattle that graze on the site). I will not be interviewing the community forum and Indunas due to lack of time. However I will use an existing study which has consulted the community forum and golfers (Mcetywa et al., 2015).

1.7 Delineations and limitations

1.7.1 The study site

I have limited my study to urban wetlands, I have considered specifically wetlands located in economically and spatially marginalized areas such as townships. While townships officially refer to areas surrounding the inner cities, the term has very apparent connotations in South Africa (which I unpack in much more detail in the case study) (Jürgens et al., 2013). This includes the manner in which parks are used and appropriated (Bogatsu, 2013; Girling and Helphand, 1996).

I have limited my study site to a portion of the Klipspruit Valley bottom wetland which is located between Jabavu and Mofolo Central (Figure 3). This section of the wetland does not represent the entire wetland system. The site has already been delineated as a park, and I have simply considered Mshenguville Park as a case study. Furthermore,

Ehrenfeld in his study of urban wetlands posits that urban wetlands are predominantly isolated systems and are often reconfigured by the urban form i.e. roads (Ehrenfeld, 2000); therefore it often difficult to source an urban wetland which presents a linear and uninterrupted system.

1.7.2 State officials

I have limited my study to focus on local government officials, specifically JCPZ as a Municipal Entity (M. E) in CoJ. I have been conscious that these officials do not operate in a vacuum, I have therefore considered other departments and officials which have been directly involved in the development process of Mshenguville. Local government officials are the reference point due to their assigned functional role which is "municipal planning". According to the Spatial Planning Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) 16 of 2013, this includes land use schemes i.e. zoning and the control and regulation of the use of land (South Africa, 2013). Therefore local government is predominantly in charge of the development process of Mshenguville. Furthermore, local government is an exciting area of study due to their young democracy. Local government as a co- equal sphere in government is a recent phenomenon. The amendment to the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) in 1996, granted local government more autonomy highlighting local government as a "co-equal sphere of government" (Harrison et al., 2008). The issue of autonomy and intergovernmental relations are influential in the decisions made by JCPZ officials regarding the development of Mshenguville.

In studying how officials make decisions, I have not interviewed the user's group – this includes the golfers and urban farmers. They could have given me a different story of state decisions and processes and could have helped triangulate/take a distance against officials own discourses. Mainly due to time, however, I have augmented this limitation using secondary sources i.e. literature compiled by the PSUG research cohort who have interviewed user groups of parks withing Johannesburg and specifically Soweto.

1.8 Chapter overview

Unfolding this narrative, the chapters will be outlined in this manner:

Chapter One: I have introduced the study by reviewing mainly the background , the aim of the study and outlying the structure of the study.

Chapter Two: I have located my study within the current scholarships and debates regarding the following key literature threads: sustainable development, park management, and officials' practices. This section will then provide a lens in which I will approach the study.

Chapter Three: Once I have located my study and the approach, I will unpack the various methods that I will employ in investigating the trade-offs that officials made in the development process of Mshenguville. I will discuss the advantages and limitations of using this methodology and why the methodology is appropriate for this study.

Chapter Four: After locating my study within the existing body of literature, I will go on further to contextualize the case of Mshenguville Park and Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo as an institution. I will highlight its specific unique traits and motivate why it is a relevant case for this study.

Chapter Five: Is a review of the decision-making terrain whereby I uncover what I call the "palimpsest". Mshenguville is made up of layers of decisions that were dormant and keep resurfacing in the heat of contestation. Therefore this section is an attempt to draw up a chronology of events and decisions that were made by JCPZ officials for the Mshenguville Park. This chapter sets the stage for identifying the trade-offs made.

Chapter Six: Is a synthesis of the findings, whereby I conclude whether the development was sustainable or not. I outline some of the compromises that were made as well as the limitations and the opportunities presented in the case. I discuss some of the lessons learned that could be applied in a similar case in pursuit of sustainably developed parks.

Chapter 2 : Locating officials' practices in the sustainable development of parks in theory

Introduction

This section is a survey of key literature sources pertaining to my study. I have categorized the literature sources into three main threads.

The first literature thread explores the concept of sustainability and its relevance for park development. The second thread investigates the role of governance and park management in enabling sustainability and the third literature thread examines the officials' practices and the tools and instruments they use in the process of decision-making (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Key literature threads
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

2.1 Locating sustainable parks in theory

The first section of this literature review explores the concept of sustainable development. The first enquiry questions what sustainability is and whether or not this concept (sustainability) is relevant for park development.; but also whether it can be used as a lens for analyzing officials practices?

2.1.1 Terminology

I will start off by outlining the key terms. There is some confusion regarding terminology between: "sustainable", "sustainability" and "sustainable development" (Waas et al., 2011). Often the terms are used interchangeably.

Sustainable can be used on its own as an adjective. Its primary meaning is used to describe the ability to endure or continue to work or survive, for example sustainable agriculture alludes to agriculture that has the ability to continue or endure(du Plessis and Landman, 2002; Weakley, 2014).

Sustainability is generally used synonymously with sustainable development, though it has been increasingly synonymous with environmental sustainability. Sustainability however is to be considered in conjunction with development, referring to economic growth that considers environmental limits (du Plessis and Landman, 2002; Waas et al., 2011). This is the concept that has been popularized by the Brundtland Commission. Sustainable development is seen as the process, whereas sustainability is viewed as the pursuit or goal (du Plessis and Landman, 2002). du Plessis et al. (2002, p. 9) reiterates this sentiment in this statement below;

"sustainable development is not merely development that can be sustained, but rather the kind of development we need to pursue in order to achieve the state of sustainability".

Therefore sustainability is reckoned as the horizon and sustainable development as the path or journey leading to a state of sustainability. The distinction between sustainability and sustainable development is however not conclusive or upheld generally amongst scholars (Waas et al., 2011). Therefore for the purposes of this study I will use sustainability and sustainable development interchangeably.

2.1.2 Historical development of sustainable development

The need to develop sustainably dates back thousands of years ago, humans have always been concerned with balancing the environmental limits within their needs for resources (Waas et al., 2011). The concept was first recorded in 1713 by Hannss Carl von Carlowitz in his publication on sustainable forestry (Waas et al., 2011). Since 1972 a number of conferences have been held around the globe rallying countries to come on board and to commit to the goal of advancing "sustainable development".

Some of the many conferences include the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED; 1992) held in Rio de Janeiro whereby various countries committed to Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) to eradicate extreme poverty and to meet the needs of the poor (Waas et al., 2011).

The notion of sustainable development was mainly popularized by the 1987 Brundtland Commission formally known as the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). The Commision was headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, a former prime minister of Norway. The Comission developed the broad concept of sustainable development which she delivered during the WCED in 1987. The concept of sustainable development is a response to the growing environmental crisis that demanded attention in the 19th century. The international community conceded that the current development trajectory cannot be maintained by the current limited ecological resources and that a sustainable approach for development needs to be realized.

A conference was held in Johannesburg known as The United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002. This was a follow up conference in ensuring that the Millennium Development Goals is implemented as targeted for 2015 and to introduce other policy measures as well to ensure this is met. The last major conference held was in 2012 the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (ibid.)

The conferences have championed the concept from merely being an alternative form of development to a binding policy requirement for a number of countries. The 1992 Rio declaration and the 2000 Earth Charter frame some of the development principles that countries have agreed on as a basis for their development and economic growth path, the charter has 4800 signatories.

Therefore it is evident that the concept of sustainable development is is an emerging concept that has existed before the Brundtland Comission. The conferences have been an effective means of creating awareness and soliciting a form of commitment from a number of countries and political bodies. South Africa is one of the countries that has committed to the Millenium Development Goals (MDG's) (Brundtland, 1987). Therefore it is a relevant and emerging theme in guiding development and forming policies.

2.1.3 Definitions for sustainable development

As stated earlier the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) are known for popularizing the concept. Their definition of sustainable development is the most well-known as published in the renowned report "Our common future" (Brundtland, 1987) and it reads as follows;

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland, 1987, p. 43).

This definition of sustainable development is based upon two main principles, that of "needs" and "limitations" (Brundtland, 1987; Waas et al., 2011).

Firstly regarding needs sustainable development recognizes that the poor are forced to rely heavily on ecological resources due to their needs not being met (Brundtland, 1987). Therefore meeting needs relates to poverty eradication and the over-exploitation of ecological resources. The second relates to limiting the manner in which ecological resources are being used by current technological systems and social organizations in the pursuit of economic development (Brundtland, 1987). The WCED does consider social equity; however, in reality, the focus of sustainable development in this context has been mainly environmental (Opp and Saunders, 2013; Waas et al., 2011). The Commission priority was addressing the prejudiced economic development trajectory and highlighting the importance of the environment and its scarce resources as a key factor in the development process (Brundtland, 1987). A number of these alternative definitions of sustainable development, are based on similar principles of needs and limitations. For example, the definitions by The World Conservation Union (IUCN) et al. (1991) defines it as follows;

"Improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting eco-systems" (Cited by Ferdig, 2007, p. 9)

Another definition by Friends of the Earth Scotland (FOES) reads as follows;

"Sustainability encompasses the simple principle of taking from the earth only what it can provide indefinitely, thus leaving future generations no less than we have access to ourselves"(cited by Ferdig, 2007, p. 9).

There has been quite some critique regarding the definition of sustainability; it is seen as vague and inconclusive for decision-making (Pieterse, 2004). For example, it is hard to

measure the needs of today against that of tomorrow. This leaves much room for interpretation how much do we limit today and ensure that there is still some environmental resources for future generations. The sustainability definition places emphasis on limiting the use of environmental resources and a shying away from the reality that some people, especially in poverty stricken areas, are forced to rely on the natural resources which are esteemed as environmentally sensitive or valuable.

For example in the case of wetlands, they are often used as areas for squatting, grazing and agriculture due to socio-economic constraints. How do you impose these limits in a manner that will ensure that their basic needs are met? This discourse is one that is on-going, it is formally referred to in academia as the green and brown agenda.

2.1.4 The Green vs. the Brown Agenda

Du Plessis and Landman (2002, p. 25) categorize sustainability into two main agendas namely the green and brown. The green agenda is the emphasis on reducing the impact of the city on natural resources and biodiversity whilst the brown agenda emphasizes the need to reduce health risks associated with poor sanitation, poor infrastructure and overcrowding. The green agenda is more pressing in affluent countries and is the basis for much of the early sustainability scholarship. This sentiment is reiterated in the UN-Habitat Report;

> "The goal of sustainable urban development is to reduce the impact of consumption of natural systems (global, regional and local) by the city, thus keeping within natural limits, while simultaneously enabling human systems to be optimized for improving the quality of urban life"
> (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 115)

This statement suggests that environmental limits are prioritized above the needs of the current generations. The green agenda is often preoccupied with limiting the anthropogenic effects on natural resources.

Conversely The brown agenda is based on reducing health risks associated with poor sanitation, lack of infrastructure and housing which lead to environmental degradation, for example in this case squatting in a wetland. The brown agenda is more cognizant of the prevalence of poverty and lack of basic resources as a cause of environmental degradation. The brown agenda calls for a different stance on sustainability beyond

the green umbrella which considers the social conditions that constrain individuals to "invade the environment".

Tibaijuka (2006) reiterates the sentiment and call for a brown agenda more fully in the following statement;

> "Unfortunately for these one billion slum dwellers, issues such as global warming and biodiversity are distant notions, far removed from their daily struggles and priorities. Their plight mirrors the huge chasm between rich and poor, between those who benefit from globalization and those who are marginalized by it" (Tibaijuka, 2006, p. 3).

I think that both agendas are relevant and should be thought of as symbiotic processes. Providing the necessary infrastructure i.e. housing and sanitation limit the need for squatting in environmental areas such as wetlands. However, the distinction is necessary to distinguish priorities in higher income areas versus low-income areas. The brown agenda seems more relevant for my case study given the conditions that characterize my site i.e. urban wetlands being occupied by informal settlers and used by cattle grazers. The goal of sustainability in my case needs to transcend environmental limits and to provide solutions to the injustices that society faces through park developments.

2.1.5 Just Sustainability

Considering the relevance of the brown agenda I have examined the definition of Just Sustainability as a possibly more relevant definition for my study. This concept is relatively new and has emerged from the notion of environmental justice which was developed in the 1980s around the same time as the WCED definition of sustainability. I will briefly outline environmental justice to establish a basis for Just Sustainability.

Environmental Justice originated in the US and was later adopted in the UK. The concept was developed in 1989 under the patronage of grassroots organizations such as the United Church of Christ. They conducted a study in 1989 which pointed out that the communities of colour were predisposed to risks from commercial toxic wastes as opposed to the white middle class; this then led to the term " environmental racism." Environmental Justice was soon adopted in the UK after realizing that marginalized groups in the UK are subject to similar plights such as exposure to pollution, fuel poverty, and transport inequality. Some environmental justice organizations such as Black

Environment Network (BEN) and Friends of the Environment Scotland (FoES) have emerged in response to the injustice.

Environmental Justice is defined by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as follows:

"Environmental justice is based on the principle that all people have a right to be protected from environmental pollution and to live in and enjoy a clean and healthful environment. Environmental justice is the equal protection and meaningful involvement of all people with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies and the equitable distribution of environmental benefits" (Commonwealth of Massachusetts 2002 cited by Agyeman, 2004, p. 156).

Essentially at the core of this movement is that environmental problems are also a result of social exclusion, as opposed to anthropogenic destructive tendencies. Therefore socio-economic issues should be strictly considered in the management of the environment. Just Sustainability is thus premised on the notion of inclusion and integration in the use and distribution of environmental resources. Agyeman et al. (2004), a well-known proponent of the just sustainability movement defines Just Sustainability as follows;

'the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, now and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, whilst living within the limits of supporting ecosystems' (Agyeman, 2004, p. 5).

This definition as opposed to the Brundtland definition is holistic and explicitly upholds equity and justice as weighty factors of development. The definition also supports quality of life, with a focus on current and future generations, it employs justice and equity in the allocation of resources, and last but not least emphasises living within ecological limits (Agyeman, 2004).

"Sustainability [...] cannot be simply a 'green,' or 'environmental' concern, important though 'environmental' aspects of sustainability are. A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems"(Agyeman, 2004, p. 157).

Therefore just sustainability does not negate the importance of the environment. However, it advocates for socio- economic issues which are often negated. Jacobs (1999) refers to it as the 'the egalitarian conception' of sustainability (cited by Agyeman, 2004). Environmental justice focuses on protection from environmental pollution as well as involvement and equal distribution of environmental resources.

Just sustainability does not differ widely from environmental justice, its values (mainly justice and equity) stem from this movement. Just sustainability does not only focus on protection from environmental pollution but also places much emphasis on developments that improve the residents' quality of life. Just sustainability is cognisant of the fact that many of the environmental problems are as a result of social exclusion therefore espouses the inclusion of residents needs and desires in the development plan.

As stated earlier, my study site is marked by an insuperable gulf between the affluent north and the marginalised south. The site is characterized by environmental pollution i.e. mine dumping and mining effluent being discarded in the Kaalspruit. Many of the problems on site can be attributed to social exclusion, people are forced to squat in wetllands areas due to lack of housing and to resort to informal means of income i.e. cattle grazing on wetland site. Therefore the Just Sustainability definition is relevant as a lens for analyzing officials' practices.

2.1.6 Sustainable development models and critiques

Models have been developed as tools and measures for implementing the policy of sustainability into policy-making decisions. As there are varying definitions of sustainability, the same goes for the models. This section is a consideration of relevant models for analyzing the trade-offs that officials make between conflicting land uses that take place on site.

The most commonly used model refers to sustainability being made up of three pillars namely; social, environment and economic (Campbell, 1996; du Plessis and Landman, 2002; Opp and Saunders, 2013; Waas et al., 2011, 2011). The model is usually depicted as an equilateral triangle or as three overlapping spheres. Each angle or circle represents one of the three pillars. The model is also referred to as the 3p's which stands for "people-planet-profit" (Waas et al., 2011, p. 1651). This model of development is not only premised on economic prosperity but seeks to balance the environmental and social attributes of society as the main aspects of development. This development model has been adopted in South Africa's policy frameworks i.e. the 1996 Constitution

and 2013 SPLUMA (Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act) for guiding development.



Figure 5: Showing the three-pillar approach model for sustainable development
Source: (Feris, 2010, p. 85)

The value of this model is that it seeks to balance the various attributes of development; for example, economics should not dominate ecological integrity or social equity. The sustainability literature has primarily focused on balancing economic growth within environmental limits (Brundtland, 1987) . Social and equity issues concerning sustainability have been largely negated in the development of cities (ibid.). One could argue that this is not the case since social equity concerns have been considered through environmental justice. In the instance of park developments, my research argues that parks developments are mainly focused on the environment. Some authors agree that the empirical sustainability research has focused on environmental sustainability despite the literary emphasis on three interrelated pillars (Opp and Saunders, 2013).

"In fact, little empirical evidence or analysis exists that examines the efforts of American cities in pursuing all three dimensions of sustainability." (Opp and Saunders, 2013, p. 679).

The sustainability model has grown in popularity in that it has emerged as a quasi-definition for sustainability

For example, the World Business Council on Sustainable Development which dates back to the Rio summit in 1992 defines sustainability as:

"...the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality, and social equity. Companies aiming for sustainability need to perform not against a single, financial bottom line but against the triple bottom line "(Cited by Ferdig, 2007, p. 9) .

Other organizations which define sustainability according to the triple bottom line include Sustainable Seattle (SS) and the Friends of the Environment (FoES).

Despite the popularity and general acceptance of the triple bottom line amongst scholars, the model has also been critiqued. Therefore I would like to review the limitations of this model and its relevance for policy- making as a practical tool for assessing development.

Pieterse (2011) argues that sustainability is a limited concept for decisive policy making. He claims that; "balancing the social, economic and environmental objectives of a dynamic city are unachievable." He stresses that cities are complex systems and that to try and such a simple model could be counter productive in shaping sustainable cities. Secondly, Pieterse (2011, p. 2) argues that sustainable development assumes that "all decisions can be resolved through rational democratic deliberation." He, therefore, suggests a political approach to sustainability which considers local actors and vested interests as deciding factors in decision-making.

However despite these incongruities I like Campbell (1996) still upholds sustainable development as a credible method in framing decision-making. It provides a long-term planning goal and the balance between socio-economic and environmental ideals. He advises planners to engage the current limitations of sustainable development then "throwing out the baby with the bathwater".

In response to many of the critiques, the institutional pillar has emerged as a fourth pillar amongst the three components; it is commonly referred to as the "democracy" and "governance" pillar. This additional component emphasizes the importance of institutional change for sustainable development. The Brundtland Report "our common future" alludes to the state as the leading proponents that are accountable regarding the institutionalization of sustainable development. This new pillar has been formally incorporated into the sustainability model following the agenda 21 sessions in 1992 (Waas et al., 2011) (see Figure 6 below). The main realization is that for sustainable development to occur there needs to be a high level of co-ordination and integration between these various pillars and this needs to be purposefully enacted.

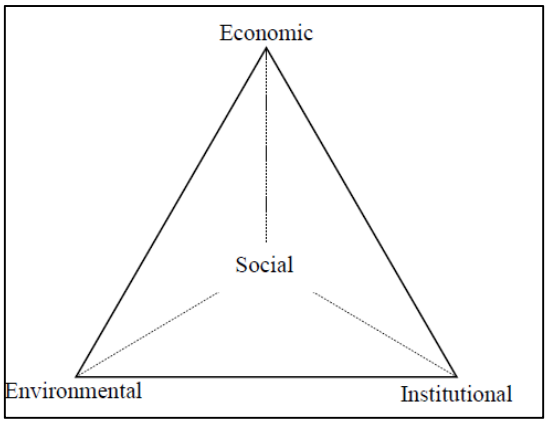


Figure 6: Four Pillar sustainability model that includes institutional
Source: (Waas et al., 2011, p. 1651)

There is an entire discourse regarding the fourth pillar of governance and what it entails in a context of sustainable development. Who is steering these pillars together? "Governance, participation, transition management, and resilience" are some of the key emerging concepts supporting the fourth pillar (Waas et al., 2011, p. 1653). The primary emphasis is based on a multi-actor participatory approach. Pieterse and Allen (2001; 2004) emphasize strong civil participation and democratization in areas of decision-making to ensure more sustainable cities.

1.1.1 Framing officials decisions using the sustainable development model

The most relevant model for understanding of sustainable development I found was by Campbell (1996). Campbell (1996) subscribes to the 4 pillar triangle which includes the institutional component in the centre. Campbell (1996) posits that planners by their substantive and procedural skills are located at the centre of these three pillars (social, economic and environment). He implies that the three components are often in conflict and it is thus the role of the planner to harmonize these various attributes of development.

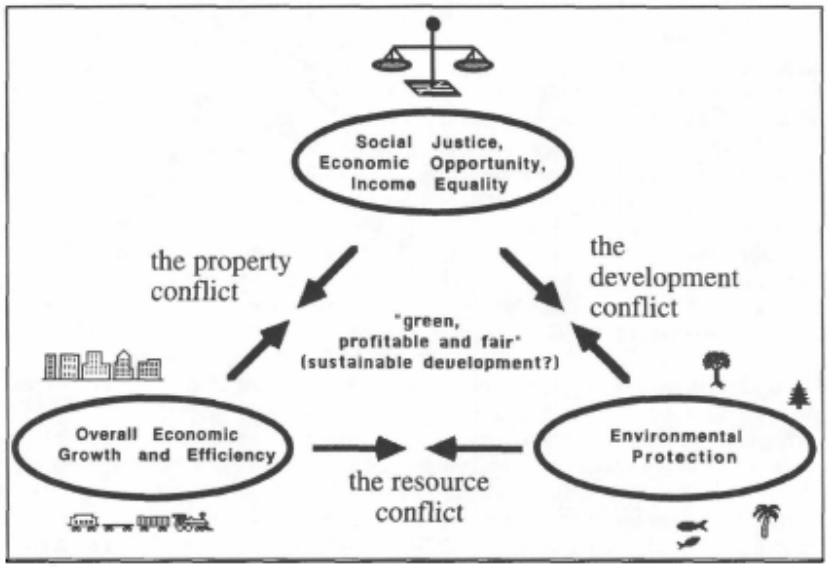


Figure 7: Triangle of conflicts for sustainability
Source: (Campbell, 1996, p. 298)

The Planner is said to be at the centre of the hurricane, harmonizing the various conflicts. He presents these conflicts in a "triangle of conflicting goals for planning" (see figure 5 above). It is interesting that Campbell (1996) views these three pillars as conflicting. This substantiates Pieterse (2011, p. 2) view that decisions are not resolved " through rational democratic deliberation". Campbell (1996) points out that the role of the planner is to reconcile these conflicting parties. He suggests a dual strategy which entails resolving conflict and institutional solutions whereby planners negotiate the conflicts. Ideally the resolution would equally include (balance) all the parties claims however the professional constraints often limit planner to one particular goal, based on either more open space preservation, increase in property tax or to improve housing for the poor, this can be referred to as a professional bias (Campbell, 1996). Campbell

(1996) presents an interesting angle for analysis, especially considering the environmental prevalence of JCPZ. Can the professional constraints of a particular institution limit the realization of sustainability.

McShane et al. (2011) points out that the approach commonly used among international organizations to achieve a positive outcome between development and conservation as the "win-win" situation. Balance in this sense refers to each party receiving an equal share or remittance, McShane (2011) states that this is the exception as opposed to the rule.

Runhaar et al. (2000) points out that officials' battle to balance the various claims of development as they struggle to measure the development claims that each stakeholder should receive. For example to what extent does one factor in environmental aspects into development without dominating the socio-economic ambitions of a development? There is no quantitative measure for this end:

"more local policy space for policy integration does not always result in more environmentally oriented urban planning (Glasbergen, 2005; Kamphorst, 2006). One reason is that urban planners struggle to answer some fundamental questions: How are relevant environmental indicators determined? Should, for instance, non-traditional environmental aspects, such as the amount of open space, also be included? *What are adequate ambition levels? To what extent is compensation between environmental and other aspects or across stakeholders acceptable or appropriate? Moreover, how can environmental ambitions be materialized in spatial plans?*"(Runhaar et al., 2009, p. 418).

While sustainability calls for a balance the ambition levels have not been explicitly stated. To what extent is a development equally (in a balanced manner) incorporated economic, environmental and social attributes? A number of authors conclude that decision-making often gets reduced to making compromises between the various stakes (du Plessis and Landman, 2002; McShane et al., 2011; Opp and Saunders, 2013). Therefore McShane (2011, p. 968) suggests making trade-offs, he defines a trade-off as follows:

"The essence of trade-off thinking is the idea that, when some things are gained, others are lost. Acknowledging trade-offs thus implies acknowledging not only the gains but also the losses – real, potential, and perceived – incurred by various choices and actions in the domains of conservation and development".

If trade-offs involves losses, why bother making a trade-off? McShane (2011) and even Forester (2011) highlight that the power of a trade-off lies in bringing conflicting parties whose intentions are a win-win to the recognition that hard decisions are being made. Forester (2011, p. 305) refers to this as " joint-fact-finding, issue framing and setting the negotiation range". This involves placing the cards on the table and revealing the limitations, in a nutshell 'this is what we have got to work with'. In the case of Mshenguville officials are working with constraints (the wetland and issues of flooding is one), officials need to be open about the constraints they have to work with and within the existing constraints strive to reach a mutually beneficial decision (Forester, 2011). McShane (Forester, 2011) states that with development and conservation issues trade-offs are the norm, hard choices need to be made which include compromises. Therefore I will be using trade-offs in understanding the decisions that officials need to make within the sustainable development framework/ model.

2.1.7 The concept of a sustainable park

Cranz and Boland (2004) state that the Brundtland (1987) definition of sustainability; " meeting the needs of the present without compromising future generations from meeting their own need" is too broad for landscape architects and park planners to be recognized in the context of parks. In response to the statement, I will review literature considering why this is the case. It is therefore imperative to enquire about the role of a park and its relevance to the concept of sustainability.

2.1.7.1 The role of a park as an escape from industrial areas and for exclusion

As a reaction to the industrialization and pollution of the 19th-century parks were formed (Cranz and Boland, 2004). Parks were seen an escape from urban life as opposed to being part of it. As a result park design did not endeavor to integrate surrounding land uses or factors into the park (Power, 2006). To understand this more closely it is important to consider the garden city movement in conjunction with the history of park development.

During the late 19th century the Garden City movement (a turn in urban planning) was developed by Ebenezer Howard, this was round about the same time as municipal

parks in the US (Akkerman, 2001). Parks and open spaces were integral to this form of township layout and had informed the spatial layout of green public spaces in South Africa. The garden city was designed as a response to crowding and pollution of the inner city which encompassed a separation of the various uses of land to curb congestion and to deal with health and sanitation issues (Akkerman, 2001). The garden city based on a concentric pattern with open spaces, public parks and six boulevards radiating from an open centre. The main idea was to create a relatively sprawled, rural like settlement, located outside a major centre that would still allow residents easy access to the main urban centre (Law. A, 2011). As indicated in Figure 8 below the areas located outside the city were connected by a major road or railway line.

Ebenezer Howard tried to create a space which sought to reduce and reconnect humans and societies with nature through its green spaces. Central Park (the first municipal park in the US) and the picturesque movement was founded on that logic; reconnecting people with nature (Cranz, 1982). This quote from its designer affirms this; "The dominant and justifying purpose of central park was conceived to be that permanently affording, in the densely populated central portion of an immense metropolis, a means to a certain kinds of refreshment OF THE MIND AND NERVES which most city dwellers need greatly need and which they are known to derive in large measure from the enjoyment of suitable scenery" (Olmsted and Kimball, 1928, p. 188).

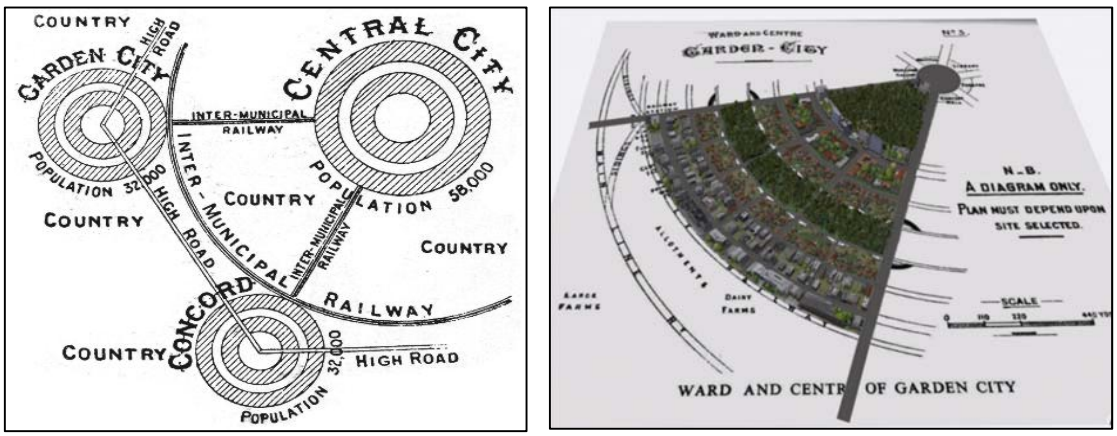


Figure 8: Garden City movement
Source: (Hartley, 2014, p. Unpaginated; Pinnock, 2013)

Fredrick Law Olmsted (The Father of Landscape Architecture) and Kimball (1928, p. 3) define the parks as a;

"A large tract of land set apart by the public for the enjoyment of rural landscape, as distinguished from a public square, a public garden, or a promenade, fit only for more urbanised pleasures."

The role of Parks as an escape from urban life as opposed to being part of it has resulted in park design that did not endeavor to integrate surrounding land uses or factors into the park (Power, 2006). The literature suggests that park design has a prevailing sole-function, so it is hard to model parks on the premise of the triple bottom line (social, economic and environment).

Interestingly Apartheid planning in South Africa was pioneered using the Garden City Model. Mshenguville Park is located in a township on the peripheral edges of the city. Townships were designed as dormitory settlements, to advance the economic agenda of the white elite. Without any substantial 'urban' elements, as witnessed by their basic services and infrastructure separated by a gulf of natural and artificial boundaries that could stretch up to 28 km's (Jürgens et al., 2013). Therefore many of the open spaces as we know them were created to separate townships from economic opportunities; they were large expanses of open land referred to as buffer zones. Buffer zones we formed by industrial districts, mines, wetlands and waste lands. These were designed to degrade the African population psychologically by separating the white suburbs from black townships and did not have much aesthetic or therapeutic qualities to them (Bogatsu, 2013). The current exclusive and unsustainable nature of parks have resulted in negative spaces causing quite some issues for the city. I discuss this in the next section.

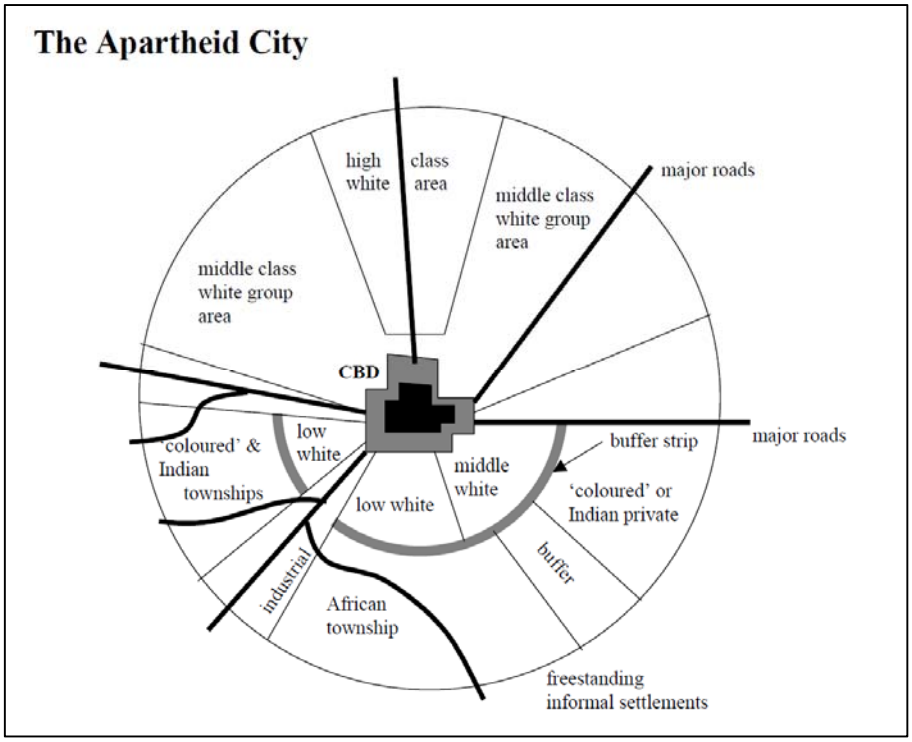


Figure 9: The Spatial form of South African cities
Source: (du Plessis and Landman, 2002, p. 3)

2.1.8 Current state of unsustainable parks

for most communities Parks are often negatively perceived as long expanses of land that are void of meaning and value. Jane Jacobs refers to this phenomenon as the "the curse of border vacuums" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 276). These are borders either characterized by parks, railway roads, and waterfronts, etc. which predominantly have a single use. These borders of vacuums are prone to blight and decay; this results in a fewer people using them due to a lack of vibrancy. Therefore parks designed for the sake of fulfilling open space requirements without integrating the surrounding neighborhoods can be a serious problem, issues such as crime and decay are synonymous with such spaces.

In Soweto (Klipspruit wetland) a study was conducted regarding the citizen's interpretation of parks. The residents were asked to identify existing? uses for the Klipspruit open space in Soweto. The respondents identified the following uses: "43 % dumping, 37 % soccer fields, 25% rape, 23 % criminal hideout, 9 %church groups, 6 % grazing and 5 % picnics" (Young, 2003, p. 27). Parks in Soweto are highly synonymous

with crime and rape (Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). Parks are also used by the homeless for informal settlement development. The parks turn into what Jacobs (1961, p. 276) refers to as 'special land'; people tend to walk around it, besides it but not through it.

There are issues with segregating parks from the urban cities entirely as mentioned this includes crime and degradation. The literature has pointed out that the separation of parks as a single entity is not functional and does not contribute to a better quality of life. Therefore it is critical that we find ways to integrate parks to the city as espoused in the concept of sustainability. However, what is sustainability and is it an appropriate concept for park development?

2.1.9 The emergence of the 'sustainable park' typology

Interestingly there is a park typology recently referred to as "the sustainable park". Cranz et al. (2004) have explored park typologies from 1950s pleasure ground to date and have categorized each park according to their specific characteristics. The latest park dating from the 1990's till present is "the sustainable park". Figure 7 below provides a summary of park development from 1850s Pleasure Ground till 1990 Sustainable Park. (Timeline of park development is covered extensively in Cranz (1982) document).

Table 1. A Comparison of the Sustainable Park to Prior Park Types after Cranz (1982).

	Pleasure Ground 1850–1900	Reform Park 1900–1930	Recreation Facility 1930–1965	Open Space System 1965–?	Sustainable Park 1990–present
Social Goal	Public health & social reform	Social reform; children's play; assimilation	Recreation service	Participation; revitalize city; stop riots	Human health; ecological health
Activities	Strolling, carriage racing, bike riding, picnics, rowing, classical music, non-didactic education	Supervised play, gymnastics, crafts, Americanization classes, dancing, plays & pageants	Active recreation: basketball, tennis, team sports, spectator sports, swimming	Psychic relief, free-form play, pop music, participatory arts	Strolling, hiking, biking, passive & active recreation, bird watching, education, stewardship
Size	Very Large, 1000+ acres	Small, city blocks	Small to medium, follow formulae	Varied, often small, irregular sites	Varied, emphasis on corridors
Relation to City	Set in contrast	Accepts urban patterns	Suburban	City is a work of art; network	Art-nature continuum; part of larger urban system; model for others
Order	Curvilinear	Rectilinear	Rectilinear	Both	Evolutionary aesthetic
Elements	Woodland & meadow, curving paths, placid water bodies, rustic structures, limited floral displays	Sandlots, playgrounds, rectilinear paths, swimming pools, field houses	Asphalt or grass play area, pools, rectilinear paths, standard play equipment	Trees, grass, shrubs, curving & rectilinear paths, water features for view, free-form play equipment	Native plants, permeable surfaces, ecological restoration green infrastructure, resource self-sufficiency

Figure 10: A timeline of park development before the sustainable park
Source: (Cranz and Boland, 2004, p. 103)

Designing parks in a manner that will require minimal maintenance as possible are at the heart of the park sustainability (Power, 2006). The key to that is improving the ecological health of the park and involving people. The goal of achieving secondary succession includes planting Native. For example "Planting decisions made at Crissy Field have produced a sustainable, self-regenerating landscape that requires establishment [of] irrigation and weeding only for the first few years and does not demand the application of polluting pesticides, herbicides, or fertilizers" (Cranz and Boland, 2004, p. 108). The eco-park in Mshenguvile could also be based similar principles; using indigenous plants, keeping surfaced pathways to a minimum, using renewable energy solutions and harvesting rainwater for irrigation (Stoffberg et al., 2005).

"Sustainable design practices that reduce resource use and maintenance are increasingly employed in Sustainable Parks" (Cranz and Boland, 2004, p. 108).

There are quite some parks that have emerged based on these principles, and in my opinion, there is a great emphasis on environmental sustainability (which is commendable). However, a negation of the principles of equality and social aspects of the park are also quite detrimental. The sustainable park has focused on reducing maintenance cost through the use of ecological principles but has vaguely responded to the issues that have been synonymous with parks, i.e., crime, dumping, and lack of park management. Which leaves one wondering, what the difference is between the sustainable park and the ecologically centred pleasure ground?

Power's (2006) argues that what differentiates an eco-park (sustainable park) from the other parks is the inclusion of social and cultural attributes that happen beyond the park. Powers (2006) assertions are synonymous with Jacobs' (1961) response to the current state of parks which is; the integration of parks with surrounding uses and activities to prevent single use which results in blight and decay. Jacobs suggests that this should take place on the edges as this invites users to space (Jacobs, 1961).

"Park planning cannot possibly stop at the edges of parks. The park system is thus the spearhead of comprehensive urban planning " (Louis Mumford, 1938 cited by Power, 2006, p. 13).

Power (2004) posits that eco-parks are inclusive of social aspects. He has postulated through a case study of 2 flagship parks Xochimilco Ecological Park in Mexico and Crissy Field Ecological Park in California. He conditions that eco-parks are inclusive of societal and cultural nuances through various forms of participation such as; rehabilitation and park programmes which are "indicators of a strong and sustainable cultural dynamic" (Cranz and Boland, 2004; Power, 2006, p. 27). For example, the rehabilitation process for Xochimilco considers the ecology that is endemic to the water body as well as the historical use of the site for agriculture by the Aztecs. The rehabilitation programme has incorporated the reactivation of the traditional hydro-agricultural system of chinampas[1]. Furthermore, the design has considered the local architecture and landscape in the intervention in the design of surrounding facility

[1] "Chinampa, also called floating garden, small, stationary, artificial island built on a freshwater lake for agricultural purposes. Chinampan was the ancient name for the southwestern region of the Valley of Mexico, the region of Xochimilco, and it was there that the technique was—and is still—most widely used"(Britanica Encyclopedia, 2016).

buildings and landscape designs. One can argue that it is an integration of history and (possibly existing) cultural meanings – not necessarily current uses and socio-economic contexts.

2.2 Governance and the three pillars of development

This section examines governance as the fourth integral component of park sustainability. Governance is at the centre of the triangle reconciling the various conflicts of development in an institutionally appropriate manner (Campbell, 1996). In this section, I will enquire firstly, what government means and whether management is an appropriate term for eco-parks. Do eco-parks (sustainable park) have a design and management component considering that the primary pursuit of sustainable parks is to eliminate maintenance by using ecological principles. Lastly, I would like to explore park management and the influence of NPM principles on officials' practices.

2.2.1 The role of governance and the fourth pillar

The notion of governance as the fourth pillar of sustainability has been stressed as integral for the realization of sustainability (Brundtland, 1987; Pieterse, 2011; Waas et al., 2011). However, the concept of governance itself is complicated, and its meaning keeps changing. Firstly it is imperative to ascertain what is implied by governance and in the context of parks can one use management interchangeably?

Governance is a widely used term however it lacks a precise definition (Fukuyama, 2013). Fukuyama (2013, p. 350) defines governance as " a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not." Fukuyama's (2013) definition is quite centralized and conforms to the traditional forms of government whereby the state is the sole proprietor for the public's goods and services. The role of government as the sole provider and policy implementer has been somewhat reduced. "The conventional formats for governing involving hierarchy, authority, command and control and uniformity were once effective mechanisms, but increasingly have been challenged on some grounds" (Peters, 2011, p. 5). The government / the state is seen as unable to provide for all the public's needs and requires the help of third party actors such as private companies in service delivery (Salamon and Elliott, 2002). Movements such as the New Public

Management (NPM) have influenced the move away from traditional forms of governance whereby the government is recommended to 'steer and not to row.' This Implies that government can make the policy, however, needs to introduce other actors including private businesses and citizens in the implementation phase (Peters, 2011). The involvement of other third party members is referred to as 'governance' and the state as the 'government.' Therefore governance and the government are seen as two distinct concepts which are nevertheless interrelated.

Contemporary governance is referred to as the emerging literature that unpacks the transition from traditional forms of governance, though third party governance has always been evident (Salamon and Elliott, 2002). Contemporary governance acknowledges that it is collaborative in nature and that the state cannot be held entirely accountable for all issues in the public domain (Salamon and Elliott, 2002).

The transition from traditional forms of governance has unveiled some problems. Restructuring dynamics such as the NMP (New Public Management) has steered the focus of government to efficiency and service delivery as key goals. However, this form of government has also been criticized and has proved a failure in improving the role of the state. De Alcántara (1998) highlights how the notion of governance has been abused by international financial institutions " to roll back the state- to reduce its role in the economic management and social welfare" (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998, p. 106). The minimal function of the state is referred to as good governance, in order to further neoliberal ideals (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). " it became abundantly clear that no economic project was likely to succeed unless minimum conditions of political legitimacy, social order and institutional efficiency were met"(Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998, p. 106).

The dynamics in government structures has affected the planner and planning. Newman (2001) refers to the aftermath as the "governance paradox" (cited by Jupp and Inch, 2012, p. 505). On the one side, there is pressure to meet central management targets and Key Performance Indexes (KPI's). KPI is a monitoring and evaluation system that serves to indicate whether the company is meeting its intended objectives. The purpose of the NPM movement, which has crept into government is "running government like a business," therefore it is highly profit driven as opposed to government being welfare and people-centered (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). On the

other hand, there is pressure on officials to ensure that the voice of the public is heard and their decisions are being considered. This antithesis is synonymous with the general debate in planning regarding the public and the private interest (Jupp and Inch, 2012). The concept of new governance is relevant in this case seeing that Park development is governed by the state which has also adopted the NPM and as local government is liable to the public. Therefore the "governance paradox" is a useful lens for unpacking the motivations behind decision-making. It is enlightening to examine the influence of neoliberal ideals in the restructuring of government, and I wonder how this agenda has affected park developments. The concept of governance in the context of parks still seems too broad therefore I would like to briefly juxtapose the idea of management and governance, to find the relevant term.

The World Bank (2007) states that these concepts are different yet interrelated. The government has a strategic role, determines the vision, goals, risks of the organization whereas management is concerned with the operation and day to day tasks of the organization (IEG-World Bank, 2007). The government is concerned with what whereas management is concerned with how (IEG-World Bank, 2007).

I agree with the notion that governance influences management and the reverse is true. Contemporary governance has influenced management vehemently seen with the advent of New Public Management. These concepts are both useful. However, the distinction between the two is very hard to apply in the context of park development. Park developments include the process of design which is riddled with strategic decisions (i.e. frameworks) and management issues concerning implementation, bill of quantities and so forth. Therefore, in this case, COJ (local government) and GDARD (provincial government) are responsible for the strategic decisions concerning the design, EIA's and park development frameworks. JCPZ as the City's implementing and maintenance hand is categorized as the management and procedural component of this development.

The management and governance debate should be considered as an institutional whole responsible for steering decision-making; it is hard to distinguish between management and governance. While JCPZ is responsible for management decisions, it can make strategic decisions. Decisions made at a strategic level and the

management level both influence the decision-making terrain. Therefore in the practice of decision-making both of the terms are applicable in park developments.

2.2.2 Does the ecological park have a governance/ management component?

Understanding the eco-park is important since officials have prescribed this typology as suitable for Mshenguville. The major loopholes regarding this park typology are whether these seemingly "natural" systems subscribe to any design and management incentives. According to Mcetywa et al. (2015), eco-parks could be a cover up for failing to manage parks and thereby inhibiting park sustainability. The concern raised by residents of Mshenguville was how to draw a line between an ecological park and a landscape which has not been developed at all? (Mcetywa et al., 2015). What is this governance/ management pillar and does it exist for ecological parks?

It is important however to first define an ecological park; Power's (2006) thesis "Designing for Ecology: The Ecological Park" does not give a standard definition but indicates principles and characteristics that make up an ecological park. He posits that the ecological park is a notion taken from the ecological approach to park design whereby:

1. Planting is chosen for their functional structure it is rather their aesthetic properties.
2. Planting is chosen to achieve succession i.e. woodland as opposed to a specific style or form.
3. Landscapes are low maintenance with low investment and high return: as maintenance cost decrease social benefits increase.
4. The users determine its structure and purpose as opposed to the designers.
5. As time progresses, the scheme should require less maintenance.

Lyle (1991) categorizes landscape designs which harmonize their natural form as deep forms and the landscapes which are void of design as shallow forms. It is clear that ecological parks do not advocate for careless and mismanaged parks as this is criticized by Lyle (1991) as "shallow forms" (see quote below).

"Ecological order is as much [in a designed landscape] as in a natural landscape, but it meets and merges with human activity and with the aesthetic order as perceived by the human mind. We can know nature - only through perception and intellect. Where the merging is harmonious, where ecological and aesthetic order are congruent, we have a human ecosystem... This is Deep Form":' He goes on to critique contemporary efforts in designing natural landscapes: "Too often... they have responded to nature by shaping pale limitations of her forms in the picturesque tradition and in so doing have produced Shallow Form" (cited by Power, 2006, p. 20).

The concern is not whether there are shallow and deep forms, but rather it is how do you curb the shallow form? The current fanaticism with ecological parks may lead to practitioners resorting to shallow forms due to constraints such as skills and financial capacity; this is the threat that residents in Mshenguville need security about.

The literature suggests that the eco-park does have a management component however it is less than the highly manicured parks i.e. the picturesque. The management component is reduced through the use of ecological functions such as succession. According to a case study conducted by Power (2006), strict maintenance is required the first five years, and after that, the park is supposed to function by itself. However, my view is that even with ecological processes functioning at their peak management of overgrown grasses and trees will always be required. The lack of management results in a lack of sustainability which results in negative spaces laden with crime see quote below

"The design and the management of spaces in the city are both important if precincts are not to become actual or perceived "hot spots" for crime. Vacant land, especially if not maintained, and unoccupied buildings particularly, contribute to decay as do uncleared litter (CSIR, 2000a, p. 6) ."

Furthermore, it seems that management and maintenance of parks are skewed towards grass and trees. There is minimal (if any) emphasis made on the management of social issues that perhaps need regulation. In the case of Mshenguville, there is an array of conflicting uses that need to be regulated to ensure that the park is a positive and productive space within the urban framework.

Therefore the management component is essential for the sustainability of eco- parks. Management and maintenance contribute to equity through inclusiveness of parks and open spaces as espoused in the principle of just sustainability.

2.2.3 The role of governance on park management

Since governance and management are closely interrelated, it would be interesting to comprehend how the role of governance has influenced park management. There has been a shift in the way that parks are managed from an extremely state driven to more inclusive forms of governance i.e. citizens and private. While sustainable development and the WCED conference is coined with this holistic approach to development, a larger push has come from the lack of financial resources from the

council to manage parks solely (Neil, 2013). This section endeavors to investigate the trajectory that park management has followed and to locate Mshenguvile within the current discourses and debates.

Robert Jones (2002), highlights the significant pattern that park management reformation has followed in the UK since the Victorian era (shown in the figure below). He describes the pre-1988 period as traditional management whereby park managers are very skilled horticulturist who prides themselves on their work, however, can be inefficient and lax in the manner that they perform their job when they are not monitored. Responding to the limitations of these techniques such as "poor organization, lack of discipline, waste, high costs, squandering of money, and poor use of resources," Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) was introduced accompanying the 1988 legislative requirements. This reform took place in a context of neoliberalisation of local government. This piece of legislation was perceived by the local administration as having an agenda to transfer the responsibility of service delivery to the private sector through a competitive tendering system. CCT continued from 1988 till about 1997, and during that process the park managers had to focus on tendering, dealing with extensive paperwork instead of being in the field, reducing cost and increasing turnover. The emphasis was on "quantity rather than quality" as was evident in most parks that deteriorated during that period. Oldham council's Urban Parks' Strategy published in 1996 was a response to the limitations of the CCT (Jones, 2002). Furthermore, a new approach to park management known as 'Best Value' was employed. Best value relies heavily on the involvement and ownership of the community referred to as Friends of the Park (FOP). The decline has been mainly attributed to a lack of funding. Public subsidy for parks in the UK is projected to decrease by 60 percent, which means that more innovative measures need to be sought for managing parks. While capital for the execution of parks may readily exist it is the long-term maintenance of parks that poses a risk (Neil, 2013).

There has been a decline in the ability for Council to manage parks globally as a response much research has gone into developing new management approaches to parks that are self-sustaining (Neil, 2013). New governance principles have influenced Park management it is worth noting that South Africa is not immune. There is need for 'innovative' resourcing processes, including partnerships with FoPs. Park users

committees, partnering with municipalities are referred to as friends of the park (FoP); public involvement or participation in the design, implementation, and maintenance of the park is therefore highly endorsed (Jones, 2002). Local council needs to diffuse some level of power to FoP groups and maintain a continued process of consultation between them (Jones, 2010a).

Back to Johannesburg, Fritz Coetzee of Insite Landscape Architects believes that City Parks (now referred to as JCPZ) is under strain when it comes to management. " in order to address this, consultants have begun to deliver turnkey projects where the installation contractor is employed to provide maintenance for one year" (Stoffberg et al., 2005, p. 171). JCPZ has not managed to obtain increased operating budget from the City of Johannesburg over the years, and smaller parks are thus being neglected.

According to some studies done on the FoP groups in the CoJ are perceived by JCPZ as being too autonomous (Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). On the other hand, FoP has raised some concerns about the lack of responsiveness by the Council. FoP groups in South Africa are not immune to politicization; political parties may use affiliations to FoP to score points. Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou (2015, p. 18) state "… the politicization of parks issues to score political gains against the municipality, especially in years of local elections (such as the one forthcoming in 2016), might jeopardize attempts to build a constructive and sustained relationship".

According to Bosaka (2015), JCPZ does not have a clear position on public participation and its role. It is still unclear whether it happens before or after the design of the project. There are no follow-up meetings to respond to communities concerns. Furthermore, JCPZ officials do not have authority to set up participation meetings; this needs to be done through the councillor(Bosaka, 2015).

Jones (2002) highlights that the greatest challenge in getting friends of the park to participate has been to encourage members to get involved in refurbishing parks that were previously degraded and had inadequate facilities. According to Jones (2002), the number of community members does not always reflect the number of actively involved members. There is usually 5-6 who are actively involved supplemented by flexible members who can be called upon to aid in the case of CoJ there is often a champion runner and when that individual leaves the FoP group loses momentum (Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). Some reasons discourage other persons from being

actively involved such as lack of time and other pressing commitments (Jones, 2002). However, he mentions passion as an overriding characteristic. In the case of Mshenguville residents may not be well informed about wetlands, let alone passionate about the notion of rehabilitation and an ecological park it may be hard to convince them to get involved. Furthermore, an enlightening study juxtaposing FoP groups in townships versus suburbs Hadebe et al. (2015) points out that there was less interest from the community in Soweto to participate in FoP groups compared to more affluent areas. In the less affluent areas, the few park committees that exist are characterized by strong state involvement. She states that " park users work best in resourced, middle-class communities where residents are not primarily concerned with issues of survival" (Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou, 2015, p. 21).

The literature suggests that incorporating citizen involvement has its complexities. Participation is not guaranteed, and therefore park management is not always largely reliant on FoP groups in some contexts of South Africa. It is also interesting to note that JCPZ has no clear mandate regarding public participation. This allows one to observe the level of involvement from FoP groups in the study and the extent to which they influence decision-making.

The recommended strategy for getting people involved in park management is enticement; Council needs to focus on the provision of facilities and to improve security around park areas to lure park users into getting involved (Jones, 2002). Improving safety in park areas is a very significant area of concern for park users. Cases of rape and murder are prevalent in parks in Soweto and often cause people to refrain from using parks entirely (Hadebe and Benit-Gbaffou, 2015).

"Security work involves a range of activities designed to make parks a safe and clean environment to enter, where people do not fear for their welfare, and where facilities and infrastructure are not degraded" (Jones, 2002, p. 22).

This is hard to achieve in wetland areas whereby much of the natural vegetation is characterized by tall reeds and long grasses. The attributes of a "safe park" will require that much of the natural attributes of the wetland be compromised. Furthermore, much protection in the form of environmental legislation allows for a very limited form of intervention to take place.

Neil (2002) mentions four different models that can be explored by park innovators to ensure that parks are self-sustaining such as; ecosystem development, taxes, events and commercial developments. Conducting events not only raises funds but also draws people to the park. Not all models are appropriate in every park especially in the case of urban wetlands. The model that I found particularly interesting given the prevalence of cattle grazing on the study site is the Sheffield Green Estate which has used traditional shire horses and sheep grazing to manage the grasslands (Neil, 2013). This model is a more entrepreneurial approach which mixes commercial sales and services with social and environmental activities. The challenge is diversifying the sources of income such that it is sustainable to manage the park. Another measure has been exploring the potential for parks to provide ecosystem services and ecological offsetting. Therefore wetlands can be seen as green infrastructure performing vital services for the community as a whole as motivated by Neil (2013).

2.3 Institutions and officials practices

The study of institutions is imperative in understanding officias practices, officials are part of an institution. Therefore this section specifically enquires: What is an institution? Considering that JCPZ is commonly referred to as an institution, and the structural change is known as an institutional review. Should the centre of the sustainability triangle be called institutions or governance? Are institutions more fitting terms compared to governance and management?

2.3.1 Defining an institution and an organization

According to the literature, there is a difference between institutions and organizations. According to Connor and Dovers (2004), Institutions are rules which govern the way society commonly interacts around shared values. One of the most common definitions is by Douglas North (1990, p. 423).

"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interactions."

According to Gromley (1987), there is an entire field of study referred to as institutional policy analysis as a study of government reform and its consequences. The analyses of institutions include political parties and local government. Institutional policy is not interested in substantive policy, however, is concerned with procedural policy, whether

for example, the institutional review that took place at CoJ in 2001 has promoted coordination, efficiency or integration for the realization of sustainable development. The study will be borrowing the concept of institutional policy analysis since it considers procedural policy and the state or political parties as likely subjects for examining institutions.

Even though institutional policy analysis considers organisations and institutions together. Connor et al. (2004) caution against homogenizing these two concepts. Organizations are not institutions however organizations can be formed from institutions. Colebatch (2004, p. 17) examines this in the following manner "Over time, policy innovations become institutionalized- in the form of bricks and mortar, the name of organizations and job titles and the commitment to maintaining them becomes very strong." Organizations, therefore, operate on the need or desire to fulfill specific institutions.

If institutions are rules about how to operate around certain values, then the shared value or objective is what forms the institution and normally participants negotiate how these values are shared. I agree that there is a difference between institutions and organizations. From the literature one could conclude that organizations house institution's which are occupied by members with shared values and similar objectives. For this study I will use institutions not in its broadest sense (referring to rules of the game) but to refer to JCPZ as it is part of the state. However it is hard to seperate an organization from its institution. To refer to JCPZ merely as an organization is limiting in this sense. In interrogating JCPZ I am particularly interested in the values and rules that JCPZ use to make decisions. Therefore I will use the term instiututions when referring to JCPZ and any other entities of the state. The fourth pillar, I refer to as the institutional pillar.

It is important to note that there are a number of institutions within the centre of the triangle. The case is true with urban wetlands which are delineated as public open space (POS). They have an environmental and a socio-economic role which are scattered amongst various spheres of government (CSIR, 2000b). Urban wetlands exist in a matrix of governance relations whereby wetlands are a provincial competence and park developments are a local government competence. The constitution requires all spheres of government to co-operate with one another in "mutual trust and good

faith". Co-ordination is necessary in order to accomplish the highly interrelated mandates of sustainability. It is important to acknowledge the gap in the Constitution as a fundamental clause. Harrison et al. state that the

"South Africa's constitutional system is enormously complex, and without fundamental rationalization of government structures, the planning system will remain overly complicated (Harrison et al., 2008, p. 16)."

South Africa's idealistic three-sphere constitutional provision will continue to become a constraint in the integrated planning process. The functional areas of national, provincial and local government are documented in schedule 4 and 5 of the Constitution. Parts A refer to concurrent national and provincial government and parts B to local government (South Africa, 1996). However these schedules do not provide any detailed provisions or definition of these functional areas, the schedules merely contain lists, according to Steytler and Fessha (2005) this subjects spheres of government to confusion and misinterpretation with regards to their roles and responsibilities. This further leads to contention and striving between the various spheres and lines of government. it is important that I do not operate under the guise that governance systems are interrelated as framed in the Constitution of South Africa. SA's local government is highly centralized with limited autonomy (Devas, 2004). This is particularly relevant in my study since I am considering local government, It is, therefore, useful to consider how much leverage local government has in making decisions and how the dynamics of autonomy and power relations frame and influence decision-making.

2.3.1.1 Formal and informal institutions

There are formal and informal institutions, the first is made of formal constraints such as laws, constitutions and rules and the latter is made of norms, cultural practices and self-imposed conduct.

Furthermore formal rules can change overnight while norms which are entrenched in official practices are hard to change (North and others, 1994). In fact Gormley (1987) posits that informal reforms to institutions often yield better results than formal changes such as change in legislature this is mainly because they are less obvious than formal changes. When considering the relationship between the formal and informal

institutions, North et al. (1994) posit that often norms (informal) have are more influential and pervasive effect than formal rules and legislation. In an example he points out that transferring the constitution of the United States to Latin American countries may not yield the same performance characteristics as they do in America since Latin America operates on a set of different norms and values. De Herdt and de Sardan (2015a) indicate that there is an inconsistency between the official norms and what is actually practiced in the state. They refer to the actual practices as practical norms, this is refered to as 'real governance'. They state that the pragmatic rules "are ways to 'play around' with the explicit rules of the game – or play with them" (De Herdt and de Sardan, 2015a, p. 2).

It is important to take note of that policy or instruments are not always used according to their intended purpose or design. As discussed earlier the EIA which was collaborative and integrative in nature has been largely used for an environmental purpose. Edergton (1985 cited by De Herdt and de Sardan, 2015b) points out that rules or policies do not always cover the problematic possibilities that could arise. Therefore Officials may play around with the rules of the game to make certain procedures possible. The literature has not clearly indicated how one can observe a norm in practice. Can the dominance of a particular policy instrument such as KPI's dictate a specific norm? The value of efficiency has been well institutionalized due to the fact that there are incentives as well as punitive measures for reaching targets. Therefore it is likely that officials operate under the norm of efficiency.

Scholars of the sustainable development movement especially the neo-Malthusians state that a change in human values needs to be enforced through a number of policy measures based on incentives and penalties. This era of scholarship during late 18th century is marked by "neo-Malthusian's" (supporters of Thomas Malthus; which predominantly warn against an impending 'trap' of overpopulation (Emmett and Meiners, 2006, p. 2). The policies that they favour includes; "promote birth control, remove explicit and implicit government incentives to have or maintain larger families, expand access to abortion services, and impose penalties on parents who exceed a mandated family size. They also want governments to bring market prices in line with the cost that, in their view, human consumption imposes on the environment" (Ehrlich

and Ehrlich 2004 cited by Emmett et al, p.2). Neo-Malthusians argue that " a fundamental change in priorities takes a long time" (Emmett and Meiners, 2006, p. 3). I agree with the Neo- Malthusians understanding that using incentives and penalties has the potential to change people's norms and values (not all the time). Therefore it is likely that M& E policy with their punitive measure as well as incentives has altered the officials' norms and practices into one of efficiency and profit margins.

2.3.2 Policy instruments

Contemporary governance transcends the obvious fact that governance is not limited to the state and explores the role of instruments and practical norms as key elements that shape the manner in which we can understand how policy is formed (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007; Salamon and Elliott, 2002).

Policy instruments are not neutral devices, and they shape society, furthermore, tools define the set of actors involved (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007; Salamon and Elliott, 2002). Therefore much emphasis has been placed on policy instruments as opposed to analyzing the complex heterogeneous structure of the state , in my view this offers a simpler methodology in studying and analyzing the state.

New governance theory considers the role of public policy instruments as institutions (Salamon and Elliott, 2002), I.e. sets of rules (etc etc). Public policy instruments are defined by Lascoumes et al. (2007, p. 4);

"A public policy instrument constitutes a device that is both technical and social, that organizes specific social relations between the state and those it is addressed to, according to the representations and meanings it carries. It is a particular type of institution, a technical device with the generic purpose of carrying a concrete concept of the politics/society relationship and sustained by a concept of regulation".

Policy instruments are the tools used to realize a shared value or rule. They are becoming the prominent in defining the policy direction. According to Weaver (1989) one of the reasons for studying policy instruments is to unveil the hidden political motives of public policy. Instruments can predict which resources are going to be used and by whom. Instruments give a more predictable collective description of the actor's behaviour (Weaver, 1989). The study of policy instruments is useful for tracking change within public policy. A change in public policy may result by changing the instrument,

without really changing the aim. Furthermore a change of instrument may result in the change or modification of objectives.

For this study I will be borrowing the notion of policy instruments as instruments of change and decision-making. Policy instruments encompass predict the actions that are to be made by actors. Policy instruments also indicate the extent that sustainable development has been practically implemented.

Public policy instruments vary the policy instruments which are related to wetland development include; spatial planning instruments (Macintosh et al., 2013), environmental public policy instruments (Rossouw and Wiseman, 2004b) and Monitoring and Evaluation instruments. These form part of the instruments I will be assessing. I have chosen these instruments due to their revalence to the development of urban parks.

2.3.2.1 Spatial policy instruments

Macintosh et al. (2013) in their article "Developing legal frameworks for climate change adaptation planning in Australia-Summary for policy makers" review the advantages and limitations of spatial planning instruments in the adaption of climate change into policy in Australia. The author has developed taxonomy of spatial planning instruments that are directly related to climate change adaption. Some includes information gathering instruments, regulatory tools, taxes and charges etc. Though a host of the instruments in the taxonomy were irrelevant, what was insightful is the notion of developing a taxonomy of tools and analyzing their advantages and limitation in the goal of sustainability. This approach is advantageous; by sourcing the relevant policy instruments and analyzing their advantages and limitations then I am able to understand how decision-making was made.

The South African literature states that there is a a bias in planning that is enforced by municipal planning tools for example the Spatial Development Framework (SDFs). Municipal SDFs focus largely on increasing density, nodal development and housing development (Nhlozi, 2012). There is minimal if any consideration for integrated infrastructure planning. This is perplexing considering that SDF's are the spatial core component of the Integrated development Plans (IDP) (WRDM SDF, 2014). Integrated Development Plans are supposed to be a holistic development plan that gives the overall framework for development in a municipal area (Harrison, 2008).

There is a myriad of "Practical Evaluation Tools for Urban Sustainability" that are available for planners, from checklists to multiple computer- based programmes. The issue is not a shortage of tools. However, the issue is their potential is underutilized, and they lack political and societal support. Therefore tools do not replace actors as they are very dependent on the driving force of the planner. Environmental factors come in too late in the stage of planning whereby much of the major decisions have been made. Furthermore, the limitation of these tools is that it is hard to factor in public claims and political inputs, they are largely scientific and quantitative in nature (Runhaar et al., 2009).

2.3.2.2 Environmental public policy instruments

Rossouw and Wiseman in their article "Learning from the implementation of environmental public policy instruments after the first ten years of democracy in South Africa" commend the improvement that the post-apartheid government has made by introducing an environmental policy framework, that embraces democratic and participatory forms of government and upholds a sustainable view of development that is environmentally, socially and economically sound. However Rossouw et al. (2004) argue that Instruments such as the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mainly focuses on environmental attributes and negate the social and economic aspects , in principle they should not. This is the case in the Mshenguville Park in Soweto whereby there are prevailing socio-economic conditions on site; there is ongoing farming, and in the past, the site was used for golf.

Furthermore, Rossouw et al. (2004b) point out that the policy framework lacks a superseding strategic framework that will link these principles to responsibilities and should include accompanying monitoring systems at all levels. They highlight the importance of the strategic national framework to necessitate the transformation of institutions in aligning with the principles of sustainable development. This is similar to Meulemann (2008) meta-governance strategy whereby one tries to manage some aspects of public policy while ensuring that each sphere of government has autonomy. The instruments that are used are much softer but still capable of modifying the behaviour of organisations. Connor and Dovers (2004) argue that the focus should not be on top down or bottom up, both should be applied. The first reinforces the policy

and the latter institutionalizes the values. If the focus is mainly on top down then the local may not adopt it and if focus only at bottom up may not be taken seriously. The article mainly discusses the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998 (NEMA) which is the overarching framework policy which provides the principles for sustainable development and is to be applied to all activities of the state. NEMA also provides for co-operative governance structures and networks, as well as integrated environmental management (IEM), EIA procedures and public participation in decision making. However the issue as highlighted in the article is that there is a lack of implementation of these integrative instruments. Another point that they makes is that environmental management is distributed across various spheres of government and that is one of the greatest challenges of the environmental policy. EIA's are also introduced at a late stage of the project for compliance sake (Runhaar et al., 2009).

2.3.2.3 Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) instruments

Considering the influence that NPM has on officials practices it is only wise that one considers the effect that Monitoting and Evaluation tools have on decision-making. M& E was formally introduced with the aim of improving government support and service delivery. M&E is still a new concept in South Africa, was introduced into the ministry of the presidency in 2009 and a department of Monitoring and Evaluation was also established in 2010 (Goldman and Reynold, 2008). Evaluation is described as:

"The systematic collection and objective analysis of evidence on public policies, programmes, projects, functions and organisations to assess issues such as relevance, performance (effectiveness an efficiency), value for money, impact and sustainability and recommend ways forward"(DPME:iii)

This tool is incentive based versus normative based and is largely focused on efficiency (Weaver, 1989). M& E is not a South African phenomenon but has been introduced across the globe and has been influenced by international donors such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). New Public Management has mainly influenced public administration and social services so that government is run as a business (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). Therefore organisations such as JCPZ is influenced by this form of management which is highly concerned with KPI's, targets and less bureaucratization (Mcetywa et al., 2015).

The principles of the NPM are salient in the JCPZ policy documents, According to JCPZ their mandate is to *"to provide parks, cemeteries and environmental conservation services for and on behalf of the COJ, in a more business-like approach"* (JCPZ, 2011, p. 8). The statemement from JCPZ Corporate Strategic Framework suggests that NPM has influenced the way the institution is run into a more business like approach.

This type of tool has greatly shaped the way the institution works based on targets. Since the research project is concerned with the sustainable development of urban wetlands; the relevant Key Performance Areas (KPA) is "to create clean functional river system with enhanced biodiversity", "compliance with environmental legislation" and "compliance with the Environmental Management System" are the norms in which municipal official operate under in trying to sustainably develop urban wetlands (JCPZ, 2011, pp. 43–44).

One of the key strategies is the implementation of eco-parks which will supposedly create functional river systems. It is clear that once again this policy instrument is hardly concerned with integrating socio-economic attributes which may factor in these parks. This could imply that officials are limited in trying to perhaps respond to needs outside of these KPI/ KPA therefore the norm would be for officials to seek to comply to avoid being sanctioned. Nevertheless it is apparent that policy instruments are influential in decision-making. It is not only their intended function that predicts their use however the motive and norm under which officials practice. This is critical when assessing officials practices because as mentioned earlier norms and values have a pervasive effect on shaping policy.

2.4 Conclusion

2.4.1 The concept of sustainable development

In examining the literature, parks cannot be understood as a single entity or as mainly an escape from urban areas, but need to be considered as a significant land use within cities. It is in the spirit of sustainable development to integrate parks into surrounding uses; which entails a strong contextualization of surrounding uses and interests and ensures such that there is a sense of ownership.

Integration does not suggest commercializing of parks as the main solution. However, this is having parks as parks yet considering ways of revitalizing and drawing people into

the park (Jacobs, 1961). Therefore, in my opinion, sustainable development is not too broad for parks; rather the view of parks has been quite myopic and environmentally centred for the longest time. Power's (2006) assertions of an ecological (sustainable park) being inclusive are one that landscape architects and planners should strive for, but I am not quite certain that it is considered in practice as a critical component for the functioning of parks.

The brown agenda, specifically "Just Sustainability" is a relevant approach for the study (compared to sustainability as defined by the Brundtland Comission) which is located in a low-income area that is experiencing environmental issues based on economic exclusion. I am of the understanding that the pillars of development are conflicting as opposed to a balanced whole and this therefore results in a trade-off. My position is that for development to be sustainable then trade-offs between need to take place. However within the framework of just sustainability, the compromise needs to prioritize the needs of the marginalized. This cannot happen automatically, some level of institutional intervention is required to make this work. Therefore, the fourth institutional pillar is mandatory. While Campbell (1996) alludes to the planner as the agent of change, I view that perspective as limited since planners are often subject to an institution (Jupp and Inch, 2012). Therefore for the study, I will consider the institution as well as the agency of the individual planner (which I unpack in the next section). As the fourth pillar of 'governance' I will consider park management as an equally fundamental pillar for the sustainable development of parks and at the centre of the sustainability triangle. In this case, I will consider JCPZ and other organizations that may be involved in the park development process.

It remains unclear how planners reconcile these differing pillars. Campbell (1996) acknowledges that negotiations are not the panacea for solving these conflicts. However, he does not discuss some of the tools and instruments that planners could use in trying to balance these various conflicts. From the literature, it is apparent that eco-parks need to be accompanied by management and design component. Therefore Mshenguville being an eco- park needs to be designed and managed despite its ecologically resilient nature. While an eco-park needs to have an intentional design

programme (this is referred to as deep form), the literature does not explore the tendency of officials to choose the shallow form and how this practice can be mitigated. The terms shallow and deep forms are useful concepts for identifying eco-parks which lack a strong design and management intention.

2.4.2 Governance and the fourth pillar

The literature suggests that the management of parks has shifted to incorporate more inclusive forms of management with multiple actors. This type of governance/ management typology has its discrepancies i.e. politicization and lack of capacity and interest in some FoP's. The neoliberalization of parks, has some contradicting dimensions (some of which make them more exclusive and more private). The poor and marginalized who cannot afford to use the space could be systematically excluded this is contrary to the principles of inclusivity of just sustainability. Another issue is that in SA there is a huge disparity between previously disadvantaged areas and the privileged, affluent areas. The pronounced independence of FoP groups in affluent areas could result in the polarization of parks, whereby there is a network of well-functioning parks in affluent areas and; non-functional and run down parks in former townships. Park managers in some respects are in danger of being sidelined and losing autonomy. Examining park management literature has been useful in understanding that other entities beyond the state can influence decision-making. It is also enlightening to observe how the influence of new governance has affected park management. There is a notable dearth of literature detailing FoP groups in South Africa, especially regarding the effect of the neoliberal agenda on officials practices. From Jones (2010), there has been a shift from field specialists to office clerks, with a preoccupation with reducing the cost of management and tendering.

I wonder whether the eco-park trend could be largely motivated by the neoliberal agenda to lower the cost of operations and increase profits. Nevertheless, models for park management have sought alternative funding methods beyond the coffers of the state. The money collected in some respects is not enough as the main source of income for running the park. Therefore, state involvement is still quite prevalent. There is no issue (or perhaps limited choice) with trying to reduce management costs however

the motive should remain to ensure the public good. As parks are public spaces, therefore, the interests of the park members should not be silenced. As mentioned in Mcetywa et al. (2015) report that JCPZ does not have a clear mandate regarding the public, so the agenda could be predominantly based on running the state like a business. The literature suggests that management and governance operations do not take place in a vacuum, they exist within a wider political space overladen with various motives which could be contrary to sustainable development.

2.4.3 Institutions and officials practices

The role of governance and the fourth pillar (central pillar) is the steering power that operationalize's sustainability. It is apparent that the decision-making process is complex and that there is a host of actors who are located beyond the confines of the state. This means that tracking decision-making process is tough in a complex network of players. Governance is and overladen with politics. The literature points out that while the concept of management and governance are different in their meaning, they are both useful. Governance directly influences management. The management of parks which is also based on multi-stakeholder operations and incorporates citizens as prominent actors influencing decision making. What I found useful was Lascoumes et al. and Salamon et al. 's (2007; 2002) proposition of policy instruments as a lens to track decision- making, identify actors and motivations behind decision-making. The notion that policy tools are agents of change, as a form of an institution with values, has been enlightening. Therefore the methodology of formulating taxonomy of tools that are related to Park management is a possible method of analyzing officials practices, for example, spatial plans, EIA and M& E tools. How has the EIA influenced the decision made, has the environmental bias of the EIA confine the development to an Eco-park. How have M& E-tools which are more political in naturenfluenced how officials make trade-offs based on the norm of efficiency and the incentives and targets that have been impressed on them. Policy instruments are not neutral devices, for example, an EIA being located in the province could imply that it is more binding than IDP (spatial plan) which is located in local government. The notion of practical norms remains crucial though the literature

provides insufficient light on how to analyze or examine practical norms, I will, however, consider how officials navigate policies to further their own devices or how they mitigate the limitations that are inherent in a specific policy.

Chapter 3 : Research strategy

The following section is a breakdown of the approach, methodology and the research instruments used to conduct the study and the ethical considerations.

3.1 Research design

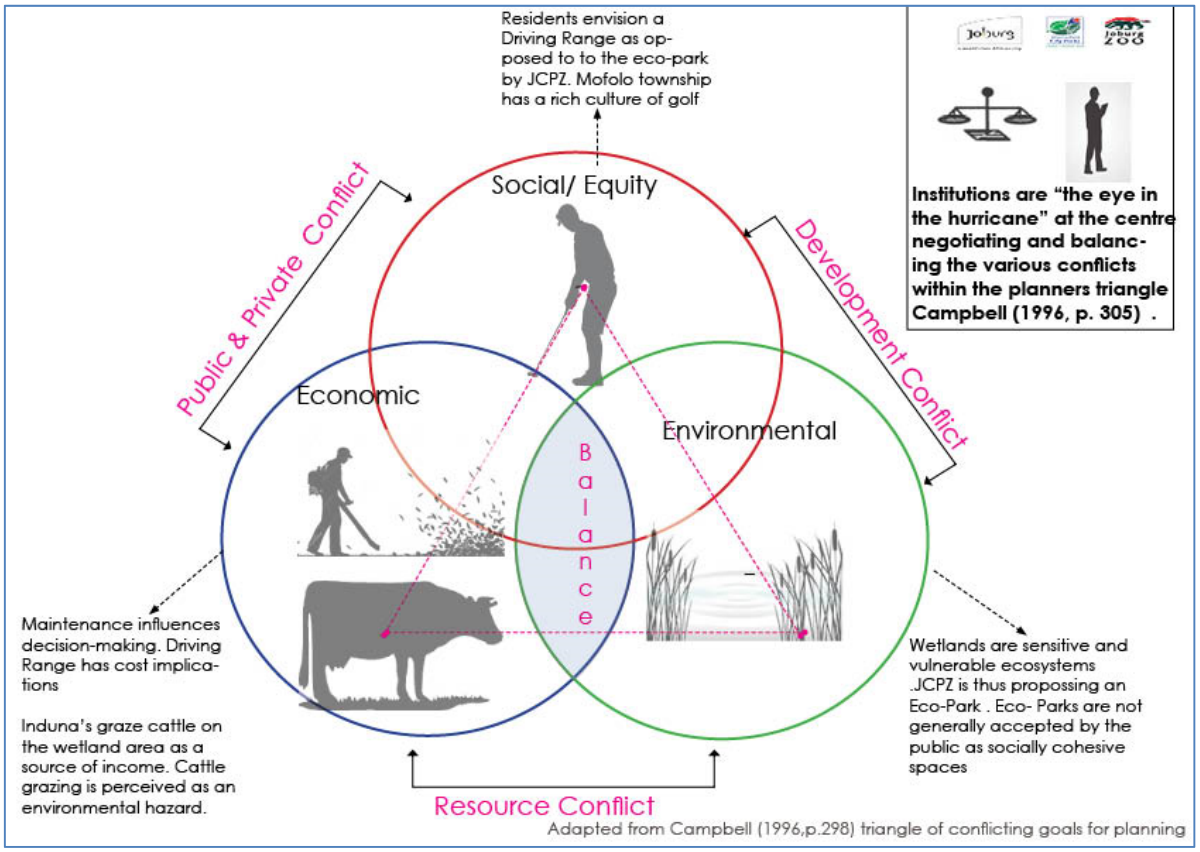


Figure 11: the triangle of conflicting goals for planning
Source: Adapted from Campbell (1996, p. 298)

As a lens for this study I have used Campbell's (1996) triangle of conflict (see literature review for detailed explanation) . He posits that the planner is located at the "centre of the hurricane, " and these three pillars of development are often conflicting(see figure 11 above). Therefore the planner(s) needs to negotiate and balance the various conflicts. In this case, I have shied away from the notion of a single planner at the

centre of the triangle. There are various institutions and organization that frame decision-making. Therefore at the centre of the triangle are institutions, officials that have directly been involved in Mshenguville predominantly Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ). I have categorised the land uses and programmes into social, environmental and economic conflicts within my case study. I need to caution that the divides between these conflicts is quite complex and cannot simply be categorised as Cambell (1996) has proposed in his study. For example in the case of Mshenguville having a golf course on the site is not only perceived as a social event but is also economic as many residents in the past have benefited from its job offering (Mcetywa et al., 2015). The same is true about cattle grazing it can be seen as an economic activity however cattle grazing in the Nguni culture has some cultural uses such as *lobola* (dowry), *imisebenzi* (rituals) (Alana, 2013). Furthermore an ecological park may seem easily delineable as being directly subject to the environment however it also has inherent cultural connotations. Power (2006)from the MIT has dedicated an entire thesis considering very simply, "does the ecological park reflect greater natural ecological merit? Moreover, how does its cultural ecological merit differ, if so at all?"

Maintenance is not necessarily a land use or programme but has influenced officials' practices immensely. JCPZ knows a golf course would be far more costly to manage and thus could be reluctant construct one. Therefore maintenance is another factor that should be considered as part of the economic pillar. Having this limitation in mind, I have illustrated the conflict using overlapping circles as opposed to Campbell's (1996) method of using a triangle to indicate that these conflicts overlap one into the other and that the indicators are not fixed.

The table below motivates the use of the three pillars of sustainability within the site.

Table 1: 3 pillars of sustainability in Mshenguville
Source: Mkhomazi,2016

SOCIAL	ECONOMIC	ENVIRONMENTAL
Golf Course	Cattle Grazing , Maintenance	Ecological Park
-Moral/ social capital	-Economic Capital	-Natural capital - Raw resources

- Strong civil society & Community participation - Maintained by community, religious and cultural interactions *__Golf cultural activity which builds strong civil society and participation__.	- Production, trading and consuming interest -Value in monetary terms - Eco sustainability limited focus on natural capital. * __Cattle used for lobola trading and monetary exchange. During Umsebenzi cattle is purchased for consumption__ * __The cost of maintenance influences decision-making__	-ES protecting natural capital for human welfare - consumption kept within regeneration rates *__Ecological park as an attempt to reform and re-emphasise the value of natural systems (wetland and native vegetation) within the city's cultural landscape__
Golf can also be considered as economic activity through job creation	Cattle can represent a social standard and status among Nguni people	Can be economic in terms of ecological services and social in terms of cultural significance

The study will not be subscribing to the notion of a single planner as espoused by Campbell (1996) . At the centre of the triangle is the institution, by definition City Parks is heterogeneous and there are quite a number of departments and spheres of government that influence decision-making. Therefore heterogeneity characterises the study immensely. Therefore part of my study entails putting the institutional puzzle pieces together. For example understanding; which department/ agents are in charge of the final decision on Mshenguville (if there is any)? Where does the environmental agenda lie predominantly as opposed to the social as opposed to the management side of things? Or do they all sit within the same office?

Co-ordination or the lack thereof is important for understanding whether sustainability is possible or limited. Is adjudication a matter of personal judgement (one official adjudicating the various dimensions of the issue) or is it a battle between different sections of City Parks (the management / the environmental people)?

Therefore I will start by mapping the institutional framework to figure out; who is involved in making the decision and developing the park? What is the due process? what process has been applied? Since the park is layered by different events and histories establishing a chronology of this park development will be very helpful for understanding decisions made. Lastly I will develop a taxonomy of formal instruments (various plans and designs and spatial frameworks) to understand the motives behind decision-making. My research question asks; How do JCPZ officials apply policy instruments to make trade-offs in the conflicting development process of Mshenguville? The limitation with the theoretical framework by Campbell (1996), is he has not clearly indicated or suggested how practitioners negotiate these conflicts. Perhaps that was not the scope of his article. Therefore in mitigating this gap this study will identify some of the instruments that practitioners use to make trades-offs. I have done this by collecting archival documents that were used in the process of development. From the documents used i.e. spatial plans, EIA etc. one is able to track the key policy instruments used. I will conduct interviews with officials to compile a narrative of the documents and to understand the way officials use the instruments.

De Herdt and de Sardan (2015) have clearly pointed out that there are norms and unofficial practices that officials use to navigate the rules and limitations of practice. The article has broadened the scope of my research to look beyond official policy instrument. The gap for my research is there is minimal inference on how to identify these practical norms. Since De Herdt and de Sardan (2015a, p. 2) point out that practical norms"are ways to 'play around' with the explicit rules of the game – or play with them". I have to analyze each policy instrument and its intended purpose for example the EIA, to see whether it is being used for its intended purpose. Also understanding the various process for example the EIA, IDP etc. one is able to identify inconsistencies. I have also investigated any unofficial relationships and links with certain officials to point out any informal institutions and instruments used.

3.2 The research method

The approach for this study is a qualitative approach. I have focused on secondary data analysis and the case study method. The advantage of using both methods is that I have used secondary data in cases whereby I was unable to physically collect data. For example in this case I have augmented the limitation of time by consulting previously compiled documents by the park management research focus compiled by the Practices of the State and Urban Governance (PSUG) research cohort.

3.2.1 Research instruments

The main research tools I will be employing for this study are; analysis of archival document, conducting interviews with mainly Johannesburg City Park and Zoo (JCPZ) officials, and site visits.

3.2.2 Data collection

I have collected my data from project documents, interviews and site observations. The limitations of this study is that it started in 2007, and most of the people who were involved in the project from its inception are no longer at GDARD and JCPZ except for project manager at OSIM (Open Space Infrastructure Management) and the catchment manager at CoJ (EISD), so the research bears the risk of a one sided story. Because it is a politically sensitive issue, an issue where City Parks have made mistakes and changed views it is hard to get information that is reliable. I have considered officials that later joined in the project such as the Regional Manager and the Stakeholder Liaison Officer(see case study for JCPZ organogram). To overcome the apprehension that officials have with researchers, I have taken advantage of my alliance with the PSUG programme to solicit the documents. The PSUG research cohort has partnered together with JCPZ research policy department. This has made approaching officials for interviews or archival documents tenfold easier. The interviewees have been selected through purposive sampling, based on their level of involvement in the project (Miles et al., 2014). I have essentially used the JCPZ organogram to initially identify the possibly relevant departments. I arranged an interview with the available official and through a process of snowball sampling I was

able to use references from a specific interview to solicit other interviews. This method of sampling according to Atkinson et al. (2001) is beneficial for accessing populations that are seemingly hard to access. Furthermore I have consulted the EIR (Environmental Impact Report) compiled by Nzumbululo Environmental Services in 2011. The report details the development process of the driving range which is often misconstrued by officials. I have also used the Basic Assessment Report (BAR) by TGM Environmental Services and the progress report issued to draw up a chronology of events and decisions made. I have also made use of archival documents from the PSUG Park Management Cohort from drop box account collected from officials that were involved with Mshenguville Park.

My aim was to confront the managers which I assumed had more decision-making power (which is what I am trying to understand). Therefore I have conducted semi-structured interview with the following JCPZ officials:

1. Ecosystem and Enhancement and OSIM (Open Space Infrastructure Management): Environmental Protection Team (EPT): 12 July 2016
   (This includes the senior Manager (Project Manager for Mshenguville) and EIA Specialist)
2. Capital Infrastructure Development (CID) Department: General manager : 16 August 2016
3. Regional Maintenance : Senior Horticulturist: 9 August 2016
4. Stakeholder and Relationship Management: Stakeholder Liaison Officer (Email conversation): 28 September 2016
5. Environment, Infrastructure and Services Department: Catchment Manager : 30 September 2016

I also conducted interviews with the following officials to set the stage for the research project and to clarify information they include:

1. Production Scientist (telephone) (GDARD): June 2016
2. Former Production Scientist (telephone) (GDARD): June 2016
3. Interview with Strategic Support (JCPZ) : Research Policy Management Department: 2 September 2016

4. John Drummond landscape Architects : Principal Landscape Architect: 7 November 2016 & 10 January 2017
5. Integrated Human Settlement Planning : Acting Director CoJ(The IDP Process): 1 February 2017
6. I also attended a CapEx meeting held on the 7th of November 2016, scheduled to introduce the new councilor to the development team and projects. The meeting was attended by various consultants including: TGM Environmental Services, Bergstan Engineers, John Drummond Landscape Architects, the new councilor, office of the speaker as well as JCPZ officials (Stakeholder Manager and Liaison Officer(SLO)). During the meeting the project managers for the CapEx projects presented the progress of each plan. Mshenguville was one of the projects that was presented. I share the findings of the consultation meeting in the study.
7. Lastly I conducted site visits during the month of August 2016 to Mshenguville and the surrounding eco-parks namely Zola, Mofolo Central Park and Dorothy Nyembe. I took photographs and made notes particualy concerning the site uses and conditions (these I dicuss in the following chapter). I was accompanied by Lindo Msimango a Honours student and colleague at PSUG programme also undertaking research in Mofolo park precinct . His scholarship was concerned with cattle raising in urban environments (Soweto). I joined him on his site explorations of parks in Soweto (parks mentioned above) and interviews with cattle owners (Induna).

3.2.3 Interview strategy and challenges

The main information I was looking for was to understand the history of the project, as well as who made the decisions and what was the motivation for decision made. It was hard to set up a questionnaire or fixed interview question since I was relying on a process of snowballing. I was not sure who exactly was involved from the start. therefore I have relied heavily on conversational interviews to get an overall picture and set the scene for example; which departments have been involved? who can give me the exact information about the driving range? etc. The project was very

dynamic and did not always follow due processes. For example JCPZ according to the corporate strategic framework no longer reports to the EISD (CoJ), however it did therefore I had to consult the EISD. Therefore it was through referals that I was able to solicit the input of the Catchment Manger at CoJ. In the case where I was sure of an officials involvement in the project I followed a general interview approach with an interview guideline.

Typically the strategy I employed was to first start of with:

1. Introduced myself as a researcher at Wits University working under the patronage of PSUG which is affiliated to the Research and policy department at JCPZ
2. The general questions specific role in the institution and involvement in the Mshenguville project.
3. I then follow up on the history of the development of the park in Mshenguville (and in particular the two options, golf course and eco park)
4. Lastly try to find out who was directly involved and who I need to contact to get more information

I have included the research guidelines in the annexure for reference.

3.2.4 Challenges and Limitations: Interviews conducted

The main challenge I experienced is trying to get information about a sensitive development. I had to convince officials that my motives are not ill.
First of all I had to make it clear that I am not a journalist, trying to name or shame anyone. I had to convince officials that mapping out the history and process of this development may assist the state in improving their practices and in understanding the limitations of sustainability in practice. This interview and any relevant documents they could give me would assist to better understand the history of the project and point out relevant parties that have been involved. I have assured the participants that I will give feedback on the research findings in the form of a short paper which was an agreement reached between PSUG and JCPZ.

In studying how officials make decisions, I have not interviewed the user's group – this includes the golfers and urban farmers. They could have given me a different story of state decisions and processes and could have helped triangulate/take a distance against officials own discourses. Mainly due to time, however, I have augmented this limitation using secondary sources i.e. literature compiled by the PSUG research cohort who have interviewed user groups of parks within Johannesburg and specifically Soweto.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Since this research is uncovering sensitive aspects of the development, ethical considerations are imperative. According to Hofstee (2006) when identifying research participants in the study is a problem then the researcher could safeguard their anonymity. To maintain anonymity, names of the participants are altered and participants are referred to generally , in this instance I have generally refered to the department or the title for example catchment manager. The qualitative data attained for this investigation will remain completely confidential. I have ensured that allll recorded information will be stored in a password-secured computer that is accessible only to the researcher and my trustworthy supervisor.

I did however encounter ethical challenges , the rules and regulations of the University require all participants to be formally informed about the purpose through a participant information sheet and a consent sheet. Once the participants are familiar with the study (as is presented in the informed consent sheet), they are required to sign in a designated section as an indication of their agreement to comprehending of what the study is about and a willingness to provide researcher with required information. Due to the sensitivity of the project some officials (i.e. Infrastructure Development Department) refused to sign or be recorded during interview. During sensitive parts of the interview the OSIM officials requested me to stop taking notes as they unpack the real story not what is documented in archival documents i.e. political influence in the project. Consent forms could not be signed by each attendee at the CapEx meeting, however the SLO took it upon herself to introduce me to the board and my intentions and purpose for attending the meeting as a student researcher. I could not record the conversation, however I was allowed to take notes.

3.4 Conclusion

The use of Campbells theoretical framework has however provided a useful manner for framing officials decisions however I have been cognisant of the heterogenity of institutions (at the centre) (see case study section) .

The methodology that has been employed concerning this study has been a mixture of methods. A number of challenges were encountered when trying to put together the fragments of the development process, including apprehensive officials and ethical considerations (specifically due processes that need to be followed). Nevertheless, the alliance with PSUG has been beneficial in terms of accessing archival data and conducting interviews. As well as the use of previously collected data and reports from Mshenguville and other park management documents from the PSUG research cohort.

Chapter 4 : Locating Mshenguville open space in its environment

This case study review is an introduction to the site and the organization that is tasked with officiating the development and management of the park development (JCPZ). I will be locating Mshenguville Park and its management body within its environment. I will also be exploring the characteristics which make this case worth studying.

As briefly alluded to Mshenguville Park reflects a development project which comprises of social, economic and environmental attributes; these conflicting threads make up Mshenguville. Officials and institutions being at the centre of the hurricane are required to make decisions while standing on the instability and ever flooding nature of the Kaalspruit wetland. This chapter essentially sets the scene and paints the picture of the institutional landscape that officials operate within.

4.1 Setting the scene

4.1.1 History and character of Johannesburg and Soweto

Understanding parks in the South Africa is essential in understanding some of the dynamics that obstruct and in some cases influence decision-making. Parks in South have a unique history that is worth exploring. The site first of all is located in Soweto, this is not only the most largest township in South Africa, but was sturdily constructed by the legacy of Apartheid and meticulously mirrors the complexities that officials face when dealing with parks in this particular context. Soweto was created as a result of the Apartheid government separating blacks from whites by relocating blacks from Johannesburg areas such as Sophiatown, Newclare and Martindale to Soweto (Molelu, 2014). This was achieved under the instrumentation of the Native Urban Areas Act which was promulgated in 1923 (Davenport, 1987). This required local urban authorities to establish separate residence locations for 'Natives', and to exercise control over 'native' immigration into these areas. It also "empowered local authorities to grant trading licenses to African location residents" (Davenport, 1987, p. 551). Before that Johannesburg was housed by various races and nationalities.

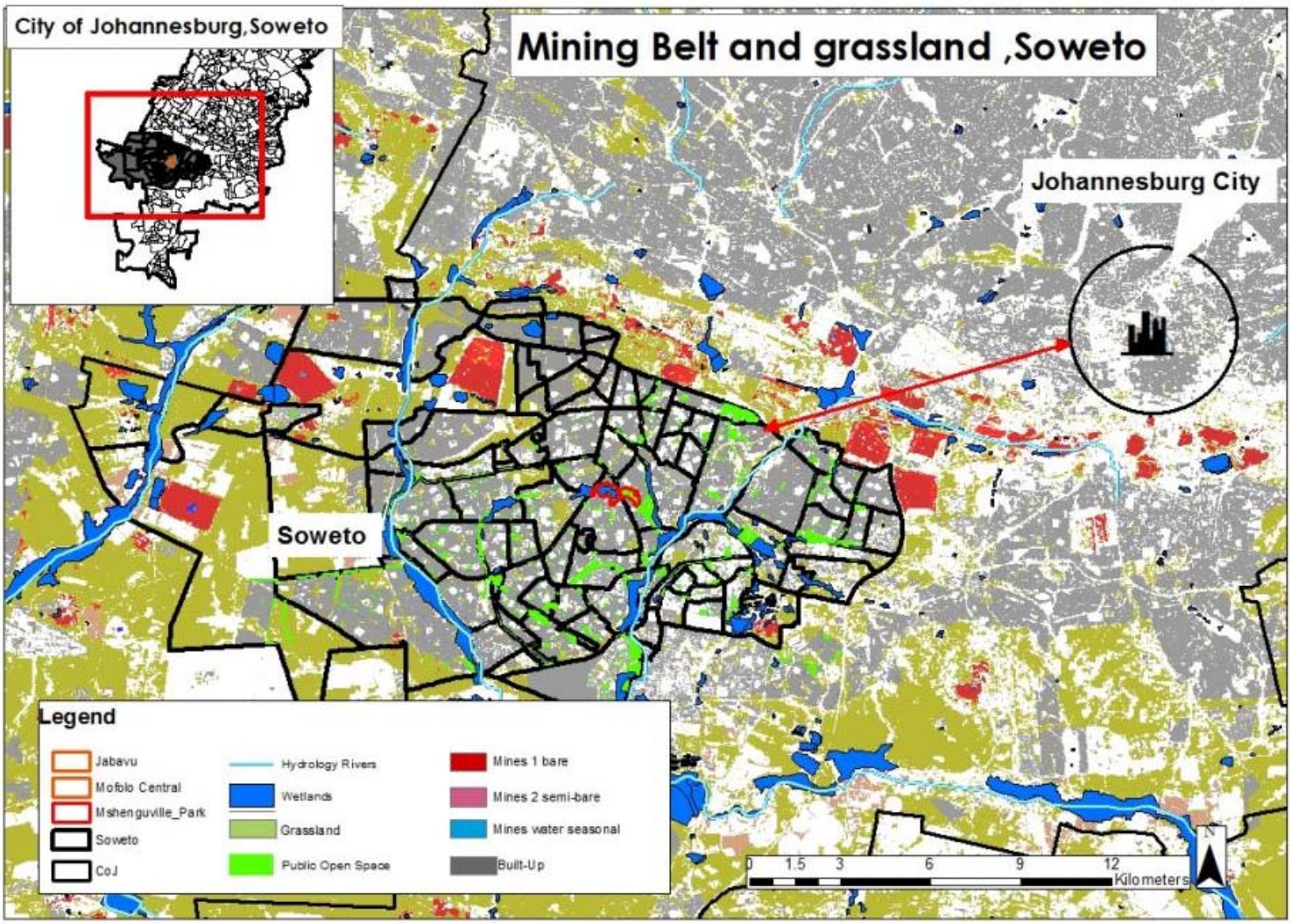


Figure 12: Mining and grasslands which separate Soweto from Johannesburg City
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

"Blacks were moved away from Johannesburg, to an area separated from White suburbs by a so-called *cordon sanitaire* (or sanitary corridor) this was usually a river, a railway track, an industrial area or a highway" (South African History Online, 2011,Unpaginated). Soweto however was largely separated by goldfields or mining dumps and large expanses of open space (See Figure 12 above) (Girling and Helphand, 1996). This has a number of spatial implications in the manner which green open spaces are configured and perceived in black townships in South Africa. These large expanses of open spaces/ buffers were void of meaning or human scale. The

open spaces were created with the express interest of segregation, referred to as the "green divide", which are essentially dustbowls and landfills (JCPZ, 2012).

It is worth pointing out that there is juxtaposition between the green leafy suburbs of Johannesburg and the dusty streets of Soweto. Open space in this case should not be automatically perceived as green and luscious. Open spaces in Soweto are often an eyesore and water bodies an open sewage (Young, 2003). In my observation much of the residual open spaces are used for cattle grazing(Msimango, 2016). According to Crankshaw and Parnell (1998) cattle and goat farming is often an indication of residents with rural origins such as the *izInduna*[2] in Soweto who also graze in Mshenguville. Urban agriculture became apparent in the 1980's in Soweto (Molelu, 2014). Bogatsu (2013) in his thesis *jarateng* (which is a Southern Sotho term for yard) , which is a consideration of how people in Soweto appropriate space for social and communal purposes. He first of all highlights that Soweto is a very socially vibrant place and despite the lack of infrastructure such as parks, the residents have appropriated their yards and streets as communal spaces for various activities. Girling and Helphand (1996, p. 36) confirm his findings about the manner in which the residents of Soweto appropriate their space.

In the past due to many years of a lack of parks and recreational facilities in the township areas of Soweto, children played in the street. In some instances they had to contest with vehicles and in other instances with pedestrians. "The street has stubbornly remained a place where games are played, with rules modified to fit the social and physical circumstances" (Girling and Helphand, 1996, p. 36).

So it is important to not assume that the lack of urban parks is synonymous with a lack of social and communal activities that take place.

[2] Induna refer to "an official functionary of a king or chief in South African Bantu societies" (Dictionary.com, 2016, p. Unpaginated)

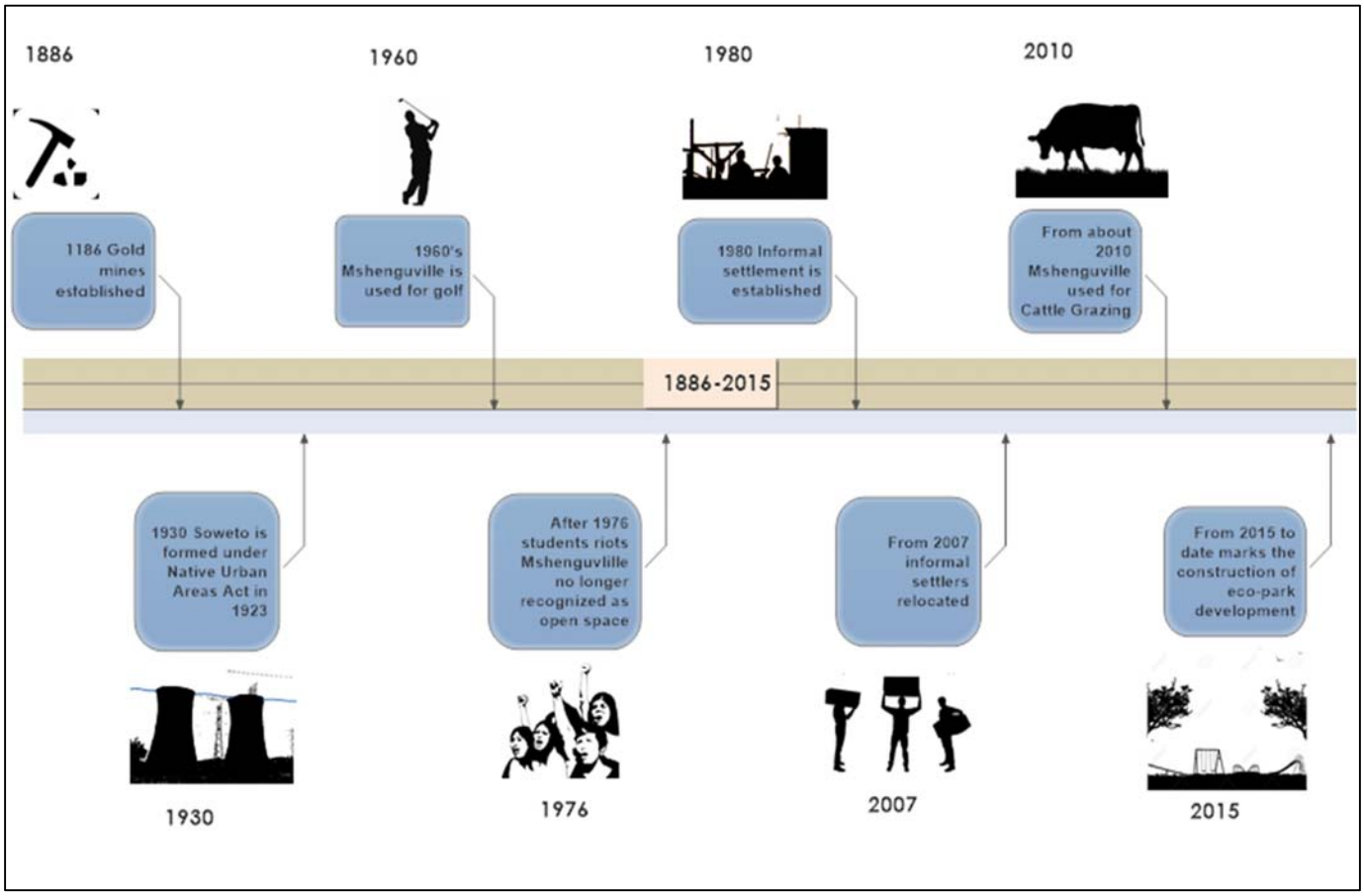


Figure 13: Historical timeline development for Soweto Mshenguville
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

Mshenguville has an interesting historical development (see figure4 above). During the 1960's the site housed a vibrant golf culture and famous golfers such as Selby Miya played on those grounds (Mcetywa et al., 2015). According to Roy Tshabalala (2015), the head chairperson of the community forum nostalgically reminisces:

"This was the most beautiful place in the whole of Soweto, It had the park, it had the golf course, it never had a swimming pool, and there was a plan to build a swimming pool..." (Cited by Mcetywa et al., 2015, p. 17).

After the 1976 Soweto protests the area was no longer recognised as a golf-course space as a result in 1980 the area was developed into a shack settlement under the patronage of Mshengu Tshabalala hence the name 'Mshenguville'.

The conditions in Mshenguville informal settlement did not resemble a 'golfing estate', the conditions for many residents on in Mshenguville were appalling. "We really want to go. This place is bad and unsafe. Recently an old woman was attacked and killed in her shack. Only people who live here would know that there is an old woman who lives alone in her shack," A resident explains that "The [mobile] toilets are far, sometimes we wake up to find that some have been stolen. Some people just mess them up and behave as if they own them" (Moya, 2005, unpaginated). Mshenguville was home to more than 600 families. Without much facilities the residents of the informal-settlement had a bitter-sweet relationship with their neighbours, using their toilets and water sometimes with or without their permission (Pongoma, 2009). The informal settlers were moved from 2007 to make way for the contested eco-park which is still underway (Pongoma, 2009).

The site displays a palimpsest or layers of uses and programmes which have occurred over time. Even though change has occurred over time, previous uses of Mshenguville are resurfacing; this is evident through the resident's protestations to have a golf-course on site (This I discuss in the forthcoming chapter which deals with the palimpsest).

4.1.2 Locating Mshenguville Park within the natural water system

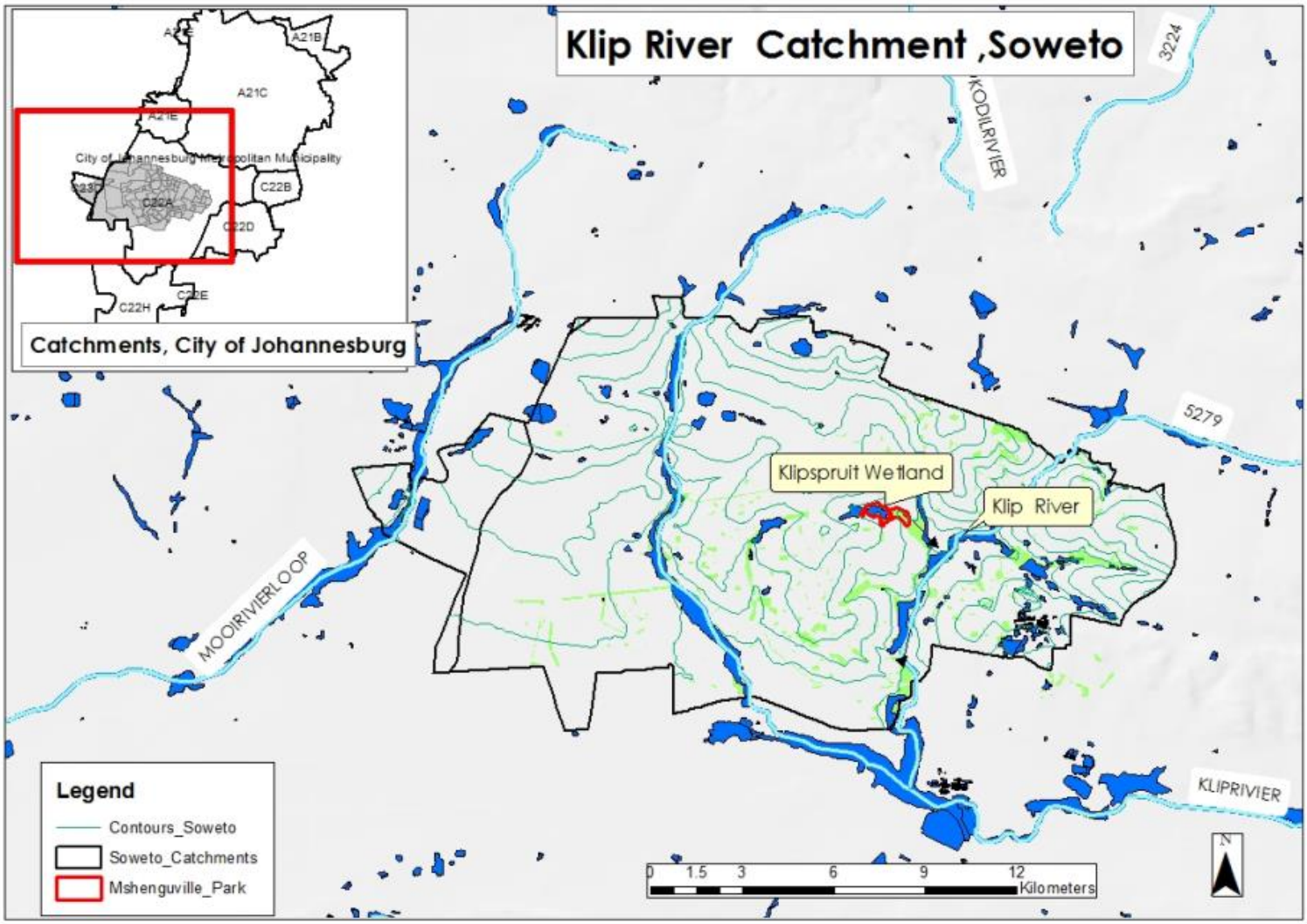


Figure 14: The Klipspruit catchment area within the City of Johannesburg
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

It is interesting to note that:

"Johannesburg is a city of rivers, mostly invisible to city-dwellers. Many townships were built near marshy wetland areas, trickling with small rivers and surrounded by reeds. Over time these rivers were affected by human settlements and became silted and polluted" and only a few are left (JCPZ, n.d., p. 9).

The site is located in the Klip River catchment, the catchment is made up of 4 rivers including; Bailey Spruit, Diepkloofspruit, Kliprivier and Olifantsvlei (Nzumbululo Heritage

Solutions, 2011). The Klip river catchment drains the Southern part of the Witwatersrand which is one of the most developed areas in Africa. The Klip River catchment has been reported as the most highly impacted catchment in South Africa. The klipspruit wetland is probably the most economically significant wetland in Africa (McCarthy et al., 2007). It was the main source of water supply in mining town of Johannesburg. The wetland currently functions as the pollution filter for the industrial and mining waste from the north. The wetland spans a distance of 6km, however for this study I am only considering the extent of the wetland within Mshenguville Park. The wetland is strategically located on the southern reaches of the mining belt and the industries which separate the township of Soweto from Johannesburg (see Figure 15 below). The wetland has further been previously used to augment the lack of irrigation water for agricultural sites (McCarthy et al., 2007). The extraction of groundwater for agriculture has resulted in a critically unstable water table, specifically in the southern reaches of the wetland. Therefore the wetlands ability to extract the heavy loads of metals and pollution from the waste coming from the mining-industrial complex is not guaranteed.

The Klipspruit wetland flows into the Vaal River, this poses a hazard for the primary source of drinking water in the Gauteng province. It is evident that the Klipspruit has a significant role in alleviating the pollution from the Johannesburg mining and industrial belt. The wetland is in a critical state the water table and the water qualities have experienced a high level of degradation over the years. The Klipspruit River as a tributary of the Vaal River means that conservation efforts are important for its functioning.

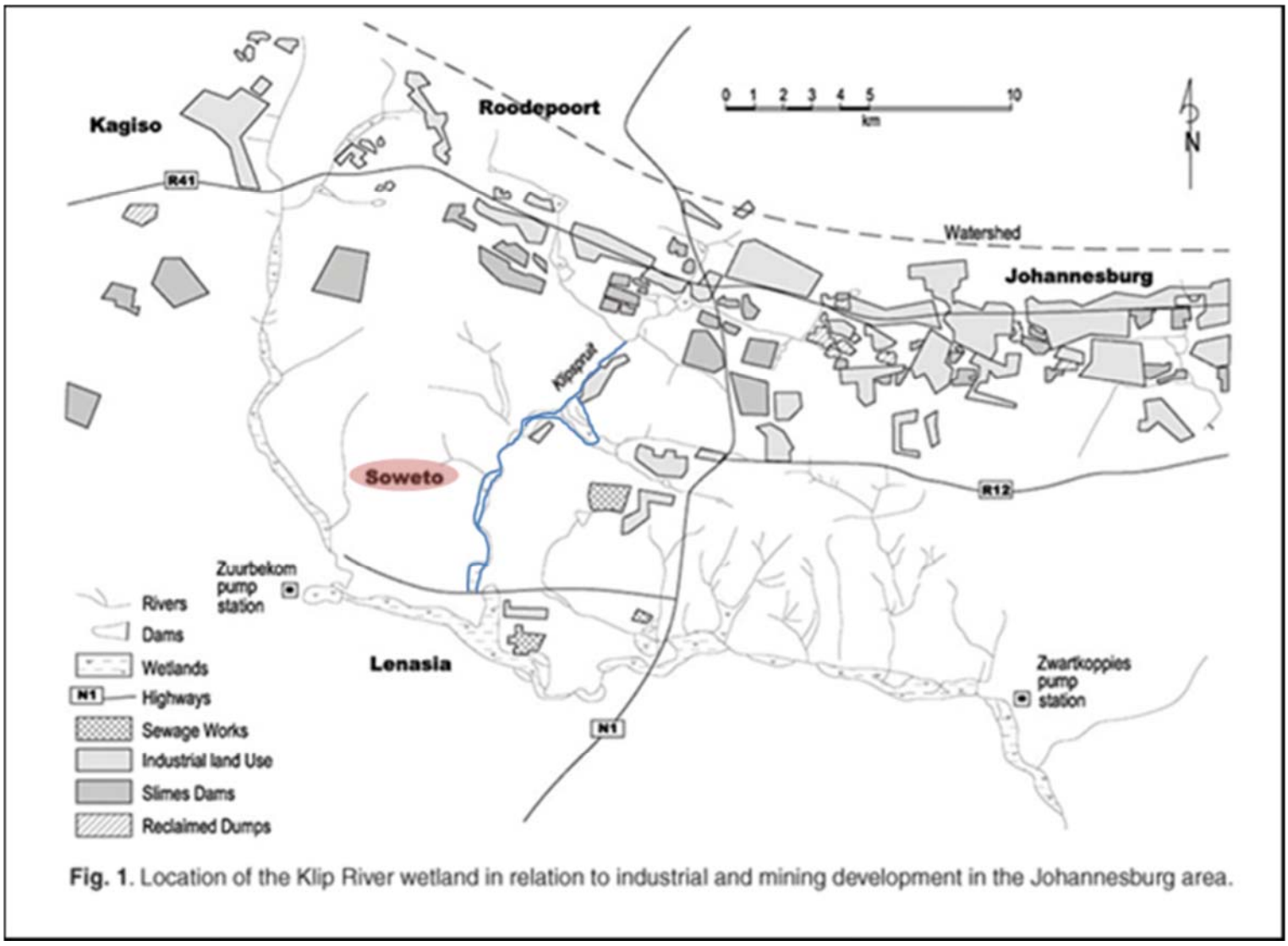


Figure 15: Location of Klip river wetland within mining and industrial development in JHB region
Source :(McCarthy et al., 2007, p. 392)

The park or public open space is meandered by a wetland. The slope of the site is slightly flat to slightly undulating with low hills which is favourable for wetland formation as the water drains significantly slower causing the surface soil layers to be seasonally or temporarily wet , which forms a wet environment for specific flora (hydrophytes) and fauna to flourish (Collins, 2005). The Klipspruit wetland is a valley bottom wetland and is highly characteristic of an urban wetland (TGM Environmental Services, 2016a). The hydrology studies conducted by P D Naidoo & Associates Consulting Engineers in 2008 indicates that there is a higher risk of flooding in the preferred site for the development

of the driving range; therefore the alternative site has been proposed by the EIA as a safer alternative for development and the alternative site (West) has been earmarked for rehabilitation (see
Figure 16 below) (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016; PDNA, 2008).

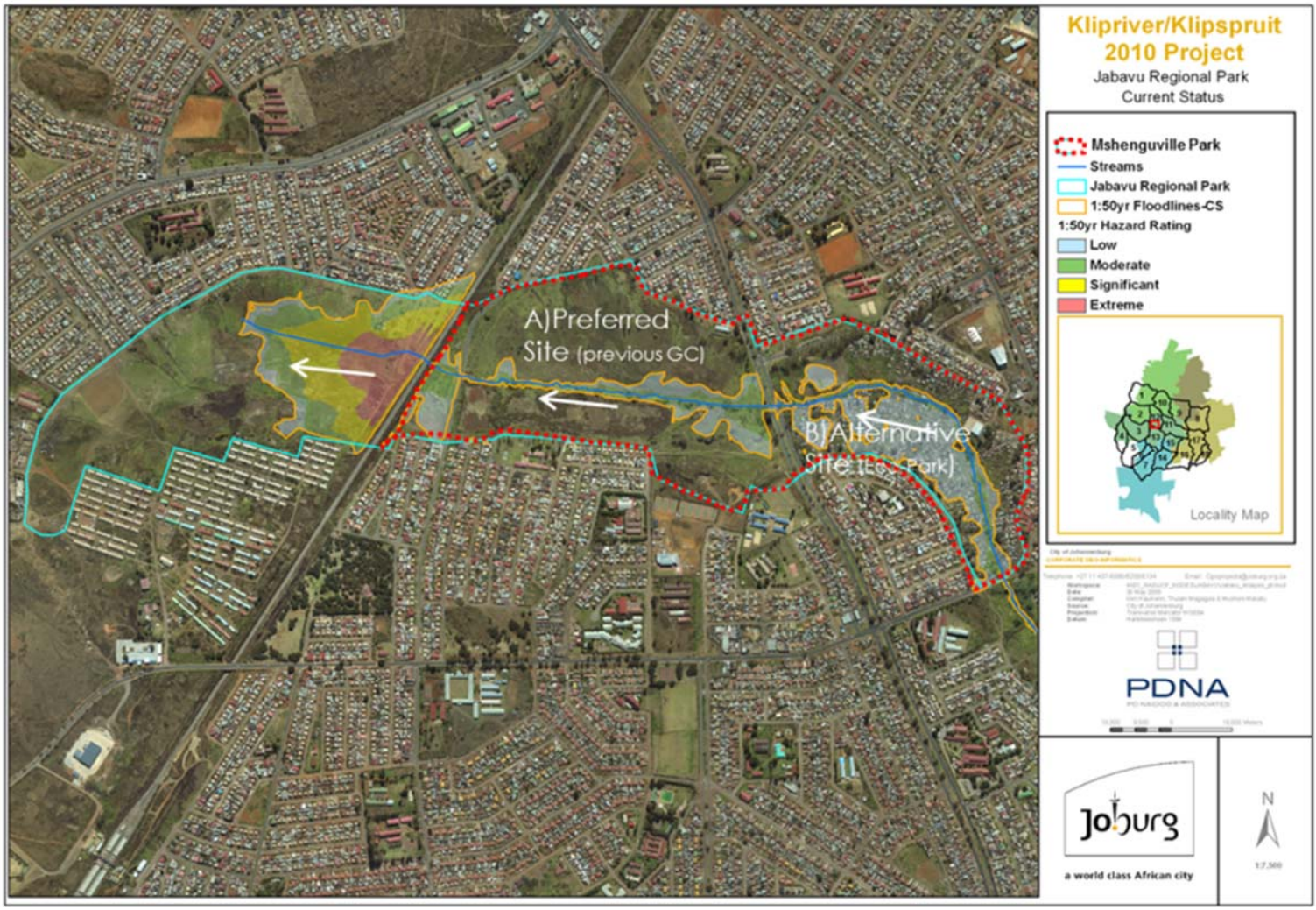


Figure 16: Flood lines for Mshenguville Park
Source: (PDNA, 2008)

4.1.3 Mapping the open space system

The development is located within a wetland therefore it is important to consider the open space framework in which Mshenguville is located in and the implications this has for development.

The backbone of open space in Soweto is attributed to the Klipspruit wetland and Klipriver. These are residual spaces which are undeveloped due to unfavourable conditions such as flooding. The Johannesburg Metropolitan Open Space System (JMOSS) (CoJ, 2002, p. 6) defines open space as follows:

"Any undeveloped vegetated land within and beyond the urban edge, belonging to any of the following six open space categories: ecological, social, institutional, heritage, agricultural and prospective (degraded land)."

JCPZ manages up to 20 000 ha of land and 3.2 million trees (JCPZ, n.d.). The land portfolio for JCPZ comprises of a variety of open spaces including; nature conservation areas, botanical gardens, cemeteries, parks, zoos, water bodies, undeveloped land and some land in estate areas (see Figure 17 below). While the greening Soweto precinct (present in the next section) has been a great initiative in bridging the green divide, most of the open spaces or parks remain undeveloped. Mshenguville as POS is located within region D and is categorized as undeveloped Park (see Figure 17and 18 below), however the park is currently under construction.

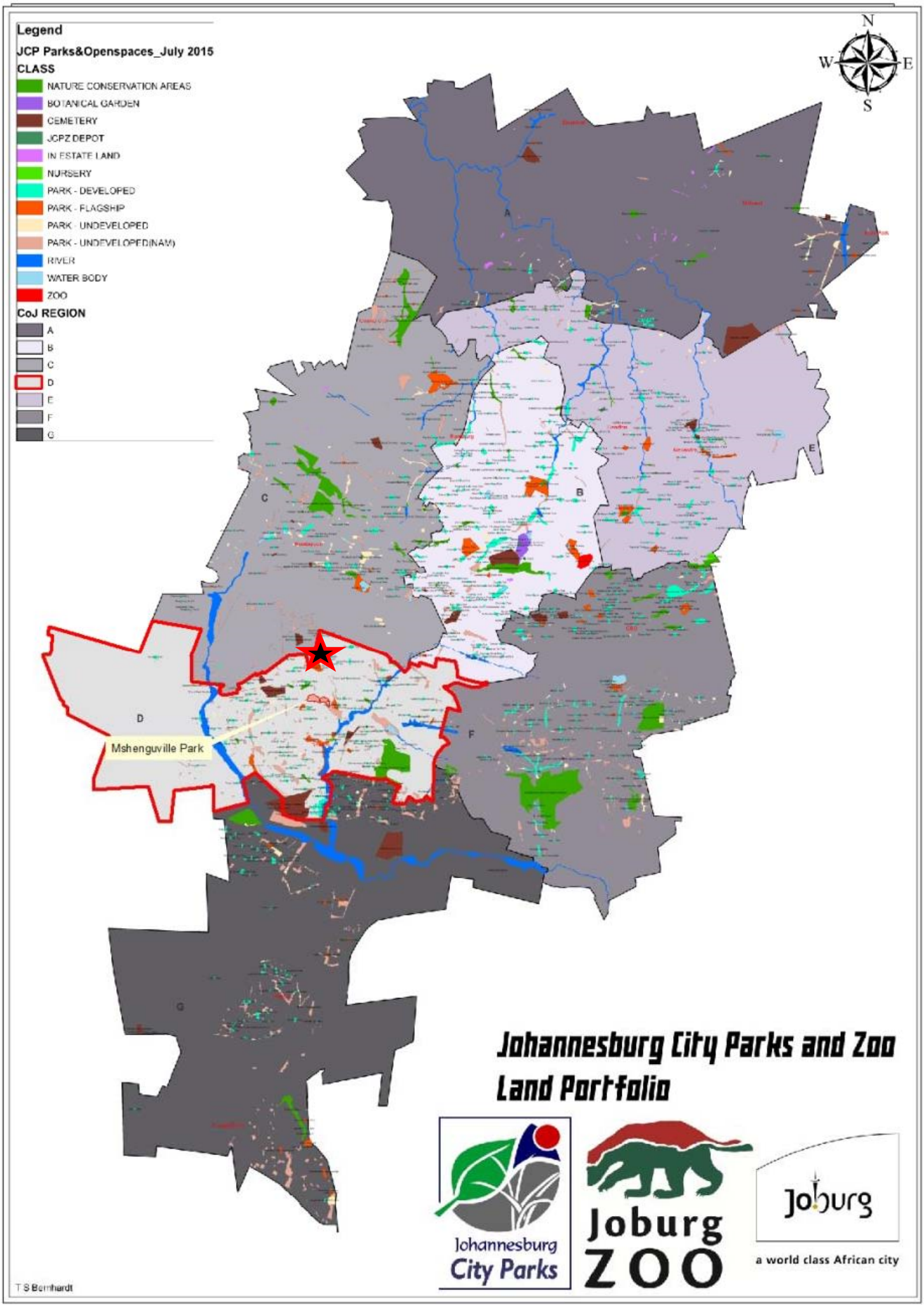

Legend
JCP Parks&Openspaces_July 2015
CLASS
NATURE CONSERVATION AREAS
BOTANICAL GARDEN
CEMETERY
JCPZ DEPOT
IN ESTATE LAND
NURSERY
PARK - DEVELOPED
PARK - FLAGSHIP
PARK - UNDEVELOPED
PARK - UNDEVELOPED(NAM)
RIVER
WATER BODY
ZOO
CoJ REGION
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
N
W
E
S
Mshenguville Park
Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo
Land Portfolio
Johannesburg
City Parks
Joburg
ZOO
Joburg
a world class African city
T S Bernhardt

Figure 17: showing the land portfolio and open space products for JCPZ
Source: (Bernhardt, 2015a)

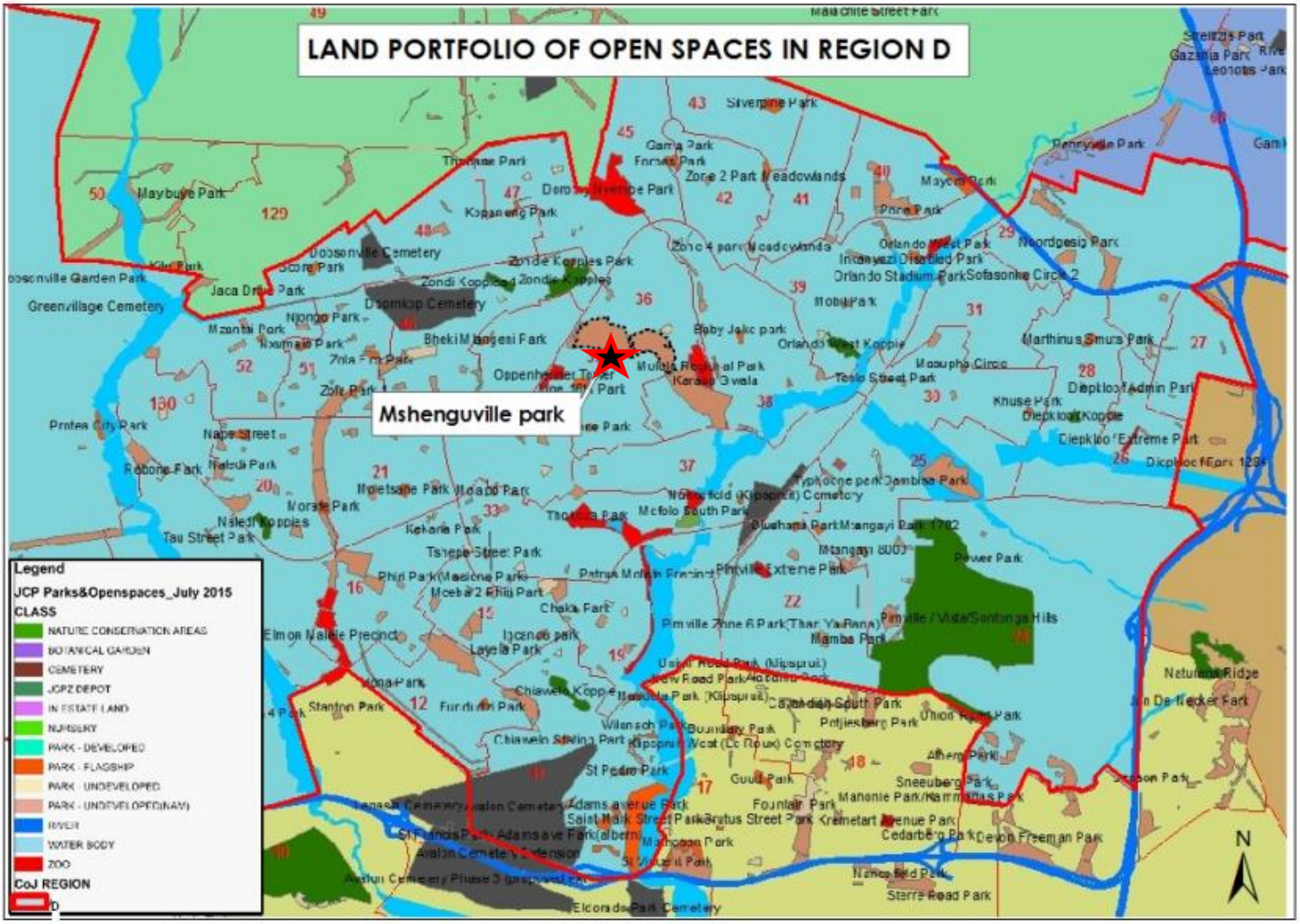


Figure 18: Land Portfolio of open spaces in Region D
Source: (Bernhardt, 2015b)

Furthermore JMOSS has categorised open space further into three different categories namely; primary, secondary and tertiary open space. These are ranked according to their ecological value 'primary' being the highest and 'tertiary' being the lowest. All levels of open space still need to comply with open space legislation (CoJ, 2002). Mshenguville is a combination of primary and secondary open space and is referred to as Supplementary Secondary Open Space (SSOS) (see Figure 19 below).

"These are the secondary open spaces that overlap with and extend beyond water bodies and/or ridges, which are part of the primary open space network. This would typically be the case where a river runs through a public park or where a dam is located within educational grounds" (CoJ, 2002, p. 34).

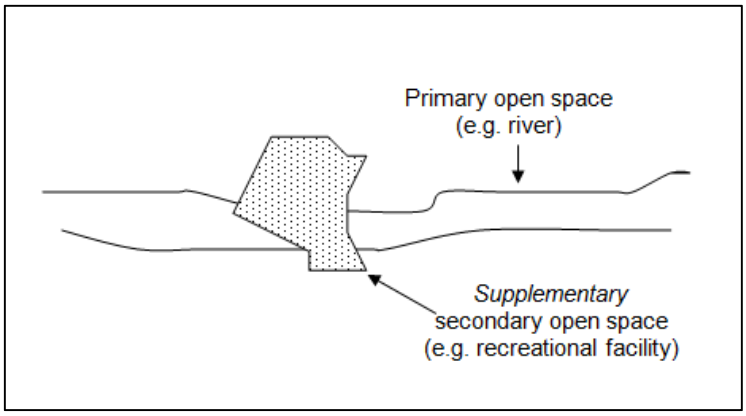


Figure 19: Johannesburg categorisation of open space (primary and secondary open space)
Source: (CoJ, 2002, p. 35)

Mshenguville is a public park (secondary) and has a wetland with high ecological value (primary). Primary open spaces are "no-go areas for development", with either existing or desired ecological value (CoJ, 2002). Secondary open space refers to land that is developable subject to specific conditions, but these open spaces could be categorized according to the following land uses namely: institutional, heritage and agriculture (CoJ, 2002). They have a lower ecological performance as opposed to primary open space. Therefore open spaces such as Mshenguville which are public parks and ecological hubs require a balanced development.

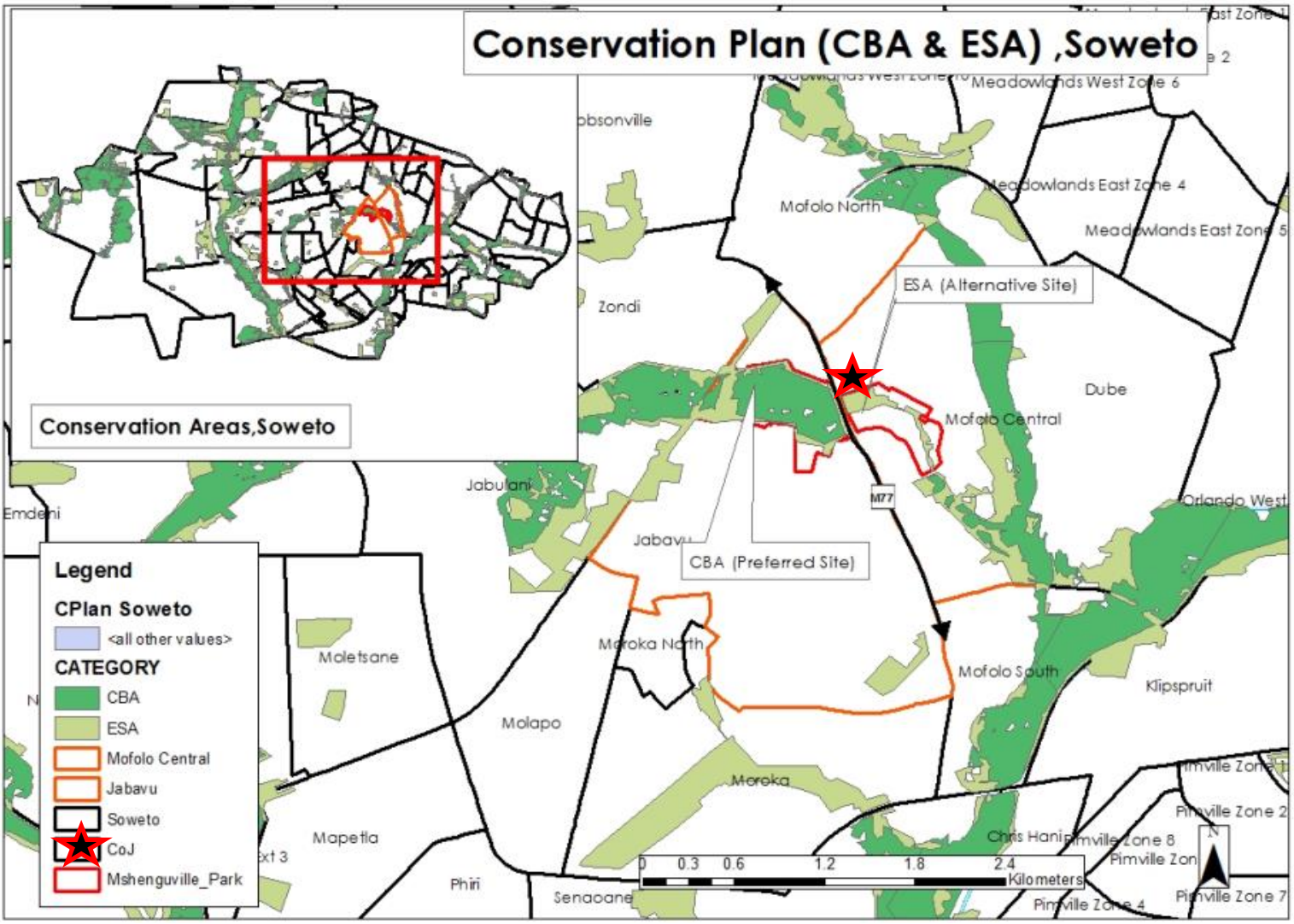


Figure 20: Showing CBA and ESA categories of open space
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

Open space in CoJ has been further categorised into Critically Biodiversity Areas (CBA) and Ecological Support Areas (ESA)as developed by the South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI) (see Figure 20 above). This is to ensure sustainable development by providing an account of critical biodiversity areas. It is used by planners and decision makers such as municipalities as a guide for development. The plan indicates which areas can be lost to development and which areas should be protected from any developmental and anthropogenic impact on the environment

(SANBI, 2016). CBA can be described as "areas of land as well as aquatic features which must be safeguarded in their natural state if biodiversity is to persist and ecosystems are to continue functioning. Land in this category is referred to as a Critical Biodiversity Area" (SANParks, 2010:22). "Ecological Support Areas are not essential for meeting biodiversity targets but play an important role in supporting the ecological functioning of Critical Biodiversity Areas and/or in delivering ecosystem services" (SANBI, 2016, Unpaginated).

The study area is located within the Tsakane Clay grassland. This vegetation unit is endangered with only 1.5% conserved within the target of 24%, whilst 60% of this grassland has been transformed. The presence of the wetland and the common reed on site are favourable for grazing, seen with the cattle grazing on the site. The site has experience environmental degradation from previous developments such as residential, transport and the electrical power lines so the ecological value of the area may not be as pristine as is overly stated (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011).

1.1.1 The 2010 Greening Soweto initiative and Mshenguville

Mshenguville Park development is part of the 2010 Greening Soweto initiative. The vision for this project is to "transform dustbowls and landfill sites to award winning parks and eco-services" (JCPZ, 2012, p. 2). Most of the park developments were based on the north and the Soweto greening project is an aim to bridge this green divide. Therefore a study and evaluation of park developments in a township context is necessary since a number of parks are being rolled out in townships.

The projects started at National level, the greening project is government's 'Million Trees' programme officially launched in 2007 under the patronage of the National Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (JCPZ, 2012). The aim of that project is to plant indigenous trees in streets, homesteads parks and public spaces. This is a joint effort between businesses, municipalities, NGO's and dedicated individuals.

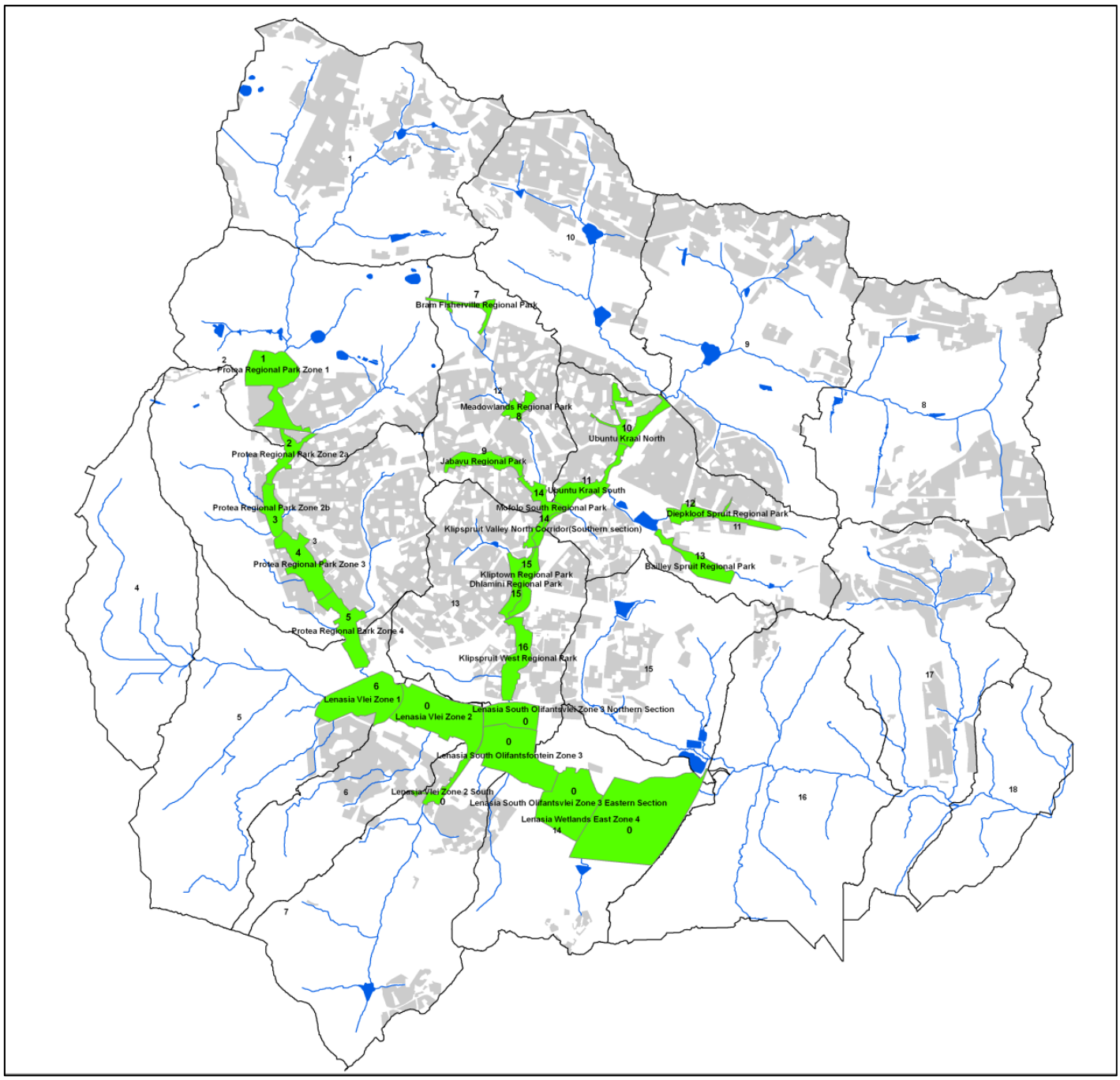


Figure 21: Interlinked park nodes earmarked for Greening Soweto project
Source: (PDNA, 2008)

The project was piloted by municipalities; the EISD department (COJ) spearheaded the project by conducting a wetland study and identifying nodes for greening throughout

the Klipriver Klipspruit (see figure 21 above) (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016). About 36 interlinked park nodes have been earmarked to form part of the green corridors which are located within these two rivers (Klipspruit and Klipriver) (JCPZ, 2012).The KK project is envisaged to promote a 70 km living network of open spaces and biodiversity habitats (JCPZ, 2012). This is to encourage outdoor recreation and eco-services for the neighbouring communities (JCPZ, n.d.). The KK project is primarily aimed at rehabilitating the wetland and providing recreational eco-services for the surrounding community.

In 1998 an open- space framework has been developed by Newtown landscape Architects (See Figure 22 below) (Newtown Landscape Architects, 1998). The framework includes a system of parks which will be developed along the Klipspruit and Klipriver with various parks with different scales. A series of community parks are developed within the green edge corridor.

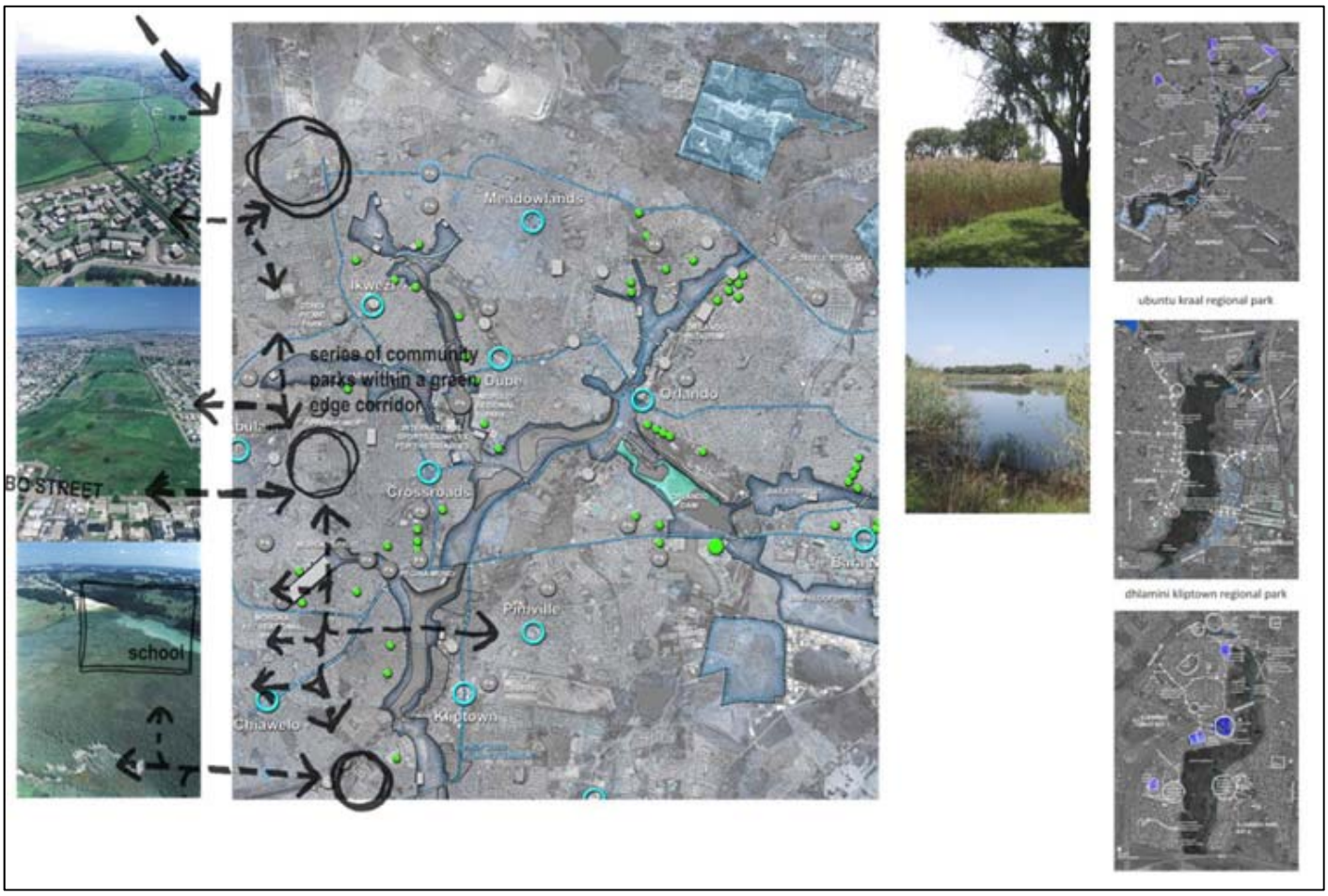


Figure 22: Open- space framework for Klipspruit Klip River, 1998
Source: (Newtown Landscape Architects, 1998, unpaginated)

The Soweto greening project is essentially grounded on the rehabilitation of the Klip River/Klipspruit (KK project) and the goal is to plant 200 000 trees by 2010 along main streets and in residential areas (JCPZ, n.d.) .The greening initiative particularly KK project is also important because it indirectly protects and improves the source of drinking water in the Gauteng province

The relevant Key Performance Areas (KPA) indicated in JCPZ strategy and illustrative of the goals of this project are “to create clean functional river system with enhanced biodiversity”, “compliance with environmental legislation” and “compliance with the

Environmental Management System". These KPAs are used to monitor this greening initiative (JCPZ, 2011, pp. 43–44).

4.1.4 The current Land uses and activities on site

Understanding the character of the study site entails investigating the current activities and land uses on site and its surroundings. Parks are not only made up of swings and benches but are characterised by their users and the surrounding uses. For this section I have relied mainly on site visits and observations as well as other reports concerning this particular site.

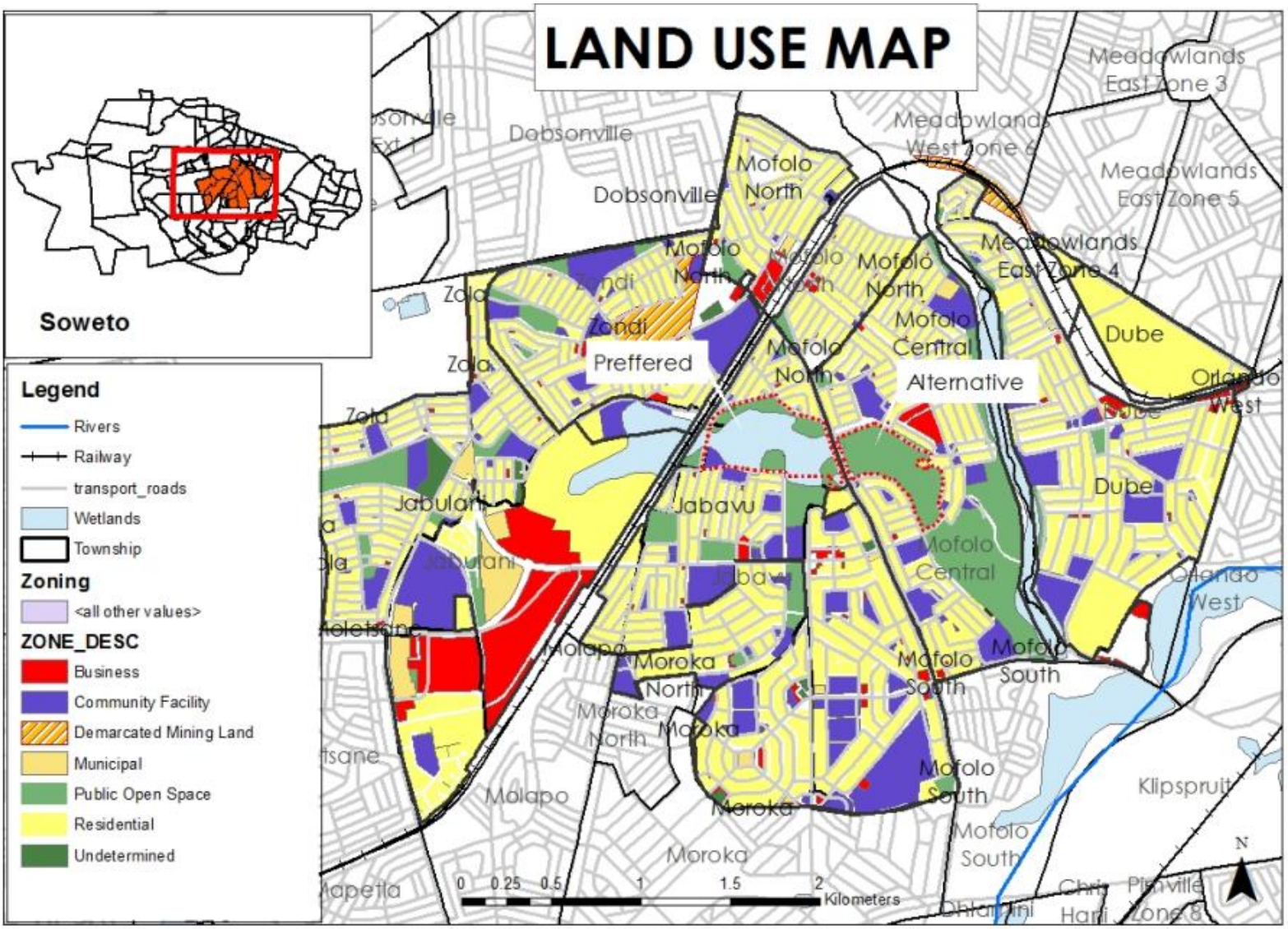


Figure 23: Land use and activities on Mshenguville Park
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

The neighbourhood surrounding the site is largely residential; however the POS is located in a prominent road (Elias Motsaledi) which links to Shopping centres, community facilities and public transportation nodes. The site falls within two townships namely; Jabavu on the west and Mofolo central on the east and is crossed by a road ((See Figure 23 above) .

Construction of the eco-park in the alternative site (west) is underway however construction has been halted due to protests from disgruntled community members;

some who disagree with the development of an eco-park and want a driving range and others with the location of the park in the alternative site (OSIM, 2016). Negotiations are currently underway to reach a consensus and to find a way forward (Stakeholder Manager, interview 2016) .



Figure 24: Activities taking place on the preferred site (western side)
Source: (Mkhomazi, August 2016)

4.1.5 The preferred site for driving range (western side)

The preferred site (West) for the driving range is bordered by a trail track on the north and a road on the South. The site is also right next to a school. The site is currently heavily used for dumping of rubble and household waste. Cattle roam freely around the site and there are also droppings from the cattle grazing all over the site (See Figure 24 above). The site exemplifies what Jane Jacobs refers to as the "the curse of border vacuums" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 276). These are borders either characterized by parks, railway roads and predominantly has a single use. As postulated by Jacobs these borders of vacuums are prone to blight and decay; this results in a fewer people using them due to a lack of vibrancy.

This part of the site is hardly explored by children or the residents as a leisure facility; the children use the adjacent road to play which raises the issue of safety. The portion of the site is used primarily as a footpath for the residents coming to and fro as a shorter route. Jacobs (1961, p. 276) refers to as 'special land'; people tend to walk around it, besides it but not through it. There is currently no development happening on the preferred site; it has been earmarked for rehabilitation. However, due to some of the

protest action, the site is being considered for development for the contested development of a driving range (this I discuss in more detail in the forthcoming chapters) (Stakeholder Manager, interview 2016).



Figure 25: Park development along the edge of the alternative site
Source: (Mkhomazi, August 2016)

4.1.6 The alternative site (eastern side) with existing eco-park

The alternative site is currently being developed into an Eco-park. According to the Basic Assessment Report (BAR), the development of an Eco-Park includes the rehabilitation of existing wetlands and the following amenities:

"linear Park with paved walkways, indigenous trees, lawn and flowers. Ablution block, outdoor gym, play equipment lighting, irrigation, seating, picnic sites, shade structure, Board walk crossing wetland, 5 aside soccer pitch and parking" (TGM Environmental Services, 2016a, p. 1).

From site visits conducted the following developments can be seen: A court, lighting pergola and seating, outdoor gym equipment, bollards, strip of landscaping on the edge and parking (See Figure 25 above). The development has been well utilised by the community however the site is partially developed and is not aesthetically pleasing. The existing vegetation has been seriously disrupted and creates a serious contrast between the developed eco-park and the residual undeveloped part (east) of the site.

During a public consultation meeting the public were concerned about the maintenance of the reeds, they complained that it is a favourable spot for criminals to hide out (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011). A number of surrounding parks which have been developed in the context of a wetland have not been rehabilitated , for example Zola Eco-park and Mofolo Park (see Figure 26 below). Wetland rehabilitation is commonly understood as the restoration of key ecological processes of a wetland however,

According to Gross (2003) ecological restoration is

"premised on the active involvement of human actors who bring with them cultural histories and constructions. Further, ecological restoration is a process through which cultural aspirations, academic knowledge, and 'natural' powers interact and synergize to produce an outcome.

Through this paradigm, the level of participation in an immediate sense, and social integration in larger sense, in the ecological restoration and subsequent park program are indicators of a strong and sustainable cultural dynamic" (Cited by Power, 2006, p. 27). "

Therefore according to this quote it is not enough to exclusively consider ecological rehabilitation. The Senior Horticulturists and the Environmental Protection team stated that the only development that will take place will be on the edge, and the riparian areas (adjacent to stream) will be left as is (EPT, 2016; Regional Maintenance, interview 2016). This is a serious point of concern for the residents who are familiar with the plights of mismanagement in these open spaces; they are acquainted with the safety issues such as rape and murder occurring on the site. Clarity is important to ascertain whether or not the sites will be rehabilitated. The Catchment Manager for EISD points out that the strategy or model for developing the various nodes of the park is to curb the resurgence of dumping that occurs on the edge of the site, through the development of the park edges, the manager refers to this practice as "Edge Control". Whereby the focus of development is on the edges of the site.The rehabilitation of the wetlands is said to follow after the installation of park facilities (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016).



Figure 26: Soweto parks which have not been rehabilitated

Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

The above photos illustrate three eco-park designs along the Klipspruit wetlands with waterbodies that have not been rehabilitated. Despite claims of rehabilitation being central to these developments (OSIM,2016).



Figure 27: Current activities along the alternative site (eastern/eco-park site)
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

4.2 The institutional landscape: mapping out the decision making terrain

This case study is concerned with officials' practices in the park development process. This section unpacks the distinctive case of the officials; their organization, institution, the relevant departments for this study and the instruments that they use.

4.2.1 Framework of departments involved

This is an attempt to map out the departments that have also been directly involved in shaping the decision-making (See Figure 28 below). It is interesting to note that Mshenguville Park has been influenced at national level by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) with the initiative of planting indigenous trees in streets, homesteads and public spaces (JCPZ, 2012). DAFF joining with municipalities (EISD) formed a city wide strategy for the greening endeavor. Greening Soweto forms part of the strategic attempt to transform the dustbowls of Soweto, especially leading up to the 2010 world cup. Nodal areas were earmarked by EISD department in 2008 that would be developed by JCPZ into Parks (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016).
JCPZ is required to realize the individual parks envisioned in the strategic document. They are given a budget and need to solicit the required expertise in translating the greening Soweto (KK project) into reality (ibid.). The "implementing agent" (JCPZ) is responsible for dual process of public participation and development. JCPZ has employed various consultants for the dual process. Environmental consultants' i.e. Nzumbuluo and TGM have specific role is to ensure that the plan is authorized, this

process includes public participation. The public participation is run concurrently with JCPZ's stakeholder and Relationship Management Department.

/Furthermore for the development process, various consultants are appointed including environmental consultants (Nzumbululo and TGM) and engineers (Bergstan South Africa), the engineers then appoint the Landscape Architects (Silver Horns Consulting and John Drummond) (John Drummond Landscape Architects, 2016). The landscape Architects then appoint contractors (Elite Landscape and Civils) to construct the site according to the plan issued and to conduct maintenance for the first year after development (Stoffberg et al., 2005). Therefore there is a myriad of decision-makers who each have a level of autonomy and expertise that they exercise over the project. Due to limitations of time and resources, I will focus on JCPZ while constantly referencing other organizations which are directly involved in the process.

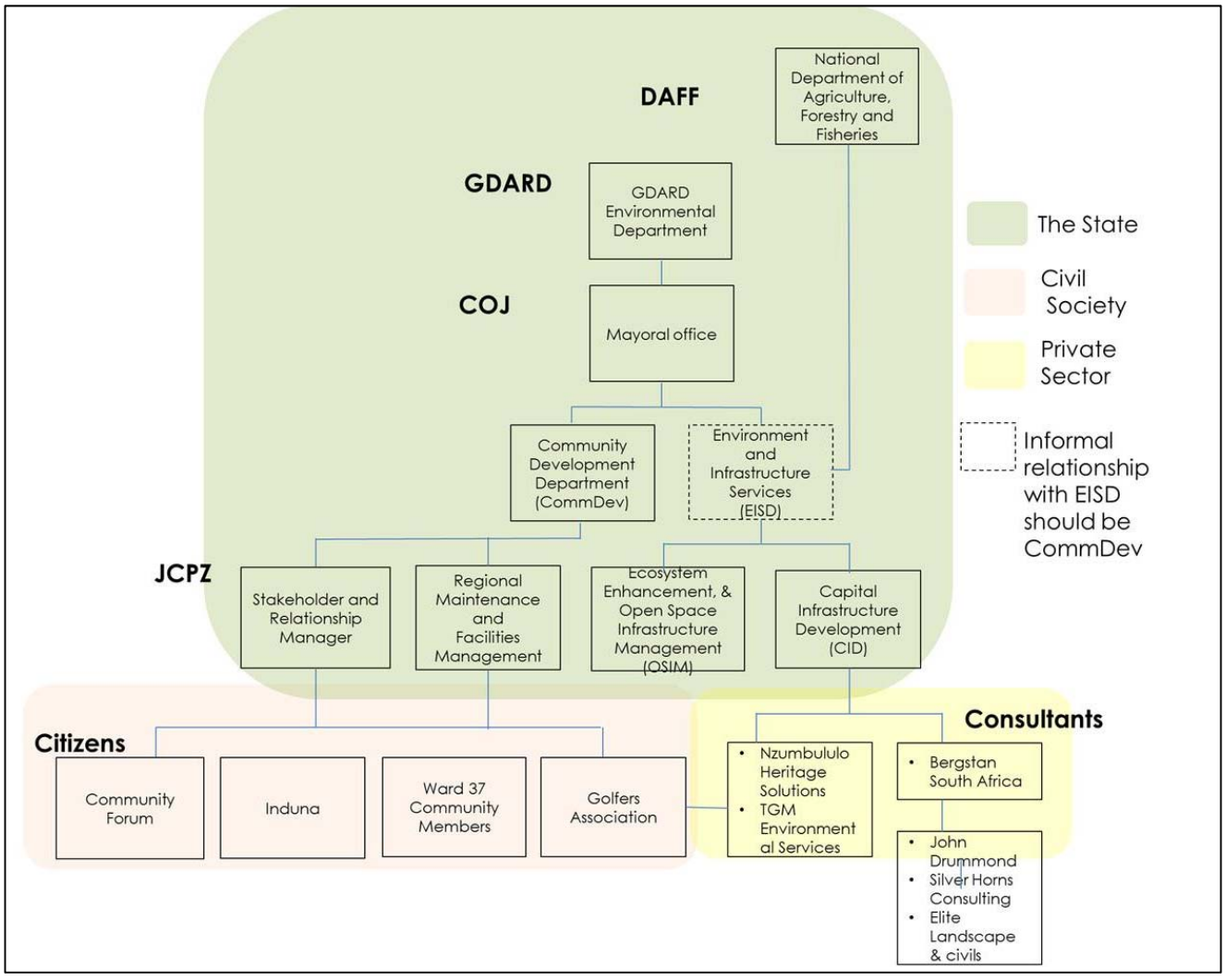


Figure 28: Institutional framework for Mshenguville
Source (Mkhomazi, 2016)

4.2.2 Institutional mandate

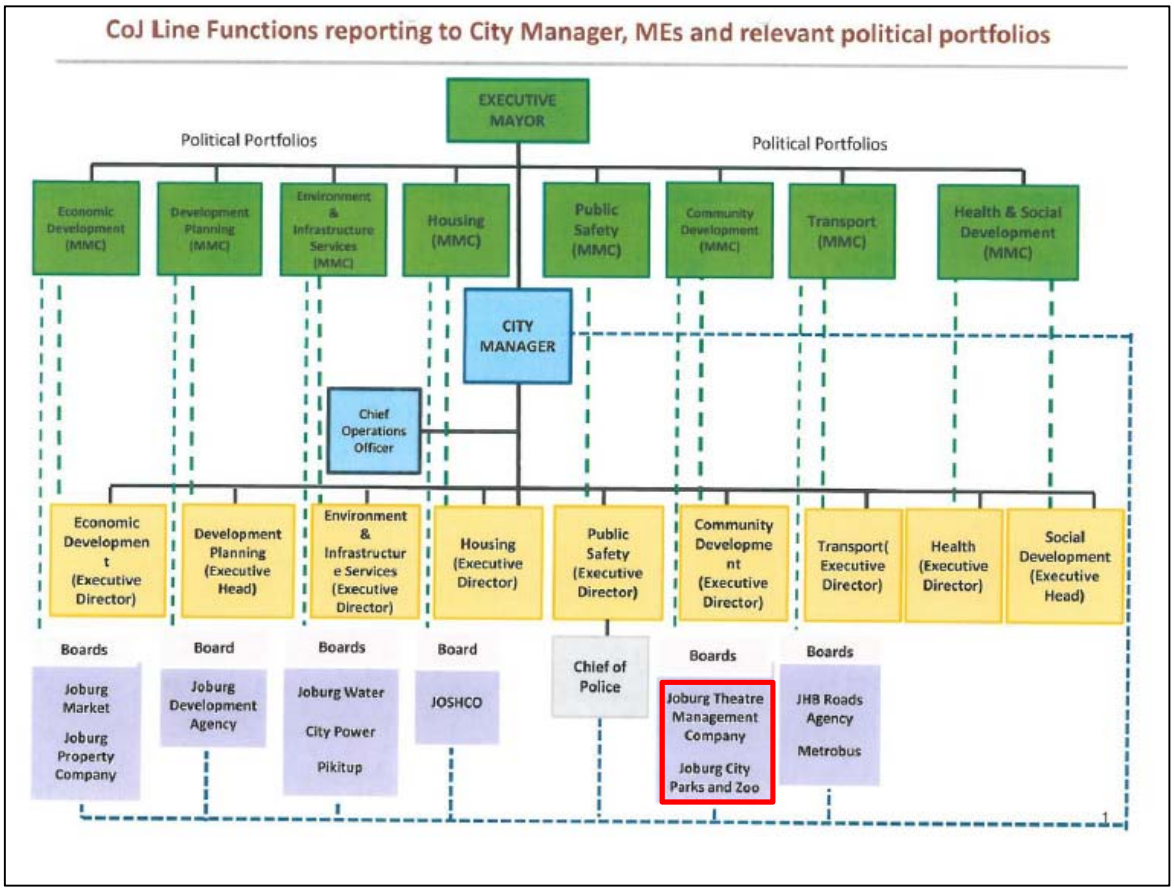


Figure 29: Position of JCPZ within the CoJ organisational structure
Source: (CoJ, 2007, p. 46)

Considering the officials practices I will be specifically exploring the officials within the JCPZ as the relevant organisation within the state dealing with urban park development and management. This study recognises that other spheres and departments have been involved thus the study has been cognisant of that. JCPZ is a municipal owned entity (MOE) of the City of Johannesburg (see Figure 29 above). It used to be called Johannesburg City Parks (JCP), and was formed as a part of the municipal entity responsible for the development and maintenance of parks in the city. The history of the Zoo dates back to the organizational structure that was formed to manage the Johannesburg Zoological Gardens (Zoo) covering about 54 hectares of land (JCPZ,

2013). Since 2008, Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) has registered as a non-profit company with a growing portfolio, managing up to 20 000 ha of land and 3.2 million trees. It is worth mentioning that JCPZ only receives about 1.21% (R457.2 million in 2012) of the entire Johannesburg Metro budget of R37.6 billion, therefore the organisation functions under quite stringent financial constraints (JCPZ, 2012).
It is important to note that JCPZ is to report to MMC for Community Development (CommDev) and is no longer assigned to report to Environment and Infrastructure Services (EISD), as it was before 2013 .The JCPZ cooperate Strategic Plan states that

"This strategic positioning should ensure improved focus and attention on the conservation, biodiversity and also recreation and leisure aspects of Zoological and Parks services" (JCPZ, 2013, p. 9).

The literature points out that a community orientated approach was adopted by a number of municipalities globally, to surmount the maintenance muscle needed to steer the organisation. This approach is perceived as a more sustainable option in ensuring that community exercises ownership and alleviates the maintenance burden on the entity (Jones, 2010b). It is either restructuring has not readily taken place with the Mshenguville Park development project or JCPZ have an informal relationship. Before the institutional review JCP (at the time) reported to EISD department and this relationship between JCPZ and EISD is still active. This could have a number of implications for decisions made. EISD and CommDev have varying mandates and interest thus they influence the project differently (see table 2 below).

Table 2: Juxtaposition of varying mandates between EISD and CommDev
Source: Adapted from (CoJ, 2007, p. 50).

EISD	CommDev
• "Resource Sustainability Policy, Planning and Research; • Integrated Infrastructure Planning and Coordination; • Environmental Protection and Resilience; and • Monitoring, Compliance and Enforcement".	• " Integrated Community Development Policy, Planning and Research; • Arts, Culture and Heritage Programmes; • Libraries and Information Services Programmes; • Sport and Recreation Programmes; and • Facilities Enhancements".

The catchment manager who is responsible for the strategic part of the project (i.e locating nodes for development and their vision) is located in the EISD department and JCPZ as the implementing agent in this case reports to EISD (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016). Therefore the EISD which is located within CoJ is a relevant department for this study. According to the CoJ (2013-2016) Integrated Development Plan (IDP) the specific role of the EISD and CommDev is to facilitate the following mandates: The descriptions above suggests that a more community orientated approach would be possible if the restructuring occurred, however, due to the current set up, JCPZ reporting to EISD this may not be readily possible.

4.2.3 Function of JCPZ

JCPZ is delegated with the task of developing and managing parks; their mandate also includes conserving open spaces and cemeteries. This MOE is often considered as the environmental pillar of the sustainable triangle for CoJ, ensuring that biodiversity and natural habitats are sustained and conserved (JCP, n.d.). According to JCPZ 2013-2018 Corporate Strategic Framework its core mandate is based on biodiversity management and conservation .

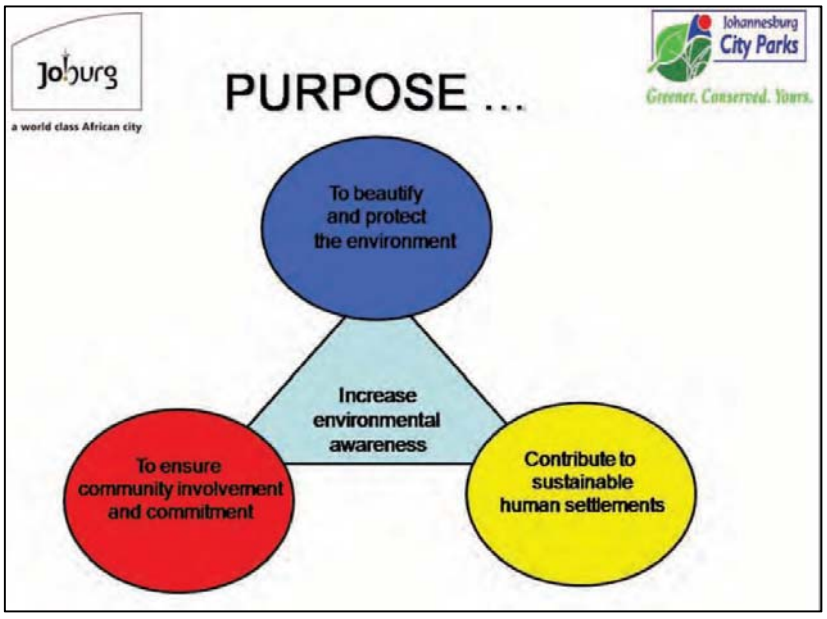


Figure 30: The mission of JCP

Source : (JCP, n.d., p. 3)

Figure 30 above illustrates the vision for JCP which is to increase environmental awareness; this is prior to the institutional review. The mission statement has not changed much following the institutional review.

"JCPZ aims to ensure a greener environment for this generation and generations to come. The pressure is on to improve environmental awareness and sustainable development" (JCPZ cited by Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011, p. 7).

However with that said JCPZ does not assume an isolated mandate; within the parks green imperative, officials need to ensure that open spaces are integrative of the socio-economic needs of the surrounding community. One of JCPZ specific mandates (which is included in the strategic framework) is to bridge the green divide between disadvantaged townships such as Soweto and more affluent northern suburbs in order to mitigate the legacy of poor service delivery in township areas, one of the purposive actions is through the greening Soweto project (which I discussed in more detail in previous section)(JCPZ, 2012).

"JCPZ must seek to ensure that the places in which communities live are distinctive, and that the urban form becomes an expression [of] citizens cultural identity – through designing for inclusion; and through programmes and interventions that seek to make participation more meaningful, representative and just, thereby bringing diverse communities closer to planning and decision-making (e.g. by providing platforms and opportunities through which multiple voices can be heard); and ensuring awareness and education of both rights and responsibilities"(JCPZ, 2013, p. 18).

It is also reported that two thirds of households in Johannesburg are moderately or severely food insecure and only 3% take part in urban agriculture. 90 % of cereals are imported and susceptible to the fluctuating pricing trends. Access to markets for nutritious foods is often difficult due to distance and high transportation costs (JCPZ, 2013).

"It is critical therefore that the City consider and develop approaches to support and enhance community based urban agriculture and the provision of open space allocated to this end" (JCPZ, 2013, p. 12).

It is not clear why this pressing issue has not been included as part of JCPZ core mandate (see Figure 30 above). JCPZ acknowledges that it has a role to play in alleviating some of the socio-economic issues that are prevalent particularly in marginalized cities however it seems as though it is part of the institutional values that are espoused by the organization however have not been officiated purposefully as a binding policy.

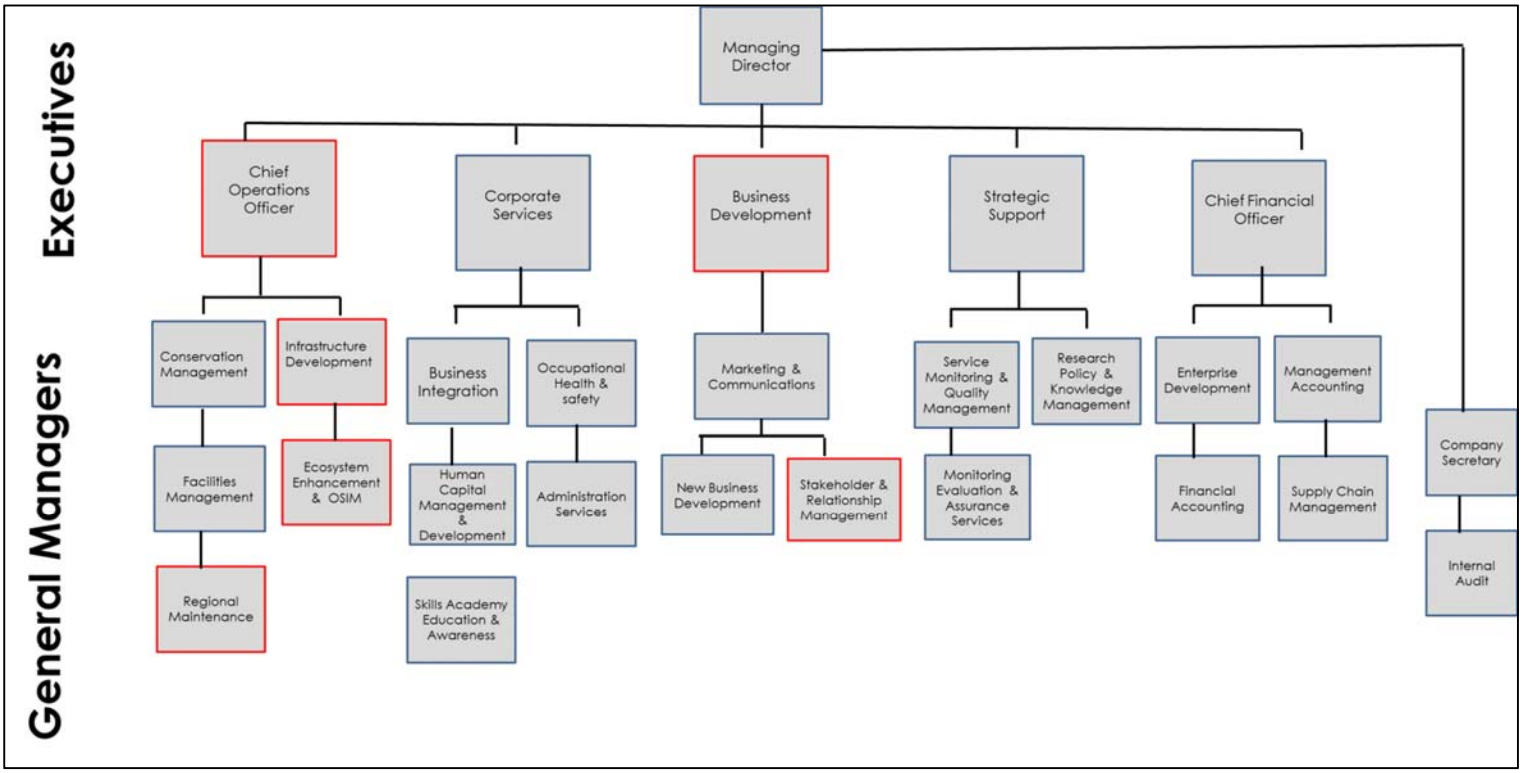


Figure 31: Organogram for JCPZ
Source: (Adapted from JCPZ, 2016, pp. 4–5)

The relevant departments involved in the Mshenguville development process are mainly located under the Operations Office and Business Development (See Figure 31 above) and includes amongst others:

- Firstly Ecosystem and Enhancement and OSIM (Open Space Infrastructure Management). This department is largely focused on the conservation of ecosystems through the use of environmental compliance instruments.
- Secondly, Capital Infrastructure Development (CID): This department appoints the Landscape Architects which deliver the various plans.
- Thirdly for the public participation there are overlapping departments namely Skills Academy, Education and Awareness as well as Stakeholder and Relationship Management. They present the preliminary plans to the community affected.

- Lastly Regional Maintenance attends meetings development meetings, liaises with councilor and informs him/her about forthcoming development and facilitates the maintenance of open space in the area.

These are the four main departments which were directly involved in the development of Mshenguville (Regional Maintenance, 2016).

4.3 Conclusion

In reviewing the case of Mshenguville, it is situated in an interesting myriad of conflicting land uses and it is situated in a fairly sensitive environmental context with a rich history. The project is part of the Greening Soweto project, which is focussed on transforming Soweto dustbowls into green spaces; and the KK project which is focused on the rehabilitation of the KlipRiver Klipspruit, the development of these nodes as parks has essentially been a cherry on top of the green cake. The case study falls into the larger framework of just sustainability. Mshenguville is located in the spatially marginalized context of Soweto with pressing socio-economic issues, as well as cultural and symbolic issues, which cannot be overlooked even in the mere rehabilitation and greening of Soweto. Therefore in the development of the park opportunities need to be sought to make the project inclusive of socio-economic issues. JCPZ is cognisant of the green divide and that it is not just an issue of turf and trees but a stark disparity between the haves and have not's. It is therefore critical for officials to seek for a balanced approach in the development of parks and to consider these disparities.

Urban wetlands in Soweto are not just environmentally degraded but are negative spaces which contribute to crime and safety hazards in the area and that is the heart of the matter, will the considered development address the issue of mismanagement? This section has also revealed the fact that JCPZ officials do not make decisions in a vacuum and they need to manoeuvre througha number of institutional and organizational structures. My research interest is not to point out the over stated fact of over-lapping mandates but rather to highlight the influence that GDARD as the provincial department responsible for a significant portion of the environmental authorizations. There is a need to consider the infuence the Environmental Impact Assessment, could have over JCPZ development process and the final concensus reached. In this case the EIA played quite a significant role in determining which

development programme was authorised, or one could even argue that the EIA was the instrument used to justify the eco-park.

What is also apparent is that there is an unofficial relationship between JCPZ and EISD. This informal relationship pointed out in the case study needs to be recognised as a significant shaper of decision-making. JCPZ receives some of its mandate from the EISD and this department possibly receives its instructions from DAFF (National). Therefore for my study focuses on the role of JCPZ as an institution however I will take cognisance of the institutional landscape, this includes the influencial of GDARD in the EIA process, the EISD as the strategic decision-makers and their role in shaping the manner in which officials make decisions for urban wetland development. It will be therefore interesting to investigate how officials navigate these limitations and how certain structures and their level of agency influences their decision-making.

Chapter 5 : Exploring the palimpsest: The historical development of Mshenguville Park

A palimpsest refers to a manuscript page in the form a scroll, animal skin, etc. that contains visible traces of writing from previous scripts that have been erased or washed off (Lyons, 2011). The concept of palimpsest is used as a metaphor in various disciplines including urban design and architecture to describe the transformation of land uses and architecture over time. Verheij (2015) in his thesis refutes the *tabula rasa* (clean slate) approach to development which disregards the heritage and meaning of a place over time.

The concept of the palimpsest is not only important for evoking meaning in design; in this particular study, the palimpsest is used to unveil the layers of decisions that culminated in the development of the eco-park. It is imperative to understand the timeline development for the project due to the uncertainty that lurks over the development. Communities are discontented with the current development, and there are some questions which remain unaddressed, these include: what happened to the initial plan of a golf course? Why is only half of the park being developed? What is going to happen to the cattle grazing on-site? Officials are also struggling to tail this project assail.

It is important to note that decisions made do not stem from clean slate; there are budgets, plans, and public processes that influence decisions made. This chapter mainly enquires; what are the decisions that officials make and what are the policy instruments that they use. Some of the questions this chapter hopes to answer include; when did the various land uses emerge, what was the motive for their existence and in some cases removal? Understanding the historical development of the decision-making process enables one to understand some of the trade-offs and decisions officials had to make, how themselves have shifted over time and under which circumstances.

Putting this puzzle together has been challenging due to some factors such as; institutional changes, different layers of plans, loss of staff in JCPZ. The overview of the development process has not been entirely documented; thankfully a grave attempt has been made by Mcetywa et al. (2015) However, it is still not comprehensive enough.

I will be reviewing three main conflicting uses or programmes for the park namely; cattle grazing, the driving range and an ecological park as the three primary layers form the palimpsest (See Figure 32 below) .



Figure 32: Land use/ programmes that are being traded-off in Mshenguville
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2017)

5.1 Parallel process between the Integrated Development Plan and the Development Appraisal Document

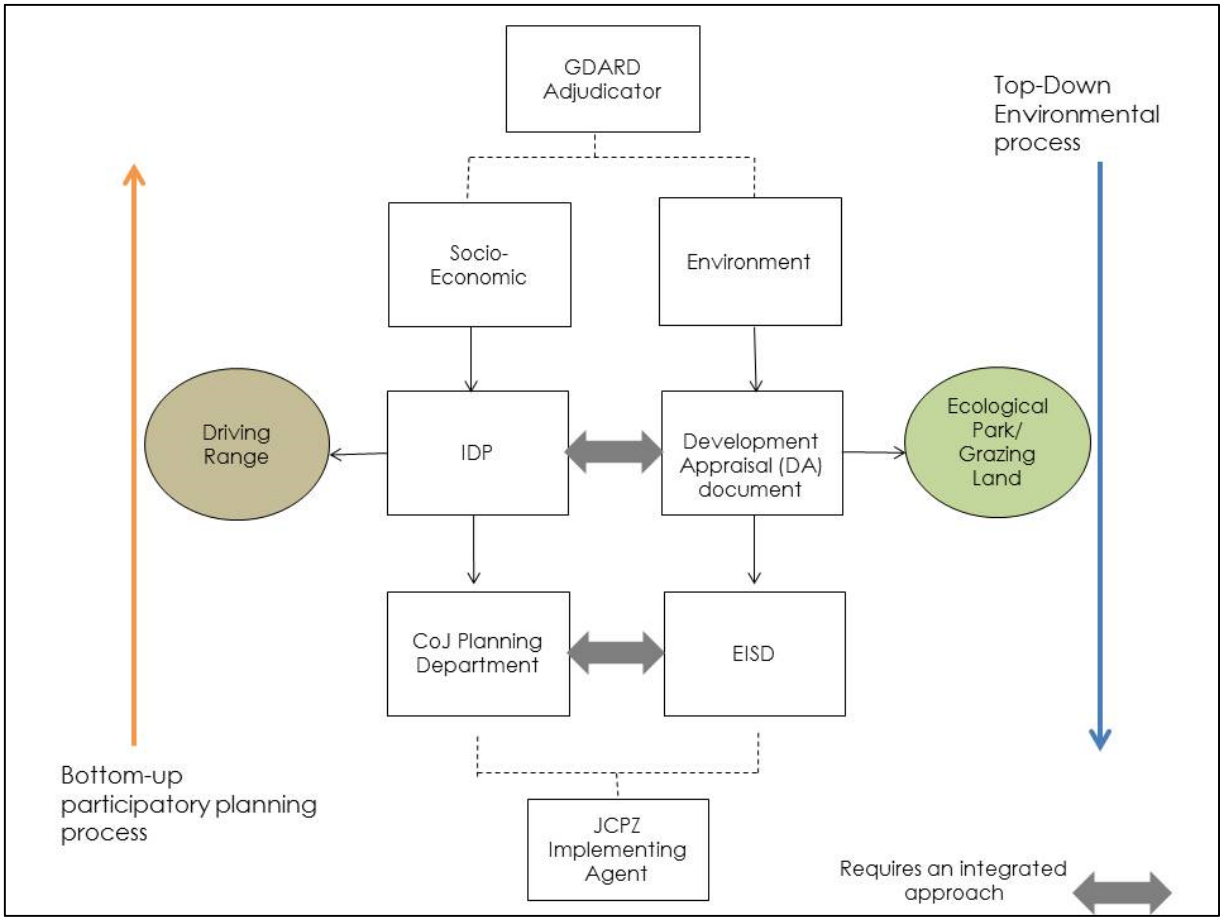


Figure 33: Parallel process between IDP and DA
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016)

The palimpsest is based on a parallel process between the IDP and the DA document (See Figure 33 above). Both these contradictory plans (the driving range and the ecological park/ grazing land) are envisioned for Mshenguville Park. Sustainability requires an integration of social, economic and environmental attributes of development; mainly these plans need to be coordinated. However, this is not easy since the processes are implemented by different departments with varying approaches.

South Africa has a cruel history of environmental policy. As mentioned, in most cases, the environment was prioritized versus securing housing the poor. For example, a number of black South Africans were forcefully removed from their homes to make room for game parks, which they were prohibited from visiting. Environmental policy was thus seen as an oppressive instrument. Thus Environmental Justice and Just Sustainability were seen as relevant in transforming environmental planning (Rossouw and Wiseman, 2004a). The new South African government has opted for a linked-incentive strategy which entails the integration of human settlements interests (socio-economic) in the protection of the environment (Aliber, 2002).

Since 1996 the government has endeavoured to transform government into a more bottom-up and inclusive form of government. The IDP was thus introduced in 1996 during the creation of a new system of local governance in South Africa (Harrison, 2008; Mabin, 2002). The IDP came about as an instrument to integrate and co-ordinate various spheres of government and to effectively establish the role of local government (Harrison, 2008). An Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is one that coordinates the various aspects of development into one plan referred to as a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) this is in line with the integrative ethos of sustainability. The primary objectives of the IDP process include Intergovernementalism, decentralized decision making processes i.e. participatory based planning and integrating the fragmented spatial geography of the past (Mabin, 2002; Pieterse and van Donk, 2008).

The driving range is based on a bottom-up participatory planning process whereas the Development Appraisal builds on a top-down environmental process. JCPZ as a municipal entity and the implementing agent is in a tug of war between the IDP process and the Development Appraisal document.

Each plan undergoes an authorization process to determine whether it is environmentally appropriate (EIA). In theory, the EIA is an adjudicator of both plans and determines whether or not a development can proceed. Some of the questions this section hopes to answer include; How has the EIA as a policy instrument influenced the final decision made, has it influenced the final decision at all?

In this chapter, I will be exploring how coordination (or the lack thereof) between officials compromised the sustainability of Mshenguville development (the coordination of socio-economic and the environmental aspects of development). Furthermore, I will be analyzing the effectiveness of bottom-up processes of planning and top-down processes of planning, can both these plans exist or do they nullify one another.

5.2 The Integrated Development Plan (IDP): The driving range 2007-current

As alluded to earlier, the IDP is meant to surmount the condescending nature of environmental planning (and many other plans which are top-down in nature), through an integrated process of planning with the decentralized decision-making process. The rest of this section will be unpacking the IDP process as it pertains to driving range proposal. The questions include; what led officials to reconsider the driving range? What happened to the initial plan to develop Mshenguville into a driving range? What does this imply about the IDP process?

The make-shift golf-course that existed from the 1960's was destroyed during the1976 protests and soon after that it became home to informal settlers (Mcetywa et al., 2015). Traces of its memories and heritage remain nostalgically visible in the resident's hearts and minds. An active group of residents has requested a golf-course to be retraced in the development of Mshenguville as a park during IDP session in 2007 (ibid.). Below is a timeline of events that took place from the proposal of the driving range (2007) till the resolution to have a putt-putt (2016) (See Figure 34 below). I discuss this in more detail in the following section.

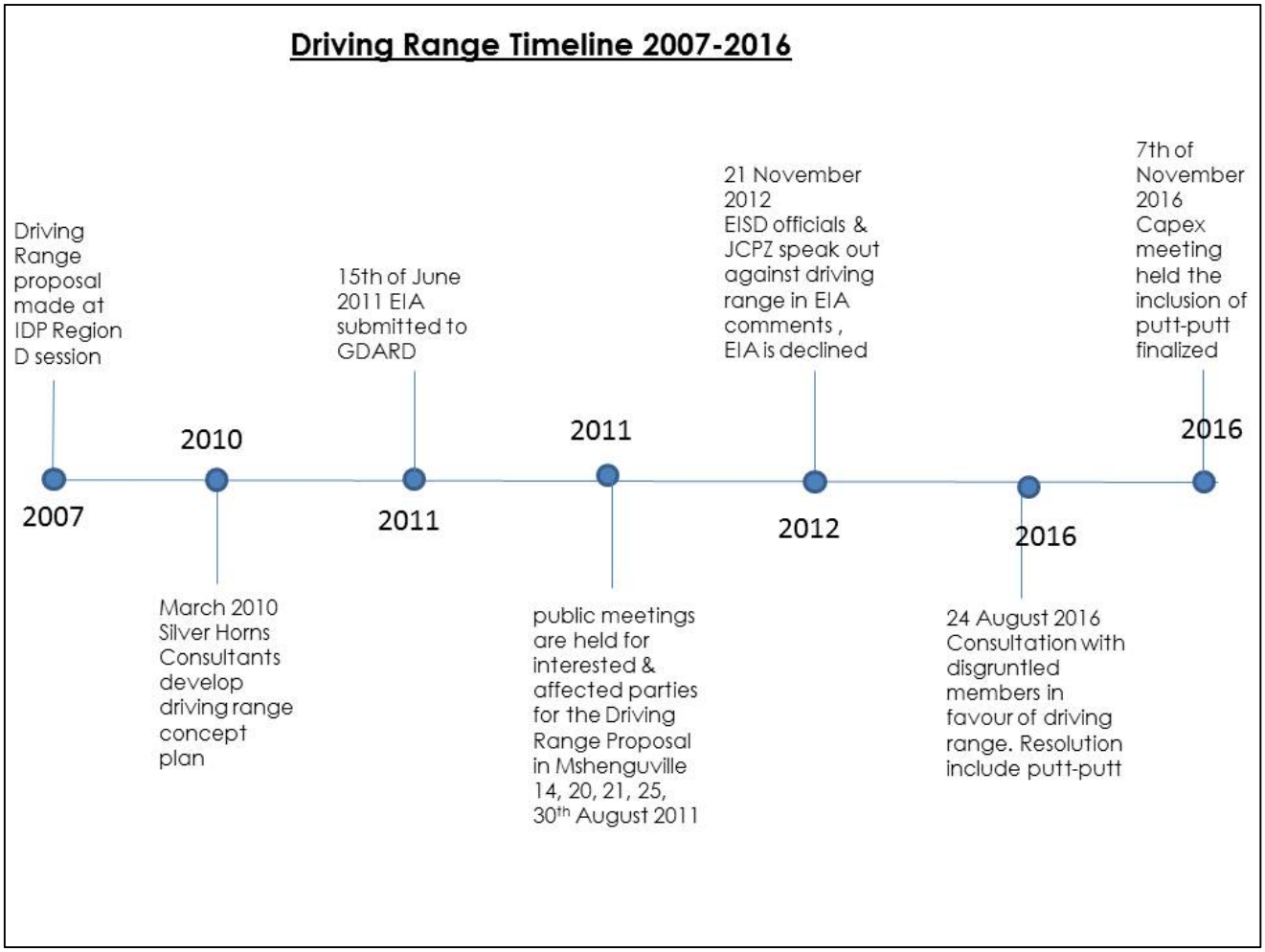


Figure 34: Driving range timeline 2007-2016
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2017)

Capex Projects

The prioritisation process has culminated into a number of distinct projects:

2010 Related Projects

Project Name	2007/2008
Approved Projects	
Klipspruit River greening throughout Soweto	R 11,600,000.00
Greening of undeveloped soccer fields in Soweto	R 2,000,000.00
TOTAL	R 13,600,000.00

Figure 35: The Klipspruit River Greening Project in the IDP Budget
Source: (CoJ, 2007, p. 16)

The driving range was included in the IDP budget in 2007 under the project name Klipspruit River Greening throughout Soweto (see Figure 35 above). The project manager confirmed that the proposal for a driving range was first initiated during the Region D IDP consultation meetings in 2007 (during the relocation process of informal settlers) (EPT, 2016). The mayor's office at the time communicated to the public that a driving range would be realized in the spatial development vision of the city (OSIM, 2016). Therefore the project was envisioned as being part of the Klipspruit River Greening throughout Soweto.

As discussed earlier in the case study, the Greening Soweto initiative is not indicative of a single development but is a framework of open spaces that make up the Klipriver Klipspruit (KK) and therefore Mshenguville is part of the earmarked open spaces. Without consultations with officials one cannot assume that the budget listed in the IDP was specifically for the driving range. This is one of the discrepancies of the IDP Process. The IDP at metro level is broad and lacks detail. Therefore small projects such as Mshenguville can be lost in the larger scheme of projects. However, A document recording this process has not been available, however through discussions with the Acting Director of Integrated Human Settlements Policy, Planning, and Research; Department of Housing (CoJ) (Acting Director CoJ, 2017). I have been able to unpack the IDP process and the fate of the driving range proposal.

According to the acting director (2017), the IDP process is either held at ward level or region level, but in most cases, it is region level due to the number of wards in the metro. It is mandatory that all the departments in the city (CoJ) be present during the consultation meeting. The relevant department, in this case, EISD is supposed to note the public claims and factor them into their budget and plans. The relevant Department (EISD) then appoints the relevant municipal entities; in this case JCPZ as the implementing agent for the park. Also, Group Strategy which operates as an independent department is responsible for factoring all inputs made and recording them accordingly.

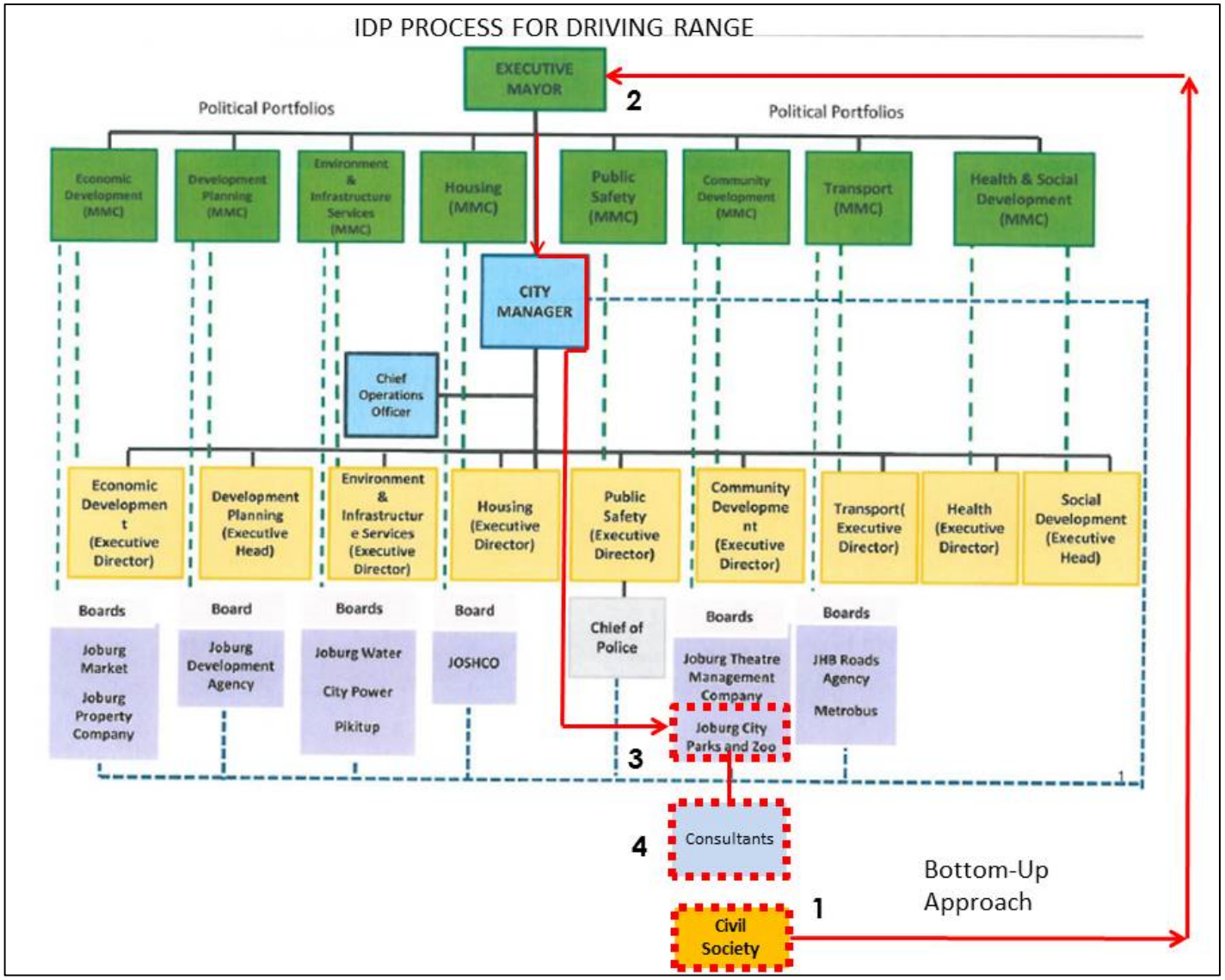


Figure 36: IDP process for driving range proposal bypassing the city
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2017)

However, in this particular case, the Catchment Manager at EISD states that the office of the mayor asked City Parks to consider a driving range in Mshenguville on the preferred site (I present these two sites in the introduction and case study)(See

Figure 36 above). The Office of the Mayor bypassed the EISD department and appointed the municipal entity for the development plan (Catchment Manager, EISD, 2016). The EISD department commented during the EIA process (specialist comments)

and gave their "professional perspective on the project" which then resulted in a negative ROD.

5.2.1 The driving range development plan: March 2010



Figure 37: 2010 Proposed design for a golf course (Conceptual Stage)
Source: Community forum archive, communicated to Mcetwya et al. 2015

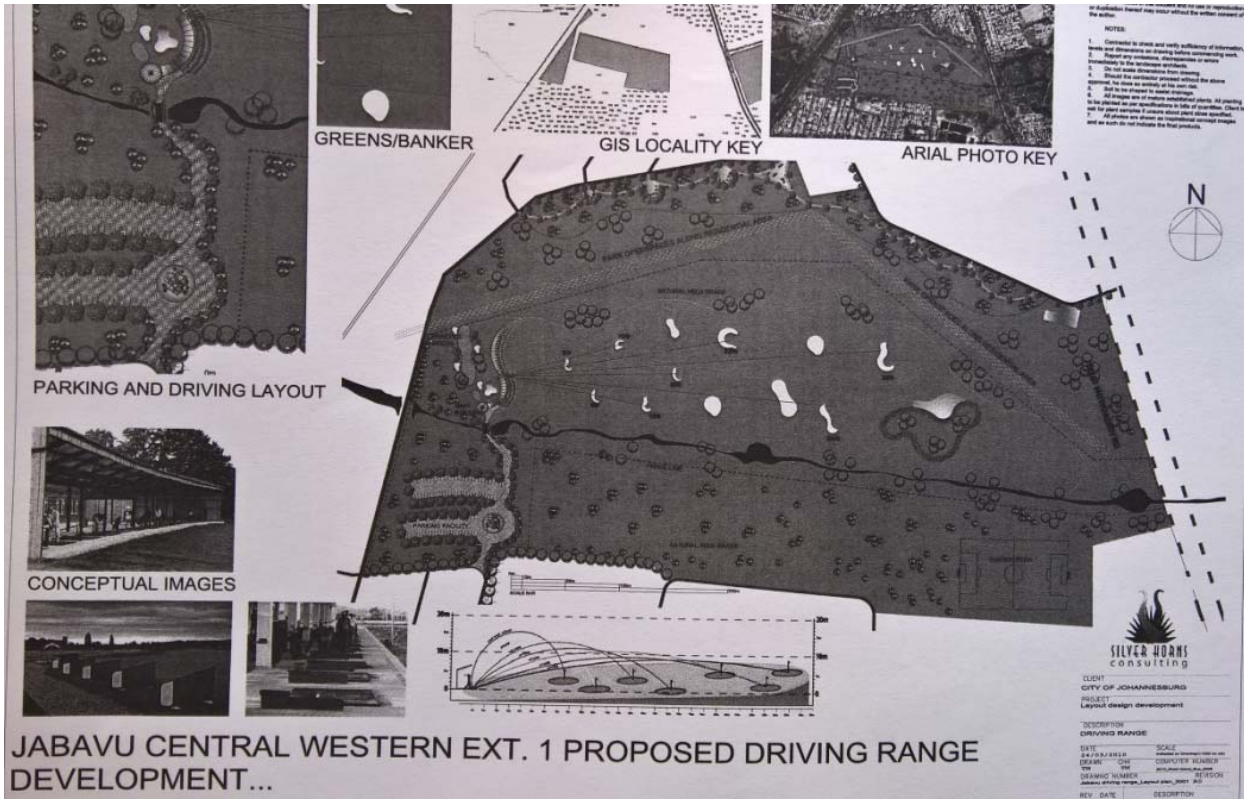


Figure 38: Driving Range Proposal by Silver Horns Consultants
Source: (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011)

Silver Horns Consulting which is a Landscape Architecture company, headed by a former JCP employee who was an in-house employee responsible for the design and management of the park plans; was commissioned to develop a design proposal (see figures 37 and 38 above). The plan was drawn up in March 2010 (when cattle grazing became prominent in Mshenguville) and it was still at a conceptual design stage referenced as layout plan 0001: Revision 0 (Silver Horns Consulting, 2010). The plan at this juncture has no revisions and no as-built drawings. Therefore, one can conclude that the driving range was at a proposal stage. The 22-hectare driving range entailed clearing and leveling, irrigation, paving, water features, lighting, fencing, lawn, trees, planting of shrubs and groundcover, signage, parking area, bridge, buildings and a soccer pitch (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011).

This plan is crucial; it serves as a quasi-contract between citizens and the city. Despite the development being conceptual in nature, it validates the fact that the City had to some extent agreed to have a driving range.

5.2.2 Environmental Authorization: June 2011

After the conceptual design had been developed it was submitted for environmental approval, the consultant responsible was Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions: the responsible Environmental Assessment Practitioner (EAP) had four years' worth of experience at the time. Every plan goes through EIA process. An EIA is a planning and decision-making process in terms of section 24 of the National Environmental Act 107 of 1998 (NEMA) (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011). The EIA has two parallel processes; the technical as well as the public participation process (ibid.). Whether or not these are integrative is questioned by this study. Below is a generalized EIA process flowchart showing the various stages of the EIA process from proposal to implementation as well as the role of public involvement in the various stages (see figure 40 below).

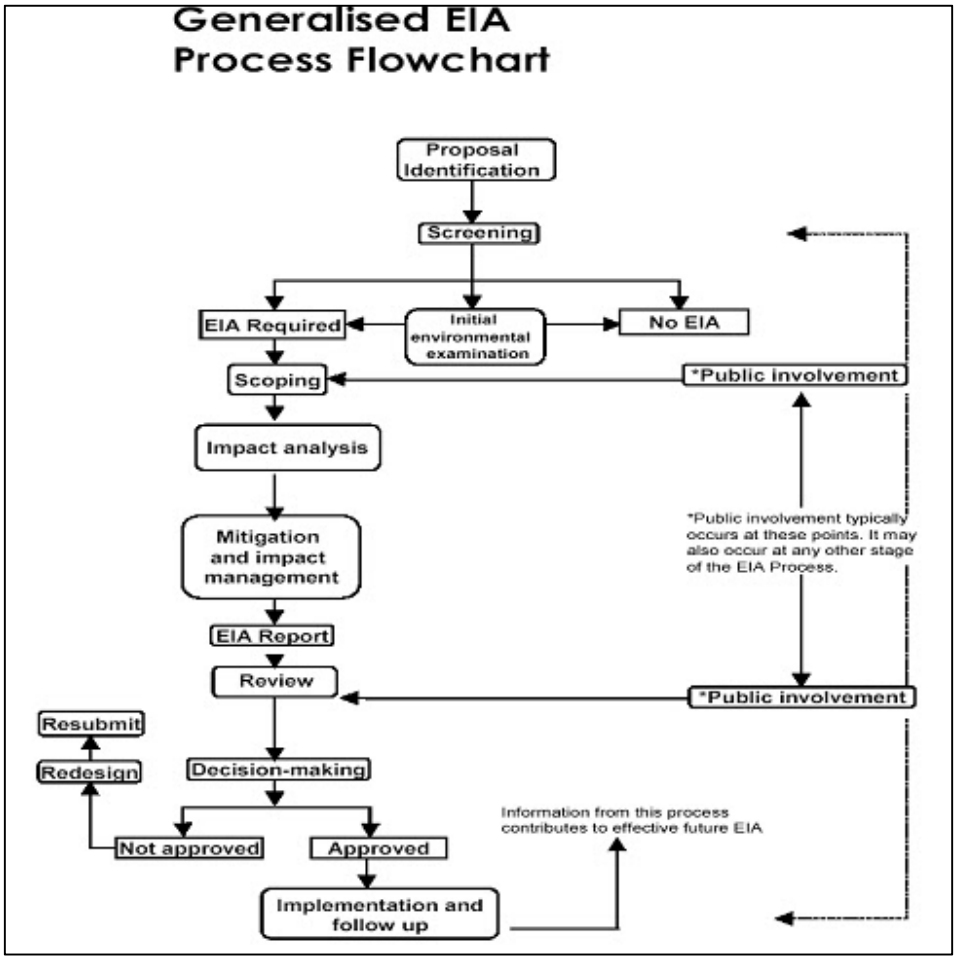


Figure 40: Generalised EIA process flow chart
Source: (Ogola, 2001, p. 6)

The environmental authorization process took place speedily. An application form was submitted to GDARD on the 15th of June 2011. A Background Information Document (BID), was distributed to affected communities (ward 35 & 36 of Jabavu), a month later (11th of July 2011) on site notices placed in and around the community (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011) (see Figure 41 below).

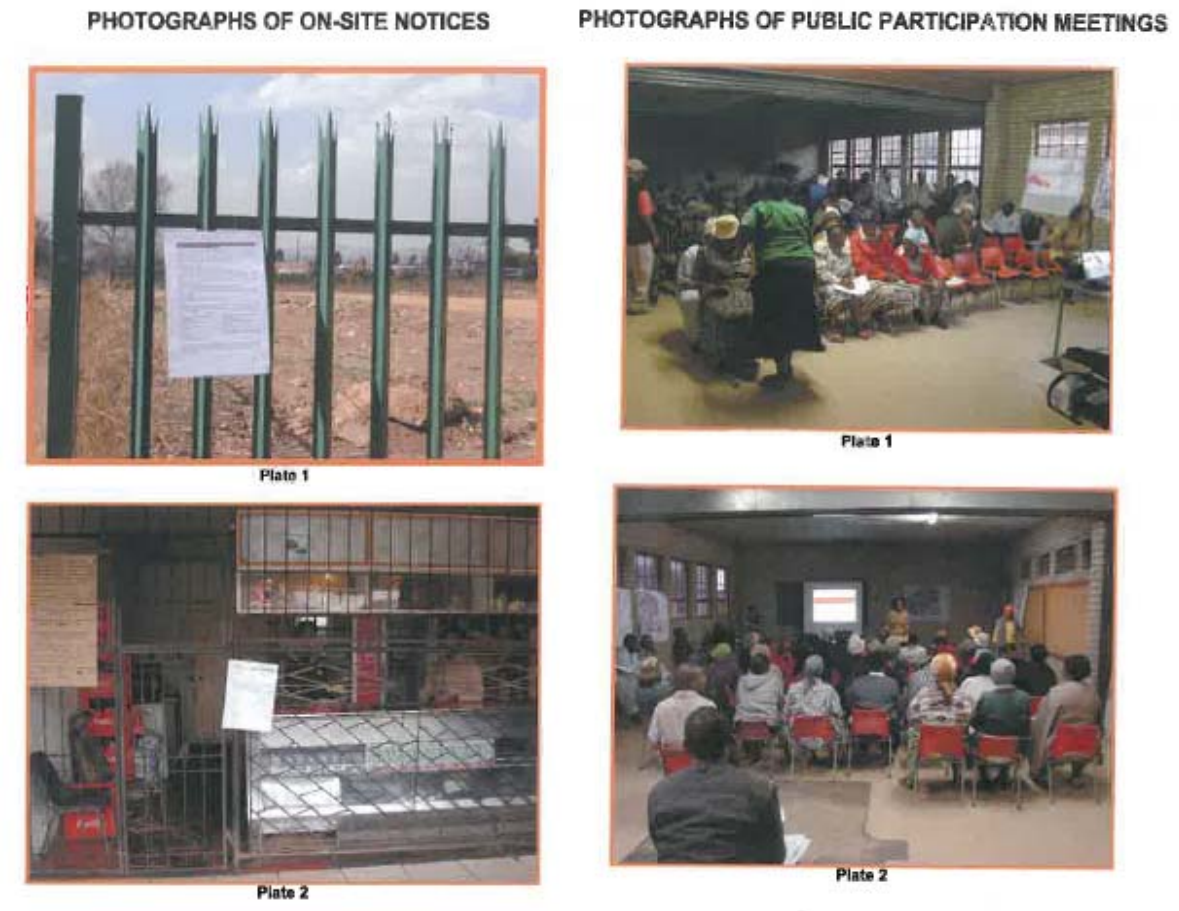


Figure 41: Showing public notices and engagements with public
Source: (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011)

Community meetings took place in the month of August 2011. The community members were in favour of the development. However, they raised some concerns, some of the comments include; where are the existing cattle going to graze? Why the half of the open space is being developed and not the other and would the development alleviate the issue of flooding that is prevalent on the site?

These comments suggest that firstly flooding is a real problem in Mshenguville. In my observation, the EIA and the development plan failed to respond to this matter. The problem of flooding then resurfaces during the EIA draft comments; if the environmental specialist could have tackled this earlier then the driving range could have received a positive ROD. Secondly, the residents foresee a management issue with the polarization or half park development. However, this again is not addressed (I unpack this further in the next section). Lastly, residents have a stake in cattle grazing and that the driving range could in some way compromise the driving range. Nevertheless, their comments were included in the scoping report, and the officials promised to address them and forward their comments to the necessary departments. The overall scoping report drafted by Nzumbululo was confident about the development of the driving range proposal. The concluding remark was that the location of the proposed driving range is in an area whereby most of the environmental impacts have taken place. The preexisting developments include residential areas, railroad, access roads, power lines, etc. Therefore no radical consequences were anticipated, besides the stream, the site contained no delicate features such as reserves or any heritage value(Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011).

5.2.3 The results of the EIA: May 2012

Nevertheless, the report submitted by Nzumbululo was declined by the Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (GDARD). The objections by EISD were made on the 21 May 2012 (which I unpack further). According to the Environmental Protection team at JCPZ (OSIM, 2016) from the beginning, they knew that the project "was not going to fly" because the chosen area for development is a drainage area. There were political dimensions; politicians were for this development, and they wanted it right inside of the wetland (OSIM, 2016).

"We never planned for this project." "We never planned for a golf course when we did iGreening Soweto" (EPT, 2016).

However, some of the officials from JCPZ and CoJ (EISD), and the Senior Horticulturist), believe it was not a possible development for a wetland based on some reasons which

I discuss later. According to the Open Space Infrastructure Management Department (OSIM) (2016), the site Mshenguville was prioritized for rehabilitation since informal settlements occupied the area. The EISD officials objected to the development of a driving range because in their view it was inappropriate especially considering the flooding conditions on the preferred site.

"… the wetland is currently playing a significant role in flood attenuation through increased vapor-transportation and increased attenuation and percolation into deep soil at the start of the wet season. Removing the wetland to develop a driving range will result in even greater run-off and enhanced flooding. Alternative one is not supported from a hydrological point of view. The report further concludes that an alternative site would be preferably from a hydrological point of view since it would not have further impact on the hydrology" (TGM Environmental Services, 2014, p. 2).

"We objected to this; these were instructions from the City. There was an internal meeting in 2007/8 "I was very vocal about it, as well as Nosipho and Siphokazi from Impact Management Department at CoJ. We [Environmental Protection Team] objected from a professional perspective because we knew it is a drainage area and that is not going to fly" (OSIM, 2016).

The OSIM officials' objections to the development of the driving range were expressed through comments made (21 November 2012) concerning the final Environmental Impact Assessment Report (EIR) compiled by Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions. The main argument among many was that the envisaged development could result in a 39% increase in run-off which could cause flooding and erosion (CoJ, 2012). The plan did not indicate a buffer protecting the wetland from development. Furthermore, the plan did not include a rehabilitation plan or suggest how storm water would be alleviated during the operational phase (CoJ, 2012). It seems that the design proposal had no revisions, was incomplete and highly conceptual, other plans which could have influenced decision-making were not included (rehabilitation plan, storm water plan) which could have motivated the feasibility of a driving range considering the hydrological state of the site. The plan did not even include contour lines. On this basis, the proposal was declined.

"Based on the above comments the Department does not support the proposed development. This Department [EISD] recommends that an alternative location is explored for the proposed

development and/or a low impact development that is compatible with environmental attributes of the site, which will contribute to the rehabilitation of the wetland and improvement"(CoJ, 2012).

The preferred site (as voted by the public) for the driving range is located on the Critical Biodiversity Area downstream and the alternative site (as motivated by the EIA) is located on the Ecological Support Area upstream (see figure 42 below). The west site is prone to flooding thus part of the EIA comments propose the east site for development (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011).



Figure 42; Alternative and preferred site for driving range in Mshenguville, 2011
Source: (Nzumbululo Heritage Solutions, 2011)

5.2.4 Conclusion

The IDP process thus far has pointed out that there are contradictions in the state. OSIM and EISD seem to be in opposition with what politicians and the public's proposal of a driving range. The office of the mayor bypassed the EISD department and instructed JCPZ officials to develop a plan of a driving range. Therefore there are differing views and conflict, and the plans (DA document and IDP) do not speak to one another. One plan is environmentally focused (eco-park), mainly responding to wetland environment while the other plan is socio-economically (driving range) centered. A lack of coordination is evident within local government which compromises sustainability gravely. JCPZ specifically CID as the implementing agent has appointed Landscape Architects to develop the plan; however, they have shown very little support for it. What also remains unclear is what happened to the claims submitted as part of the IDP process? It is clear that the fallible documentation process has also contributed to a lack of accountability on the part of the City.

5.3 The Development Appraisal document: The eco-park/ grazing land 2008-current

JCPZ and EISD Officials (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016; OSIM, 2016) posit that the eco- park development proposal is a response to the recommendations made by the EIA. It is located on the alternative site and has a 'lower impact' and is envisaged to contribute to the rehabilitation of the wetland. However, from the Development Appraisal Document, discussions with EISD catchment manager and during site exploration, it seems the eco-park was the initial plan and the status quo for park developments for the Greening Soweto. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, officials decisions are not made in a tabula rasa (clean slate), there is existing plans and budget which constrain their decision-making.

The process for the Development Appraisal (DA) document (2008) by the EISD took place at similar time with the IDP process (2007) (See timeline Figure 43) . The process was undertaken in fulfilment of the Greening Soweto Framework that was piloted during the 2010 world cup. As alluded to in the case study this included a series of parks in the Klipriver Klipspruit Catchment. The DA document was then passed down to JCPZ as the

implementing agent, which was expected to implement the entire framework by appointing relevant consultants i.e. Landscape Architects, Environmental Scientists etc. See below the DA timeline process from the hydrological studies undertaken in 2008 to its eventual uthorization in 2016. It is clear that the eco-park did not experience a linear process of development, it was contested , opposed and finally compromised.

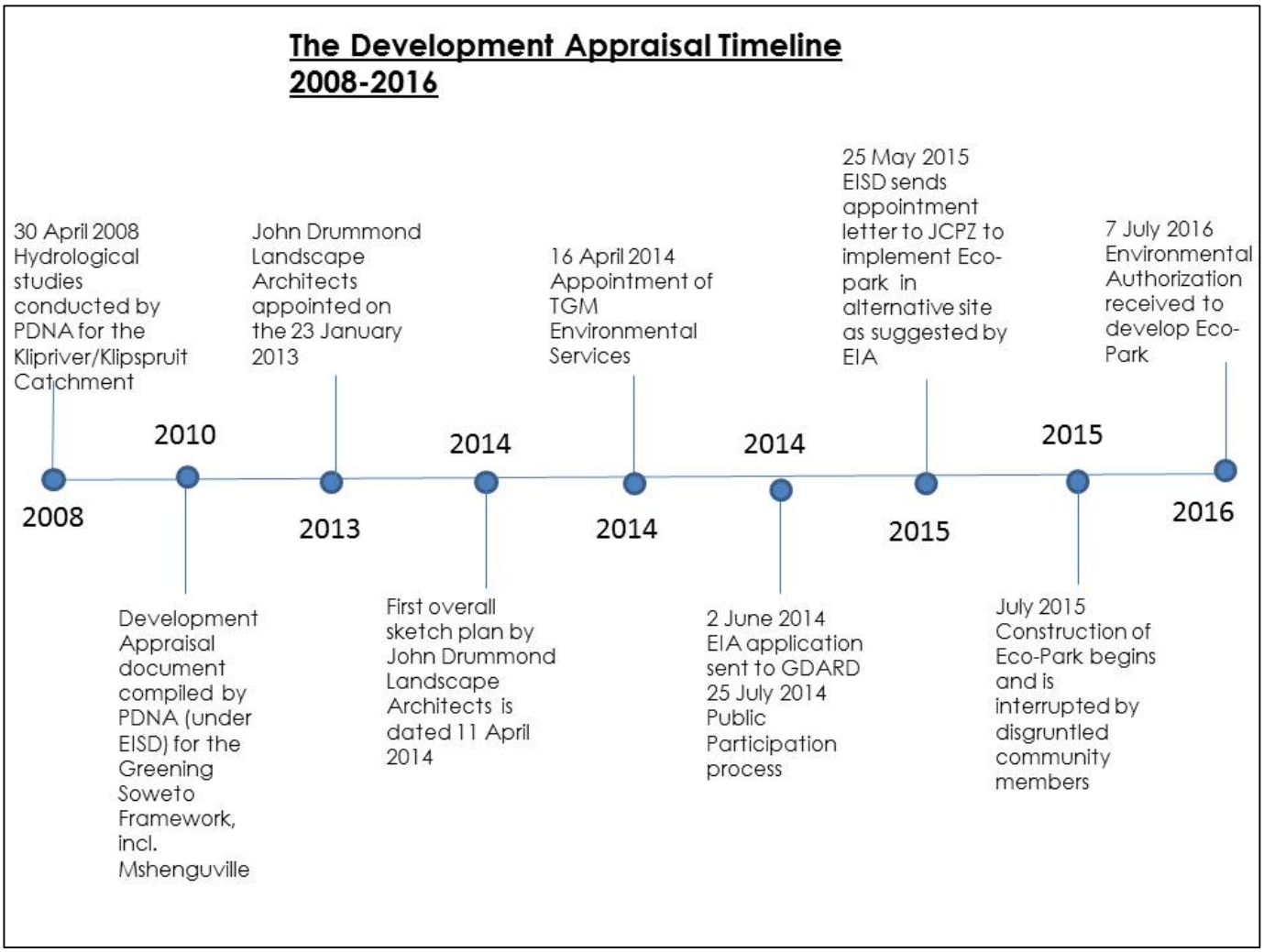


Figure 43: Development Appraisal timeline
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2017)

5.3.1 The Hydrological Studies

The process of the eco-park began with Hydrological studies which were conducted by PDNA under the patronage of EISD. The studies evaluated the wetlands and water bodies within the catchment to guide decision-making. The study mainly entailed determining planning level flood lines around existing water bodies. The study also mainly pointed out that flooding in the Klipriver Klipspruit (KK) is being exacerbated by urbanization and impervious surfaces. Therefore the study recommends the implementation of a River Health Programme for the development vision of the KK catchment.

"From the observations made in this study it is vital that a river health programme be put in place to address the issues that lead to a poor state of health of the river particularly the Klipspruit. The rivers of the Klipriver/Klipspruit catchment pass through a residential area of diverse cultures and beliefs and many of which require the use of rivers. It is therefore imperative that the river be in a healthy state for use by people in the area"(PDNA, 2008, p. 51).

The Greening Soweto project was premised on this recommendation to rehabilitate the water bodies (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016; OSIM, 2016). The strategy was twofold; edge control and rehabilitating the stream, such that it can perform its ecological function as a wetland. To mitigate the encroachment of informal settlers this strategy was used;

"We need to make wetland functional centrally because it is in the middle. Make wetland as functional as possible in the middle.Make the reeds to be able to fulfill those attenuations, store your carbon and take up lot of that water and function. On the edges which is where people do most of the illegal dumping. On the edges you will do some sort of recreational function whereby people have value for land. There you will get your green gym and a bit of manicured stuff. Where people can go and braai on the edges in the middle we leave the wetland as it is" (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016).

Furthermore, the OSIM officials understanding of an eco-park was that it is a park that is based on ecological principles, it is along a river whereby you are rehabilitating the river and incorporating pockets of landscaping (children's play areas) along the sides of the river without disturbing the biodiversity (OSIM, 2016).

Thus a series of eco-parks have been envisioned along the Klipriver Klipspruit. I discuss in the case study that most of the 'eco-parks' are not rehabilitated and are "shallow forms" with edge treatment and a shy away from maintenance. In fact, in discussion with the Regional Maintenance Department, stated that they have no intention of rehabilitating the eco-park (Regional Maintenance, 2016). This is evident in the above quote; catchment manager said that "in the middle, we leave wetland as it is". This contradicts the very aim and recommendations of the hydraulic studies (improving the health of river). This leads one to question the motive of the eco-park, is it a more cost effective form of development or will this type of development improve the health of the wetlands?

5.3.2 The Development Appraisal (DA) Document: 2010

A Development Appraisal report was compiled in 2010 detailing the existing uses and the proposed development that would be suited to the current site conditions based on the hydraulic assessment conducted. The plan included urban agriculture and cattle grazing as a suitable use for Jabavu which is commonly referred to as Mshenguville due to its heritage as an informal settlement (PDNA, 2010). It is interesting to note that the developments listed around the Klipriver Klipspruit are essentially "eco-park" developments mainly comprising of River crossing walkways, bird hides, play areas, sports fields, multi-purpose courts, etc.(. ibid.). JCPZ as the implementing agent is supposed to use the development appraisal as the guiding document of each node/ park. Unfortunately the Development Appraisal report makes very little (if any use of visual imagery). However the table below indicates the existing land use and proposed developments for Mshenguville (also referred to as Jabavu-area name). A similar table is formulated for each node within the KK catchment.

3.1.9 Node 9: Jabavu Regional Park

	GEOMETRY & HYDRAULIC CONDITION	LAND USE/COVER	PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTS	COMMENTS
PRE-DEVELOPMENT [CURRENT-STATE]	• 3 bridges	• Natural Vegetation • Wetlands (reeds and natural vegetation	• River crossings • Walkways • Attenuation weirs • Grazing area • Urban agriculture • Picnic area	At the upper section of the node the introduction of attenuation weirs/dams suggest that it would be of great use in reducing the risk of flooding for the residents near the railway line, evident in the lower floodlines on the post development scenario. However the introduction of a weir/dam in the mid section results in wider floodlines compared to the current situation. It should be noted that the modeled structure is of approximate dimensions. Critical though is the presence of informal settlements in the line of danger in the event of a flood at the lower section of the node
PPOST-DEVELOPMENT [FUTURE-STATE]	• 3 bridges • 3 attenuation weirs • 3 stream crossing	• Natural Vegetation • Wetlands (reeds and natural vegetation • Additional trees with wide spacing at the periphery of the floodplain		

Figure 44: Jabauvu/ Mshenguville Park development appraisal (PDNA, 2010, p. 21)

It is interesting to note that urban agriculture and grazing are included as appropriate uses in the proposed development (See Figure 44 above). The earliest recollection of cattle grazing in Soweto's open spaces began in the 1980's (Molelu, 2014). JCPZ Stakeholder Liaison Officer states that cattle-grazing was already in place by 1996, therefore in the case of some parks such as Dorothy Nyembe, space was assigned to them in the park to use officially (Mcetywa et al., 2015). Cattle grazing however in Mshenguville is a recent phenomenon, shepherds began using the open space in 2010 during the evacuation of informal settlers (ibid.). According to the Regional Maintenance Department, the eco-park development does not hinder cattle-grazing which implies that cattle grazing is informally incorporated in the development (Regional Maintenance, 2016). However not much has been done to integrate the cattle grazers into the design and vision of the various park developments and in some parks such as Mshenguville, the livestock owners were not consulted at all in the park development process. Therefore decisions made by officials regarding cattle-grazing are very implicit. The section exploring policy instruments will delve further into studying

the officials' position regarding cattle-grazing and how this has influenced the development decisions made for Mshenguville.

Nonetheless the DA document advocates for some eco-parks along the KK in line with the recommendations given in the wetland study. The document, however, does not seem to make any reference to the IDP process or claims of a driving range. Interestingly both the IDP and the DA document are issued for the Greening Soweto Precinct. However, there is a lack of cross communication. This is perplexing since the EISD department has witnessed the IDP consultation process and has probably witnessed the public's claims. This could imply that the EISD officials could have blatantly ignored the claims or have not received them.

What is even more interesting is how JCPZ have responded to the DA document; cattle grazing, for example, have not been well incorporated into the plan of Mshenguville? Perhaps the EISD do esteem cattle grazing and are also compelled to add it in the development vision

In the adjacent park, Mofolo Regional Park, the Park is only developed on the one-half, and the other half remains undeveloped (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016) (See figure 45 below). The cattle are permitted to graze on the undeveloped side, while the developed side is set aside for park users. There is a juxtaposition between the two parts. The undeveloped side is an eyesore and safety hazard ,with excessive dumping in and around the stream, while the developed is maintained with a playground and open space facilities . Bénit Gbaffou (2016) suggests that designing half a park is an informal way of sharing space with the park users and cattle-grazers which avoid any conflict with Indunas. The design of half park dates back to a case whereby CRUM (Citizen Relations and Urban Management) took the City to Court for removing cattle grazers to develop a park in Orlando West, during the 2010 world cup upgrades (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016). To avoid any lawsuits the city decided not to interfere with the existing cattle-grazer and develop a part of the open space. The precedent could have established a policy for the manner in which officials develop parks in Soweto. When analyzing this presupposition about CRUM, it is a contradictory since CRUM is part of the city, how can the city take the city to court. However considering the culture of half park developments it is highly possible that officials follow this pattern to avoid conflict.

According to Heclo's definition of policy "as a course of action or inaction" non-decisions can still be considered as a policy (Heclo 1972:86 cited by Miller and McTavish, 2013).

The practice of polarizing park development is unsustainable and unsightly, similar to the practice of only developing parks in the north and neglecting the south of Johannesburg. Parts of the neighbourhood benefit and others remain neglected and are forced to deal with the aftermath of crime, dumping, and disease. As discussed in literature review Jane Jacobs (1961, p. 276) refers to this as "the curse of border vacuums," it is imperative for parks to integrate surroundings for the park to be sustainable and inclusive. This clearly requires a form of engagement, which JCPZ officials may not be willing to make. Therefore the development of just half of the wetland area could just be a response to cattle grazers, to avoid any conflict.

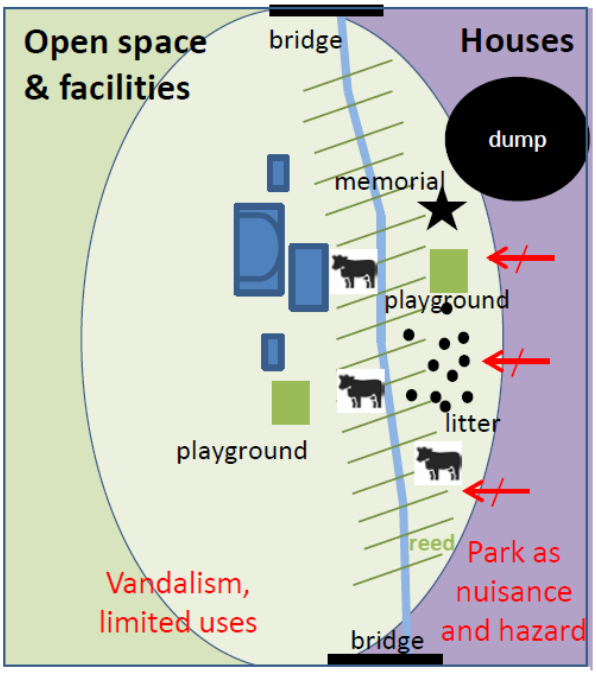


Figure 45: The half development approach employed in Mofolo Park as a response to cattle grazing (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016, p. 2)

From this case, it could be that cattle grazers have a significant influence in the way the plan is developed, evident in its inclusion in the DA document by EISD. The eco-park in its shallow form still permits cattle grazing without outrightly saying so.

5.3.3 Budget for Mshenguville Ecological Park: May 2015

The budget released for Mshenguville was released on the 25th of May 2015. According to the Environmental Infrastructure Department (2016), Mshenguville Park development had no budget before that. This is contrary to what the project manager stated, that Mshenguville was part of the IDP budget for klipriver Klipspruit project. After the driving range had received a negative ROD, JCPZ together with CoJ applied for funding through a process called CIMS (Capital Infrastructure and Management Systems). The model has layers of prioritization, for example, where is it located, and is it in a marginalized area? Due to Mshenguville strategic location on BRT route (Elias Motsoaledi), it was then considered as worthy of financing (See figure below) (Catchment Manager EISD, 2016).

Description	Implementing Agent		BUDGET			
		IDP Sub-Programme	2015/16 Budget R'000	2016/17 Budget R'000	2017/18 Budget R'000	Total MTEF Budget R'000
Mshenguville wetland rehabilitation New Ecological Infrastructure MOFOLO NORTH	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	2 500	3 300	3 300	9 100
Rehabilitation of Princess Mine Dump Renewal Resource Rehabilitation STAFFORD EXT.4	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	5 000	0	0	5 000
Kaalspruit Rehabilitation Programme New Drainage System HALFWAY HOUSE EXT.74 A Ward	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	3 000	5 000	2 000	10 000
Jukskie Alexandra Water Management Unit New Ecological Infrastructure ALEXANDRA EXT.36 E Regional	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	14 000	10 000	5 000	30 000
Bosmontspruit Rehabilitation Renewal Ecological Infrastructure BOSMONT C Regional	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	3 000	10 000	15 000	28 000
Diepsloot East River Side Park New Ecological Infrastructure DIEPSLOOT WES A Ward	JCPZ	Water Resource Management	1 500	3 000	1 500	6 000

Figure 46: Budget allocation for Mshenguville eco-park development May 2015
Source: (Executive Director: Environmental and Infrastructure Services, 2015)

The City operated on a three-year budget system and therefore is under intense pressure to ensure that the project is implemented and the budget is spent on that three-year financial cycle (seeFigure 46). A total of R9 100 000 has been budgeted for the project, to be spent between 2015 and 2017. This boils down to the argument

discussed in the literature review regarding the "governance paradox" (cited by Jupp and Inch, 2012, p. 505). On the one side, there is pressure to meetfinancial targets. On the other hand, there is a pressure to ensure that the voice of the public is heard and their decisions are being considered. Officials are caught in between a rock and a hard place. While failure to meet public's needs may not result in punitive measures; not meeting project deadline and KPI's could lead to retributive action.

Despite an environmental culture that is within JCPZ KPI and KPA's and the neoliberalization of local government influences decision-making seen with the JCPZ corporate Strategic Plan 2013/14-2017/18 mentions their three main KPA's ".. creat[ing] clean, functional river system with enhanced biodiversity", "compliance with environmental legislation" and "compliance with the Environmental Management System" (JCPZ, 2011, pp. 43–44).

The decision to have an eco-park has a number of economic implications. The ecological park only requires 10-14m edges of the entire park to be maintained, with its minimally paved surfaces less time needs to be spent weeding, while the rest of the park would be left to its ecological demise (Regional Maintenance, 2016).

"Regarding maintenance, I would prefer an eco-park. An eco-park is a park where there will be your ecology, flora which is rough and stuff. Grass cutting in a normal park is not the same as a golf course. Golf course needs special maintenance plan for it. Due to the grass type" (Regional Maintenance, 2016).

The focus is on the quantity, not the quality of the parks such that it can be quantified as a target reached (Jones, 2010a). The public is aware of this (perhaps having witnessed some other shallow forms of eco-parks that have been built in Soweto). The plight of their concern and their stern resistance is that the park will remain overgrown with tall grasses and trees and become crime hotspots.

5.3.4 The development plan

JCPZ has been appointed by the Environment and Infrastructure Services Department (EISD) of CoJ as the implementing agent for the eco-park and is responsible for contracting the various consultants for the job (Executive Director: Environmental and Infrastructure Services, 2015). It is evident that, in spite of the shift of JCPZ from being

accountable to the EISD MMC, to the Community Development MMC, the relationship between JCPZ and the EISD is still strong and functioning.

John Drummond Landscape Architects was appointed as the design consultants for Mshenguville on the 23 January 2013 (Drummond, 2017). The First overall sketch plan is dated 11 April 2014. The plan (see Figure 47 below) mainly comprised of; the rehabilitation of the wetland, paving of walkways and parking area and the plantation of indigenous vegetation along the edges of the park. Also a playground area with play and outdoor gym equipment and street furniture as well as a soccer pitch. The latest revised master plan differs in that it is more refined and includes a timber boardwalk, an Amphitheatre and a basketball court (John Drummond Landscape Architects, 2016).

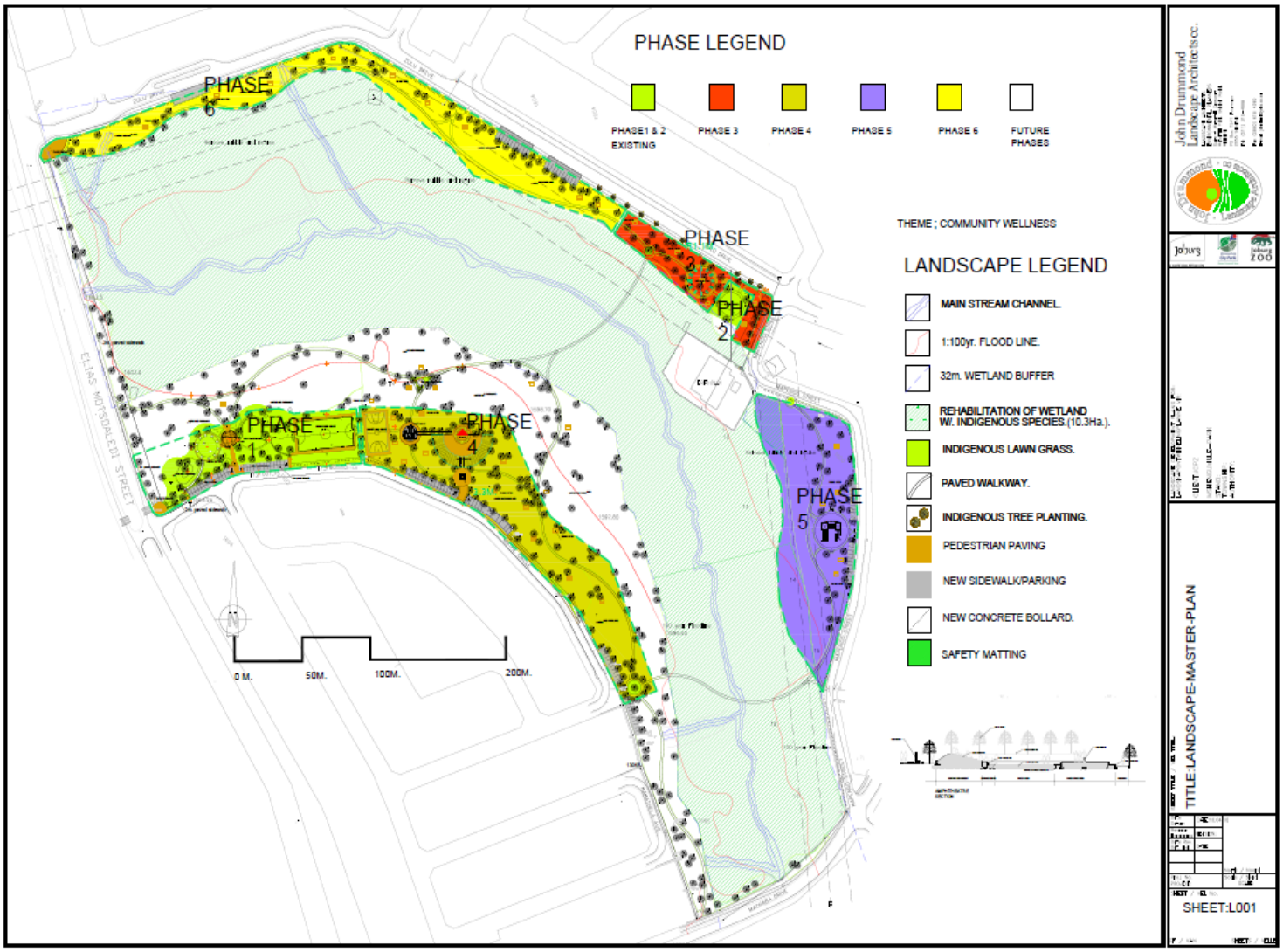


Figure 47; Revised master plan Mshenguville (10 May 2016), John Drummond Landscape Architects presented during Capex meeting on the 7th of October 2016.

The plan was precise in its response to the recommendations to the EIA. The eco-park is located on the alternative side; the plan has indicated a 32m buffer as well as a flood line. Though the development transverses the flood line, which is contrary to comments made in the Department objections to the driving range. The plan also makes cognizance of the use of indigenous species of vegetation. In essence, the plan has made a conscious effort to comply with the comments raised in the EIA. This could imply that the design consultants worked closely with the Environmental Assessment

Practitioners in developing the plan; therefore there is a lower risk of the project receiving a negative ROD. The plan was drawn up in phases what is perplexing is that the rehabilitation of the wetland (which is the primary objective) has not been included in the phases. This clearly indicates that rehabilitation of the park is not on their "to-do list". One of the categories of phases "future phases" indicated on the plan is quite elusive. That means that section will remain in its deplorable state?

Mshenguville eco-park is not rehabilitated and resembles a "shallow form" of an eco-park a shy away from maintenance and design intervention. In fact, in discussion with the Regional Maintenance Department, they stated that they have no intention of rehabilitating the eco-park (Regional Maintenance, 2016).

5.3.5 Environmental authorization, July 2016

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Project Progress Report for Mshenguville – June 2016

Klipspruit Kliprivier Wetland Studies: Mshenguville Eco Park
GAUT: 002/14-15/0032

Project Status:

25/02/2014 - BAR and wetland quotation
16/04/2014 - Appointment
02/06/2014 - Submission of application form to GDARD
02/07/2014 - Submission of amendments to application form to GDARD
04/07/2014 - Received acknowledgement letter from GDARD
22/08/2014 - Submission of shape files to GDARD
04/09/2014 - GDARD request specialist studies: * Wetlands
25/07/2014 - Conducted Public Participation
27/11/2014 - Submission of Draft Report to I& APs
28/11/2014 - Submission of Draft Report to GDARD
05/12/2014 - Received acknowledgement letter for Draft Report from GDARD
02/12/2014 - Received comments from DWS
20/01/2015 - Received comments from CoJ: Environmental Management Department
02/07/2015 - Appointment for WULA received
14/09/2015 - Appointment of wetland specialist to amend Wetland Assessment for Water Use Licence Application
18/09//2015 - Master Plan to include wetland delineation and flood lines as required by CoJ: Environmental Management Department received
10/03/2016 - Pre-application meeting with DWS in order to discuss their requirements for the specific project.
11/03/2016 - Amended Wetland Assessment and rehabilitation plan received
26/04/2016 - Final BA Report submitted I&APs and GDARD
07/07/2016- Received authorization

Figure 48: Project progress report for Mshenguville
Source: (TGM Environmental Services, 2016b)

TGM Environmental Services was appointed in April 2014 as the Environmental Assessment Practitioner (EAP). TGM compiled a progress report (see Figure 48 above) which serves as a timeline document for environmental services rendered during the development process of the eco-park. This document has been useful in providing the outline of events that took place in the development process of the eco-park, and I base my analysis on it.

An application was submitted to GDARD June 2014, and two years later (2016) they received authorization after the construction process already began in July 2015. This indicates that officials use the EIA and are not obligated to its requirements (I discuss thus is in more detail in the next section.

Meanwhile, the public participation meeting was conducted in July 2014. According to the OSIM (2016), the community was happy with the development of an eco-park. After reviewing the comments in the Environmental Impact Report, I could second that this was so. However, Mcetywa et al. (2015) state that the meeting was not well representative of the majority of residents. (See figure 49 below list of residents). One of the members of the community forum had this to say (Cited by Mcetywa et al., 2015, p. 40):

"You see the councilor or whoever that has want to do the eco-park has taken few people from that side. Even if you can see the signatures on that document [the official community participation process] is one person that changes. You understand. The only thing is everybody, when we were addressing the meeting, the only thing that they talk about was the golf……..this thing is being run without our knowledge, that's why we are saying there are people, because its only few streets, its Zulu street, but they are the streets that are next to [the park]. If you studied the documents its only streets that are around the area. It's not the whole community of ward 36" (Emphasis mine, one member of the Community Forum, 2015).

MOFOLO CENTRAL RESIDENCE

	NAME	CONTACT DETAILS	PHYSICAL ADDRESS
1.	MEKOA	072 872 7024	1142
2.	MARWE	076 363 9857	1182
3.	MOTSHABAMA	079 126 4780	1173
4.	MOGAGABE	073 952 9216	1183
5.	DISEKO	071 483 0276	1167
6.	MITHI	072 365 0688	~~1148~~ 1163
7.	MOHAPI	073 801 4954	1148
8.	GRANNY	078 775 9774	1182
9.	MOTA	071 154 3429	1181

Figure 49; residents who took part in the eco-park public consultation meeting on the 25 August 2014 (TGM Environmental Services, 2014)

Figure 49 shows the residents that took place in the consultation meeting. The members of Ward 36 felt that the consultation process was a form of tokenism. Therefore they turned to alternative methods to get their voice heard. The disgruntled community members sought media attention; their grievances were published on Bantu World (2015) article titled "The masses demand a golf course (Mcetywa et al., 2015)". They approached provincial Department of Sports and Recreation and even halted the construction process which began in July 2015 before receiving environmental authorization. The residents of Mshenguville have mainly objected to the eco-park mainly because it out rightly defied their wishes of having a driving range, they were against the inconsistency of the state. Another primary issue was maintenance; the residents of Mshenguville are familiar with the shallow forms of eco-parks which are not maintained and a hot spot for crime. In the EIA comments a resident had this to say; "The plan is great, my only concern is maintenance, after completion of the project; I think maintenance people should be elected as the project continues, and please consider local people for that to create employment" (TGM Environmental Services, 2014).

The JCPZ officials have not paid much attention to the comments made by the public. Considering project progress report, it is evident that only one day was spent on public participation and three days later the report was submitted to GDARD. This means that there was no intention or much effort made by TGM Environmental Services and JCPZ to factor in comments and the resident's various claims.

Almost two years later the community is still standing their ground and has put pressure on JCPZ officials. The Stakeholder Liaison Officer had this to say (June 2016 in an email conversation with the development team) regarding the public's attitude and reaction to the eco-park development:

"I am not sure what needs to be done now to get this issues to rest as according to my knowledge we have engaged, consulted and responded to all affected parties but the issue keep coming" (Stakeholder Liaison Officer, 2016).

This boils down to the argument presented by McShane et al. (2011)which highlights that the power of a trade-off lies in bringing conflicting parties whose intentions are a win-win to the recognition that hard decisions are being made. This includes being transparent and setting the negotiation range. JCPZ officials were not open about the hard decisions that they had to make the fact that the site is located in a wetland and the results of the hydraulic studies. Residents are aware of the flooding issue (a resident alludes to the problem during driving range consultation). Setting the negotiation range during the consultation meeting includes presenting these limitations. These constraints include the flood lines, the vegetation, the topography and source of water. The consultation should involve finding a mutually beneficial compromise (there are losses and gains) between the residents and the state. This could have included; can the driving range use indigenous vegetation? According to McShane (2011), this often reduces conflict since parties are aware of hard decisions being made and what the constraints were leading up to this ruling. The failure to have deeper forms of engagements results in the resurfacing of issues and ever surging conflict.

5.4 Compromise: August 2016

Officials are operating under quite stringent conditions; the community particularly the golfer's association and community forum are quite zealous about having the driving range. The last meeting with interested parties was held on the 24 August 2016 (Stakeholder Liaison Officer, 2016).

"there is a minority group or committee which claims to be representing some of the community members or golfers who are keen to have the golf course. Therefore at the last meeting, it was agreed that perhaps we need to re-look at park in question and find a possibility to allow them a section on the other site of Zulu Drive. That won't be interfering with the Eco Park development,

but It was considered as an alternative option to incorporate their request or proposal" (Stakeholder Liaison Officer, 2016).

It seems as though the failure to have this form of engagements initially has led to a compromise. JCPZ officials have had to reconsider the eco-park plan to include a form of golf course (putt-putt). Figure 50 below indicates the section of the park on Zulu drive that would include a putt-putt. Through consultation with the golfers association and the residents, an agreement was made to include a putt-putt in the development of the eco-park, with the understanding that part of its maintenance will lie solely with the golfers association (Capex Meeting, 2016). The SLO and the office of the speaker indicated using a pencil line the section whereby the putt-putt would be located. It is perplexing why the plan was not revised to include the putt-putt; the pencil line implies some uncertainty which could easily be erased. During the meeting, the Office of the Speaker kept emphasizing that

"this thing will not work, they are just trying to prove a point"(Capex Meeting, 2016).

According to the office of the speaker and JCPZ officials, having a driving range is too expensive. The golfers responded that the Vincent Tshabala (former famous golfer) had solicited golfers from France to fund the project. It somehow feels like a silent war between officials and the public.

It is interesting how in the beginning JCPZ officials were not willing to consider the driving range at all. OSIM (2016) stated the following when asked about the putt-putt:

"The putt- putt on the side can no longer materialize since the landscaped edge falls within the flood line and there is very minimal room for development. Therefore they need to consider an alternative site we can't"!



Figure 50: Showing section of park which could include putt-putt during capex meeting held on the 7th of October 2016
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2016).

The EIA has been quite instrumental in influencing decision-making in the development process of Mshenguville; it is primarily used by JCPZ and CoJ EISD officials in refuting the claim for a driving range.

The EIA is not only used as an evaluation tool for development but in this case, it had political innuendos. The office of the speaker's response to the proposal of a putt-putt by conditioning that it cannot be incorporated unless they get a ROD (which means environmental authorization) (Capex Meeting, 2016).

This is interesting since the construction for the eco-park development started without authorization from GDARD. However, they are now insisting on rules and regulations for incorporating a putt-putt in the overall plan. There are ways around incorporating the Putt-Putt without getting a ROD. The same way that officials were able to include a basketball court and a five-a-side soccer pitch (in principle are not different), they could simply revise the plan and add a putt-putt which is a miniature version of a golf-course used for juniors (see Figure 51 below). Is it necessary to hire specialists for such a small development? Instead, they have penciled out the space located as a putt-putt in the plan, hinting at its possible temporary nature. The EIA holds some weight and at times it is used by officials to manipulate situations.



Figure 51: Putt-Putt golf
Source: kathrynwarmstrong.wordpress.com

Due to ardent pressure from the residents, JCPZ officials had to bargain and to make a trade-off (which they could have done in the beginning) and include the putt-putt. This resistant attitude soon changes as officials realized that to have an eco-park they need to compromise part of it to include the driving range. It is unfortunate that the resident's committee and golfers association had to use pressure to get their voices across. Is that that what it takes for the IDP (socio-economic attributes) to be realized? Nonetheless as postulated by McShane (McShane et al., 2011) a positive outcome between conservation and development often results in a trade-off as opposed to a "win-win" situation. The parallel process between the IDP and DA document has led to a compromise or rather a trade-off. Whether the coming together of socio-economic and environmental ideals in one plan results in a sustainable development? That is a topic for a different study.

5.5 Conclusion

Despite the various forums and intergovernmental alignment instruments in bringing about coordination various challenges are still embedded in government institutions. It is interesting that Intergovernmentalism is not just an issue at varying spheres of government, however, in this case, there is much conflict within local government departments and municipal entities. This makes one conclude that the emancipation of the local administration is not the panacea for issues of intergovernmentalism. The

success of these interventions relies heavily on the willingness of public officials to engage with citizens as well as with one another. The EIA as one of the powerful deciding tool is meant to be based on sustainable development principles. However the objections given are environmentally biased and have not considered the socio-economic benefits of the driving range in the Record of Decision (ROD). Therefore the EIA as a decision-making tool lends to a specific environmental bias. outlying a taxonomy of policy tools that were pivotal in shaping the decision-making terrain (Macintosh et al., 2013). The policy tools that were highlighted as pivotal in shaping decision-making in the palimpsest chapter included spatial plans, environmental reports and participation processes. Despite the EIA's leveraging power the public was still able to employ participation processes to reach a compromise. The idea of golf on the site resurfaced due to the persistence of the public.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion and Synthesis

The main research question enquired

- How do JCPZ officials make trade-offs in the conflicting development process of Mshenguville Park?

Below I have answered the series of subquestions which make up the some of this question;

6.1 What decisions do officials make?

After exploring the palimpsests and the decisions that officials make it is apparent that decision-making is not homogenous to an institution. Therefore, the notion of the one planner located in the centre balancing the different conflicts is not always the case. The centre of the triangle, being the institution is nuanced and conflicting as opposed to being "the eye of the hurricane" reconciling the three conflicting pillars of development.

This nuance is evident with the driving range; the decision was made by CoJ (or rather the mayor) however within CoJ some officials objected to the development. This points out that within organizations there are different values. Officials have their agency which is influenced by some factors including pressures from within i.e. financial years and efficiency, meeting targets and deadlines. However, beyond the influence of the New Public Management principles, officials have a form of agency. Their professionalism as environmental practitioners and stewards of the environment plays out. This heterogeneity fragments decision-making making and the attainment of sustainable development difficult since there are varying opinions and goals within the organization which is supposed to mediate these diverse and conflicting aspects of development.

What was also apparent in the palimpsest is that the decision to have eco-parks throughout the extent of Soweto was already decided and therefore decisions regarding developments are often made prior, and JCPZ as the implementing agent has to make sure that the plans issued by EISD come to existence. One JCPZ (EPT) official put it this way during an interview that they dance to the tune of the cities music.

Therefore their intention is not always to make trade-offs but to ensure that they fulfill the tasks assigned to them. However in the case of Mshenguville officials had to maintain the peace and negotiate claims from the public to have a driving range (in a sense this can be translated as balancing conflicts) due to the intense pressure they experienced from the public. Therefore from the study, one could say that officials' intentions are not always bent upon reconciling the various aspects of development. However, pressure whether it is economical (maintenance), social (public) or the environment (flooding) compels officials to consider other elements of development. For example the pressure from the public forced JCPZ officials to consider the driving range.

6.2 How do officials use policy tools to make trade-offs

In the case of Mshenguville JCPZ officials and CoJ (EISD) use the rules of the game to further the DA document which comprised mainly of eco-parks. JCPZ as a municipal entity of the City and reporting informally to the EISD is supportive of its mandate. Officials use policy instruments and are not constrained by them, though it seems that they use them in the advancement of the eco-park. It is not clear whether this was due to their agency as stewards of the environment or due to the neoliberalization of local government; which includes reducing costs and the need to meet administration targets. The overall plan of Mshenguville is essentially a non-decision. The eco-park is not necessarily a sustainable park which ardently seeks to incorporate all three components of sustainability or particularly responsive to its surroundings. Conversely, it is also an open space park system, meaning that the users highly determine the use of the park. This kind of plan avoids conflict with any of the predetermined uses such as cattle grazing. Officials make non-decisions in the development of half parks to avoid conflict with Indunas' and due to the low-maintenace benefits of having an eco-park. However, the development of eco-parks in Soweto has been forms of shallow parks, with a limited design and maintenance incentive, not responsive to the socio-cultural heritage of surrounding area (Jacobs, 1961; Power, 2006). Officials take advantage of the environmentally biased EIA which is not accommodative of social needs to silence the voice of opposition. Officials operate under the logic that the EIA (provincial and national function) has decisive power. In retrospect, the EIA serves as a powerful proponent for the environment since it is a vulnerable interest (nobody fights for the

environment) therefore the environmental bias of the EIA should not be viewed entirely with a negative eye.

Nonetheless, the public having witnessed the aftermath of such developments have voiced out strongly and require open spaces which will add value to the community and not perpetuate the ills of crime that occur in these open spaces. The public used public engagement processes to put pressure on officials to be inclusive of social needs, through the use of "informal" instruments (invented spaces of participation). Cattle grazers are still permitted to graze (Economic/ Environmental) though more could be done to incorporate them into design plan, the eco-park (Environmental) is being currently developed, and a resolution to include a putt-putt (Social) has been decided. What is clear is that compromise is not automatically achieved, much pressure from public and relations with other departments i.e. EISD and GDARD is required. It is apparent that although an institutional review has been enacted, JCPZ officials still operate under the instrumentation of EISD. EISD as an influential agent of the environment could be a safeguard for the environment, since no one is going to stand for the environment. Perhaps that is why the link has been maintained; restructuring could, in fact, result in the vulnerability of the environment, and ecologically sensitive spaces such as wetlands could remain unprotected. It is interesting to note that informality impacted the use of policy instruments in the study, the relationship between EISD and JCPZ as well as the invited spaces of participation were influential in shaping decision-making nonetheless.

6.3 How has the co-ordination and organizational framework influenced decision making ?

Connor et al. (2004) pointed out the disadvantages of reform-efficient administrion and how this hinders the practical development of sustainability within institutions. Sustainability is premised on an integrative approach to development. Reform-efficient administration has brought about a separation of urban design, economic development and resource management. The EIA process (particularly concerned with resource management) is located in province i.e. GDARD, the rulings they make

concerning the environmental authorizations are isolated from the IDP processes whereby the public voices their community needs and concerns. The adjudication process of the EIA was based mainly on the environmental impact and very little to do with socio-economic development. Perhaps if the environmental authorization process went hand in hand with the IDP process then environmental scientist could be cognizant of the socio-economic needs of society.

The EIA process has its own public participation process it is administered by environmental consultants which have no decision-making power. For instance in the case of Mshenguville, when people complained about the eco-park stating their preference for a driving range. They do not have the leverage to change any plans. All they can do is document these queries in a comment and possibly follow it up with relevant departments (which they are not held responsible for). The design process for Mshenguville is administered by a parallel process between the DA document and IDP regarding Mshenguville. Both these processes being administered by different departments EISD (DA Document) and IDP (JCPZ/ Mayor). The fact that these processes were being run separately aggravates the problem. The top down process of the DA document (eco-park) undermines the bottom up process of the IDP (driving range) meanwhile both these processes concern a single plan, Mshenguville. The DA plan is meant to be the strategic plan or framework which informs the design principles for the master plan. However the fact that these processes were housed and administered sperately meant that there was a lack of communication which resulted in the IDP proposing a driving range and the DA document advocating for an eco-park. What complicates the problem further is the outsourcing of design and environmental jobs, it is hard to review plans based on feedback on public because that has financial implications, consultants require fee for redoing the plan. It is expensive to have a recurring or exhaustive process of engagement because of the professional fee. It would be more ideal if JCPZ had an inhouse landscape architect like they had in the past which could take public through design process and relay queries to consultants.

Essentially it is difficult to try to harmonise economic, environmental and social/ equity aspects of development which are located at different departments and administerd by different processes, unless parties are willing to co-operate. The problem is that each entity has its own level of autonomy and their own way of perceiving a problem. Therefore it is hard to subject one department to another. Most of these departments discussed in this paper are based in local government (except for GDARD) which implies that co-ordination is complicated at local scale already and that local government is really not the panacea for solving co-ordination problems.

6.4 Conclusion: To what extent is the development plan sustainable?

The research paper culminates to this very question; to what extent is the final plan sustainable? The development of Mshenguville was a compromise! The JCPZ officials did not willingly accommodate the various stakeholders into the development plan for Mshenguville. This was a compromise by the JCPZ officials due to persistant pressure from golfers association and the community at large through invented spaces of participation. A trade off involves a" joint-fact-finding, issue framing and setting the negotiation range" Forester (2011, p. 305). This was not the case, JCPZ officials did not allow for thorough negotiation that lead to joint fact finding. Mc Shane (2010) stresses that the real power of the trade-off concept is the ability to bring diverse actors to the common recognition that hard choices are being made and therefore decisions need to be made that factor the current problems/ constraints. In this example this included flooding (which the residents were aware of).

It is a compromise in the sense that the eco-park is in principle is open to any use; cattle grazers can be accommodated in the park and putt-putt as well. In retrospect, If the development was enlisted as a driving range it might have been challenging to have cattle grazing and the wetland could have been compromised gravely if standard methods were employed. However this is not to say that it is not possible, cattle grazing was incorporated in a golf course that is also meandered by a wetland in Tembisa, Ekhurhuleni (see figure 52 below)

"There was a request for a golf course, but a golf course will only satisfy a certain group of individuals. The old ladies who are currently exercising there would not be any area for them to exercise as well as children" (Regional Maintenance, 2016).

As discussed in the study it is difficult to measure the outcomes since not every pillar of development can be measured i.e. how socially responsive it was. It is hard to categorize stakeholders and varying uses into 3 main categories; social, economic and environment.

However the compromise does not come without disadvantages. The development of an eco-park being an open space park, however, means that parks are not well manicured or maintained. The long grasses and uncut grass could be conducive for criminal activities. Environmentalists often romanticize natural landscapes. The site is an eyesore, except the edges which have included some play equipment. The site has been encroached by alien invasive species. Therefore citizens are not protected from environmental pollution and its consequences as espoused by the concept of environmental justice. The development of a half park in accommodating the cattle grazers has resulted in a literal polarization of open space, it is unsightly and is conducive to dumping and criminal activity. The development of the putt-putt is located within the flood lines and could potentially increase flood risk. However the same could be said about the basketball and soccer pitch. However what led to this mitigation is due to pressure, this was not planned by officials it was a response to political pressure (driving range), fear of Induna's (design of half park) and lack of budget (eco-park). it was a constrained decision, but ultimately the range of these forces meant that everyone had their space or response to the plan. The plan may not be consistent; however, consistency is at times compromised when seeking to negotiate claims and find a balance.

Through the study conducted one can postulate that parks designs are not chiefly dictated by an environmental bias as asserted in the introduction of this study. However, park developments and designs are largely influenced by economics. The need to reduce maintenance and to improve efficiency as upheld by NPM principles is the norm by which officials operate which is the largest stake in the plan (eco-park). Maintenance and managements of parks are increasingly being decentralized. Eco-

parks are based on the premise of low maintenance and cost and allowing ecosystems to be self-regulating which is conducive to the environment. However second to the M& E tools is the informal relation between JCPZ and EISD and the strategic plan which dictates for the development of an eco-park above the public's wishes. The EISD also has a strong environmental focus which is a strong advocate for the environmental attributes of a development. Therefore there is a dearth in officials' public policy instruments that advocate for socially relative projects. Since JCPZ does not have a clear mandate regarding participation it means that the public is relying on invented spaces of participation to make their claims, since the invited spaces of participation are not effective. Therefore regarding equitable distribution of environmental benefits, I can conclude that the development was sustainable however regarding protecting citizens from environmental hazards such as crime the development plan was not sustainable (Agyeman, 2004).

6.5 Recommendations

The following section is a list of recommendations with regard to the application of this research. This may not be applicable in all cases of urban wetlands.

- Incorporating existing and surrounding uses as seen in the palimpsest

To balance conflicts in the attainment of sustainability, it is imperative that officials consider the sites' existing uses (in this case cattle grazing and the golf) as seen in the palimpsest chapter. These uses tend to emerge despite officials grave efforts to submerge them. Sustainability includes incorporating surrounding uses (as well as the relevant stakeholders) into a development proposal. Site analysis plan needs to be incorporated along with the compulsory series of drawings. The site analysis plan needs to indicate how surrounding uses have been incorporated as well as the main comments/ suggestions in the participation meetings. This can be checked by in- house Landscape Architect.

- Improving maintenance using the problem factor (cattle grazing)

Maintenance of parks seems to be an overarching problem facing officials, however by employing systems thinking [3] and exploring the linkages of this specific development. Then livestock- grazing could be seen as an opportunity not just a threat (not that there are no negatives) for maintenance, regarding grass cutting and fertilizer. This requires much effort to manage and organize but this is a business model that it is used in Ekhurhuleni (see Figure 52 below) and some European parks, which I discuss in the literature review (Neil, 2013). Livestock is used to curb the problem of maintenance. JCPZ regional management department could discuss which parts of the park the shepherds should graze to maintain grass length and to avoid over-grazing and they could agree upon times so that there is no conflict between parties.



Figure 52: Cattle grazing in Ebuhleni golf course in Tembisa, Ekhurhuleni
Source: (Mkhomazi, 2014)

- Strengthening the social development aspect

The institutional structure for park development at the moment favours the environment (EISD) and not public. In this case, to ensure that social needs are equally considered in development, public participation processes need to be effectively implemented. The voice of the public needs to be factored before the development of the plan. This is difficult since the designs are done by private consultants who are perhaps limited with time. The limitations of budget also mean that fewer revisions can be made (Forester,

[3] "examining the linkages and interactions between the components that comprise the entirety of that defined system" (Tate, 2009 cited by http://www.systemicleadershipinstitute.org).

2011). Having an in-house Landscape Architects (as was done previously), not only to monitor development plans but to take part in the consultation meetings. Another important factor is incentivized facilitators thorough process of engagement by including it as criteria in the KPI's and performance bonuses of officials.

- Handling Compromises

In the case whereby you have an environmentally sensitive case such as a wetland, compromises to the ecological processes are bound to be made. It is important to consider how the favored development be made environmentally friendly. The plan for the driving range was rejected because it failed to indicate how the current development would not interrupt the wetlands function of flood attenuation. The plan could have indicated flood lines and buffer zones and shown that development would not occur within those boundaries. Other considerations could have been the use of indigenous vegetation species. Since the proposal was for a driving range and not a golf-course the existing slope of the site could have been used which results in a lowered risk of runoff. Calculations determining peak discharge could have been used to justify the particular development. Therefore strong motivations need to be made in justifying developments.

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Annexure : Interview Guidelines

1. PRELIMINARY SHORT INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

My name is Zonke Mkhomazi. I am currently conducting research under the MSc in Development Planning and I am part of the Practices of the State and Urban Governance (PSUG) research cohort . I was advised to talk to you. My topic is concerned with the sustainable development of parks. I am specifically investigating the trade-offs in balancing conflicts for park development. My interest and role is to unpack the institutional challenges in making sound decisions for park sustainability. I am interested particularly in the timeline of the development, tracking the decision-making process from inception to construction.

1. Please remind me your position, and how long you have been working for JCPZ, and how you were exposed to the history of Mshenguville Park?
2. Please unpack the main stages that the project has undergone from the proposal of the driving range to an eco-park including the dates and the costs for each stage:
    a. Vision for the park
    b. Who was in charge
    c. Process
    d. Budget allocated?
3. What influenced each stage for example the decision to revoke the development of the golf course
4. When was the second EIA issued and approved
5. What are the budget implications following the change in decision
6. Why has it taken so long in your view to get the development started?
7. Which departments are involved in the development of Mshenguville?
8. What is the criteria for the selection, which departments are selected for specific park developments?
9. Please assist with mapping the individuals that were particularly involved in this process?

I would also kindly request the latest development plans and latest EIA

2. COMPREHENSIVE INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

My name is Zonke Mkhomazi. I am currently conducting research under the MSc in Development Planning and I am part of the Practices of the State and Urban

Governance (PSUG) research cohort at Wits University. PSUG is working together with JCPZ on research findings in order to assist the MOE in its practices.

My topic is concerned with the sustainable development of parks. I am specifically investigating the trade-offs that officials in balancing conflicts for park development. My interest and role is to unpack the institutional as well as the practical challenges in making sound decisions for park sustainability. I am particularly interested in the timeline of the development of Mshenguville, tracking the decision-making process from inception to construction. I have chosen to have an interview discussion due to your involvement and knowledge of the project. Please note that I will refrain from using your name in the actual report. If you are uncomfortable with the publication of the discussed points in the research report, I will refrain from doing so. However please understand that I will be using the findings purely for academic purposes and the aim is to provide knowledge on how to improve state practices and your co-orperation is valuable.

1.1 As a start I would like you to shed some light on your specific role and involvement in the Mshenguville project

1.1.1 What is your position, and how long you have been working for CoJ, and how you were exposed to the history of Mshenguville Park?

1.1.2 Who else are you working with on this project in CoJ

1.1.3 What are the time frames for the project both CoJ and JCPZ

1.2 This section is a discussion unfolding the history of the proposal for a Golf –Course

1.2.1 In your involvement, when was the proposal for the golf-course first realized?

1.2.2 Could you please share some of the various departments that were involved in the process, including your department's specific role?

1.2.3 What is your normative position on the development of a golf-course in Mshenguville?

1.3 This section is a discussion of the budget and cost implications of the golf-course

1.3.1 What are some of the cost-implications for the driving range

1.3.2 How has the cost-implications of the driving range influenced the plan of the driving range being revoked?

1.3.3 Why in your opinion did it take so long to revoke the decision?

1.3.4 In your professional capacity which land use is more suited for Mshenguville Park and why

1.4 **This section is a discussion on the decision to develop an eco-park**

1.4.1 When was an eco-park considered for Mshenguville?

1.4.2 How was the public informed about the change in decision, if so please mention the instruments used?

1.4.3 Could you discuss some of the cost implications for eco-park and the overall budget?

1.4.4 When was the EIA for the eco-park developed and what was your involvement in that process?

1.4.5 When did the development for the eco-park begin?

1.5 Could you discuss some of the design conisderations

1.5.1 How many phases does the master plan consists of; and how much is budgeted for each phase?

1.5.2 What is are the envisaged time-frames for the construction of the eco-park ?

1.5.3 What is the budgeted amount to have a mini put put?

2.3 Decision to revoke development of golf-course

2.3.1 Why the decision to have a golf-course revoked?

2.3.2 What was the period (years/ months) between the project being administered and declined?

2.3.3 Why in your opinion did it take so long to revoke the decision?

2.3.4 In your professional capacity which land use is more suited for Mshenguville Park and why

2.3.5 Was the public informed about the change in decision, if so please mention the instruments used?