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New directions for urban policy-making in South African cities: The case of *Joburg 2040*

Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of the Degree:
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Supervisors:
Professor David Everatt and Dr Caryn Abrahams
2017

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DECLARATION

I, ZAYD EBRAHIM, hereby declare that the work submitted here is the result of my own investigation and that all citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I further declare that this work is submitted for the first time at the Wits School of Governance, University of the Witwatersrand towards a Master of Management by Dissertation and that it has never been submitted to any other university/faculty for the purpose of obtaining a degree.

_____

Signature

_____

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this dissertation was an enriching experience. It has provided me with a renewed enthusiasm, to continue strategizing and planning for one of the most dynamic, resolute and enigmatic metropolitan cities in the world. As an 'insider' possessing knowledge that 'outsiders' find it hard to possess, the experience of undertaking this research challenged my own positionality and reflexivity. Whilst the binary of insider/outsider may be helpful, the dual role of a researcher and employer is incompatible. This dissertation will undoubtedly help guide the directions that I continue to take in my journey of future investigations. I am grateful for undertaking this exercise to uncover my 'researcher identity' during this process.

I am grateful to my wife, Salmah, for her enduring support, belief and sacrifice, and for allowing me to realise that this dissertation may not be the most important thing in this world! I am equally grateful to my children, Hamzah and Muhammed Zidan, my parents and brother for their continued support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CBP	Community Based Planning
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CDS	City Development Strategy
CoJ	City of Johannesburg/City of Joburg
DA	Democratic Alliance
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DLG	Developmental Local Government
DPLG	Department of Provincial And Local Government
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
GEAR	Growth, Employment And Redistribution Strategy
GCR	Global City Region
GCRO	Gauteng City Region Observatory
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
GVA	Gross Value Added
HDS	Human Development Strategy
IDP	Integrated Development Plan/ning
IMATU	Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
LED	Local Economic Development
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act
MSA	Municipal Systems Act

NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
UDF	Urban Development Framework

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ABSTRACT

The City of Johannesburg has produced five iterations of its City Development Strategy over the last 17 years with the latest CDS *Joburg 2040,* launched in 2011. This dissertation argues that the City of Joburg's leading role in negotiating for developmental local government paved the way for long term planning at the local government sphere. CDSs prior to *Joburg 2040* were developed as technical documents prioritising the needs of the municipal institution over citizens. Formulating *Joburg 2040* epitomised a combination of economic and political conflicts taking place in the city. *Joburg 2040* attempted to break the path dependence of urban growth and development by re-envisioning the imperative of urban transformation. Thus, *Joburg 2040* attempted to emphasise a political imperative of an incoming leadership that was willing to listen and engage with citizens by coproducing a long term vision for the City. As participation has being ineffective in facilitating active involvement of the citizenry, participatory processes have served the needs of the municipality rather than citizens. *Joburg 2040* was a politically championed process of developing a CDS that attempted to change that status quo.

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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In 1986 the then Johannesburg City Council (JCC) led by the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) launched a publication celebrating the centenary of the city: *Johannesburg – One Hundred Years 1886-1986*. In its concluding chapter of scenarios for the future, it imagined the municipality as an Orwellian visualisation, and a future Johannesburg where "direct participation will lead to the demise of political parties. [Where] people are better informed and will not be satisfied with cheap emotional slogans and diffuse phrases of political debates of the last century" (JCC, 1986, pg. 305). As the book recognised that Johannesburg was a leader in local government, it claimed that political change depended on "the willingness of our leaders to listen, be flexible and make mistakes" (JCC, 1986, pg.305).

Thirty years later, in 2016, following the fourth democratic local government elections, the Democratic Alliance (DA) minority-led coalition displaced the African National Congress (ANC) which had served for over two decades in power in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CoJ). As the country's largest city in terms of its demographic and economic attributes, Johannesburg's centrality to the nation is regarded as an essential gateway to national power (Murray, 2011; Harrison et al., 2014). Large cities, like Johannesburg, have an influence on shaping political power and are drivers of political change in countries.

Large cities represent the setting of complex spatial competition, economic reform and are spaces of socio-political contestation. There are significant lessons from history that suggest that large cities are a synthesis of multiple sources of social and political power (Harvey, 2012). These cities have been powerfully shaped by crises and dilemmas generated as monolithic projects portraying ideological experiments layered over time (Harvey, 2006; 2012).

Cities are also recognised as spatial metaphors of temporal change. They exist as projects of political dynamics manifested through the building of relationships between social, political and economic actors. As such, the efforts to restructure cities around a new economic role in a political environment and spatial terrain pose have become a

central governance issue in cities (McCann and Ward, 2011; Peck and Tickell, 2011; Oldfield and Parnell, 2014).

There are a number of uncertainties that cities will have to cope with going into the future. Cities are now tasked with dealing with economic, social, environmental, political and historical challenges - all of this in the context of rapid population growth and socio-spatial changes. The United Nations (UN) estimates that there are approximately four billion people living in cities today (UN, 2016). Over the next three decades, the global urban population is expected to increase by another three billion people. The challenge is that the strategic possibility of growth cannot escape careful considerations of political and economic propensities that manifest at the urban scale. Unintended consequences manifest as urban poverty, rapid urbanisation, high unemployment and urban conflict.

These unintended consequences mean that the tasks of local governments are becoming inexorable. The abovementioned quote from the then JCC (1986) written in a specific political context remains valid in the contemporary period as the local sphere has been sluggish to change and adapt. Furthermore, unprecedented changes occurring across the world have forced local governments to consider new, strategic approaches to dealing with these challenges. Policy-making in this context must question the necessity of understanding how globalisation, capitalism and political change have generated urban policy. Understanding urban change and its distinctive characteristics in Johannesburg cannot be complete without situating them in the context of struggle and contestation (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004).

As such, City Development Strategies (CDS) emerged in the late 1980s and sought to provide a new approach to planning that would allow local governments to ameliorate challenges faced by cities (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). CDS initiatives attempt to strike a balance between the abovementioned tensions in the current city system. City governments, like Johannesburg, have had to balance the objective of becoming economically competitive and having to deal with historical and socio-economic problems as a result of apartheid, manifesting as urban poverty, spatial inequality and unemployment (Harrison et al., 2014; Murray, 2011; Beall et al., 2002; Lipietz, 2008). Since the 1990s the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality embraced CDS initiatives as a means to articulate a long-term vision for the City that would stimulate its desire to deliver on its developmental objectives. Over the last two decades the City

has already developed five City Development Strategies, the fifth being *Joburg 2040* and is currently preparing its sixth iteration.

As one of the country's political epicentres, the City of Johannesburg's political landscape has shifted. Despite its attempts at articulating a politically-driven long-term urban vision for over two decades, the fluidity urban politics have imprinted on the City's ability to govern. After sixteen years of democratic local government, the City of Johannesburg still fears learning by doing, making mistakes, and, as this dissertation will demonstrate, urban policy-making affirms a paradox of democratic governance.

1.2 Background and context of this study

There are approximately 200 cities that have adopted City Development Strategies across the world (Rasoolimanesh et al, 2011). CDSs are based on a premise that urban challenges can be resolved in a manner that alters the city's development path for the long-term. In order to do this, CDSs set out to develop interventions in cities as a means to transcend conventional planning approaches to effectively deal with such challenges. For the most part, contemporary urban policy making is an outcome of the City Development Strategy process (Robinson, 2011).

CDSs are a recent advance in development practice. Many cities undertake CDS projects either as a result of political change or as a response to urban crises faced by cities. The City of Johannesburg's current CDS *Joburg 2040* was launched on 20 October 2011. It stated that it built on the 2006 GDS and that *Joburg 2040* was another opportunity to consolidate cross-city strategies that would provide a conceptual foundation for the IDP (CoJ, 2011a).

The formulation of *Joburg 2040* began with a review of the *Joburg GDS 2006*. *Joburg 2040* was formulated on the basis of the need to recognise the changing context between the period of 2006 and 2011 and the significant global, national and local changes that were taking place during that time. *Joburg 2040* states that it is "not a spatial vision or statutory plan" and further goes on to state that "it does not describe institutional powers, functions and operational activities. On the contrary, it provides a set of strategic directions that frame the five year IDP and medium term plans" (CoJ, 2011a. pg. 5). It describes the purpose of the strategy as being able to adjust to the issues of the day whilst extrapolating changing dynamics that might affect the city in the future.

The CDS states that the substantive shifts in *Joburg 2040* are representative of the changes that would benefit the City in order to achieve a future development path that can accommodate change. In keeping with the need to accommodate change in the GDS, it proposes a 'business unusual' approach that aims to build a foundation for "integrated responses to the challenges that the city faces" (CoJ, 2011a, pg. 11).

One of the important differences between *Joburg 2040* and the previous versions developed by the City of Johannesburg was that it followed a public outreach process that complemented the technical drafting processes. A draft GDS was launched on 2 August 2011 as a base document for consultation (CoJ, 2011a). Former Executive Mayor Parks Tau, in his speech that launched *Joburg 2040*, stated that this strategy will "redirect and re-orientate" the institution's energy to a "new direction" in order to realise the vision that is encapsulated in the GDS (Tau, 2011).

Words and phrases such as 're-orientate,' 'redirect' and 'business unusual' imply that the GDS has evolved, with new thinking internationally as well as a 'new' orientation that was politically directed (Harrison, 2015). The emphasis stemming from *Joburg 2040* was on developing a new urban vision by finding alternative and innovative solutions to the resource constraints and developmental challenges faced by the city. The GDS outreach process was an attempt to innovatively draft city strategy through public consultation. According to Tau (2011), the GDS public outreach process aimed at providing "new ideas, fresh insights, valuable and constructive criticism" and inspired new ideas for participation generated from a 'bottom-up' consultation processes.

1.2.1 Coproducing the vision: The *Joburg 2040* GDS outreach process

The process of developing *Joburg 2040 GDS* was different because of the process of engagement that followed. For the first time, a deliberate attempt was made to obtain the views of various stakeholders in the city in order to develop a long-term strategy for the City of Johannesburg. Previous studies (see Lipietz, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006) note that none of the CDS formulation processes in the City of Joburg undertook a successful participatory process to accompany the drafting of its long-term vision. The objective of this research is to understand the rationale, causalities and factors that led to the development of *Joburg 2040* by focusing on the 'bottom-up' participatory outreach process undertaken to develop this strategy.

The GDS outreach process was launched on 2 August 2011. It followed a nine-week engagement process of weekly thematic discussions with stakeholders in order to develop the city strategy. The purpose was to open up consultation with communities, experts, civil society and business, locally, regionally as well as internationally by using traditional and new forms of media to test ideas proposed by the City of Johannesburg.

Chapter five of *Joburg 2040* entitled “Listening to our citizen’s voices” (CoJ, 2011, pg. 103) states that the intention of the outreach process was to "produce a strategy for local government that would be based on an understanding of the experiences of those within the city, it would address the needs and opinions of the entire city's population." The attempt was to solicit a new method of urban policy making at the local sphere.

Despite its claim as being one of the first approaches at a city scale that intended to ensure that citizens inform long-term urban policy-making, the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process originating from 2000, is the statutory process that mandates local government to ensure that participation is a cornerstone of medium-term planning. IDPs have been undertaken since the emergence of democratic, developmental local government across the country, but with varying degrees of success (Harrison, 2006; Todes, 2015). The same can be said about the City of Johannesburg’s attempts at developing and implementing IDPs.

The methodology of developing *Joburg 2040* represented a new mode of urban policy-making whereby the public were allowed to participate in shaping the long-term view of the city from the onset of the strategy making process (CoJ, 2011a). The significance was that the City intended to shift away from routine, top-down, five-year IDP planning processes, to a long-term, vision-setting exercise immediately after the 2011 local government elections to ensure that greater policy reach could be achieved through broader dialogue, participation and consultation.

Even though the City of Johannesburg already had a CDS in place, the *Joburg 2006 Growth and Development Strategy* (CoJ, 2006b), this attempt was made to re-orientate citizens’ thinking around the type of future that the City-government intends aspiring towards from that point onwards (CoJ, 2011a). Previous city strategies like the 2006 did not undertake a participatory process and was drafted in closed spaces with limited stakeholder involvement (Winkler, 2011).

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the key drivers and issues that informed the *Joburg 2040* process. It argues that *Joburg 2040* resulted from an interplay between economic and political conflicts taking place at the urban scale. This dissertation will argue that the City's approach to urban policy-making deviated from theoretical urban policy-making processes. It will provide a critical assessment of whether or not the participatory process facilitated active involvement of the citizenry, forging political consensus through dialogue, to inform substantive policy development. It provides an analysis of the factors that informed previous CDSs and whether or not *Joburg 2040* constituted a path dependency where the major consequences of urban development feature as part of the City's history. Lastly, this dissertation argues that the *Joburg 2040* process attempted to provide hopefulness to the political nature of long term planning as it was a mechanism that provided the incoming political administration with an opportunity to indicate the merits of a democratic local government by generating a long-term urban vision.

1.4 Participation in setting

The researcher has been employed by the City of Johannesburg since 2008. He has worked in a senior position in the Department of the Office of the Executive Mayor. He played a significant role in the development of the *Joburg 2040* Growth and Development Strategy and the GDS outreach process. He authored Chapter 5 in *Joburg 2040* entitled 'Listening to our Citizens' Voices.' Furthermore, the researcher is currently reviewing the *Joburg 2040* strategy for the City of Johannesburg. Despite his role and employment by the City of Johannesburg, every attempt has been undertaken to ensure that no bias occurred during the drafting of this research report, however, bias may have occurred.

The researcher's experience in co-authoring, coordinating and reviewing *Joburg 2040* provides an important vantage point. The knowledge gained from practical experience will be critiqued against the rationale for *Joburg 2040*'s development, the methodology used to develop the strategy and its implementation up until the recent change of political administration.

1.5 Problem statement

Cities across the world are faced by myriad problems. Urban problems (which will be detailed later in this dissertation) such as urbanisation, poverty and spatial segregation, to name a few, have compounded the need for local government to respond to these challenges. This is also the case in South Africa, where, in the post-apartheid period, the lack of a national urban vision has meant that local governments have taken the initiative to develop independent policy processes to inform their developmental activities (Pieterse, 2007).

In the South African context, major cities mirror many of the challenges facing developing world cities, albeit without the particularism of apartheid. Bond (2006, pg.6) provides a more critical view of urban policy-making in the post-apartheid period. He states that the "large metropoles of South Africa are terribly overcrowded, dangerous, environmentally unsustainable, unpleasant places that even if growing at a normal rate should undergo a fundamental transformation rather than be considered acceptable by international standards." Urban policy has reinforced historical developmental patterns and has failed to address and support urban transformation (Boraine et al., 2006). Therefore, the apparent failure of urban policy implementation in this post-apartheid period needs to be further investigated.

Similarly, as the City of Johannesburg has already undergone five iterations of the City Development Strategy making process, it is important to understand why they are reviewed at five-year intervals and how they respond to changing political dynamics in the City. Despite the various tensions that City Development Strategies attempt to mitigate, the cycle of review has a bearing on the implementation objectives that each CDS intends to achieve (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2011). City Development Strategies by their very nature seek to achieve long-term change (beyond five years), yet each city strategy requires its own implementation plan that frames the building blocks of the IDP – in the South African context. This means that the medium-term planning framework must be a sub-set of the long-term plan. This is not always the case as new dynamics emerge that are not always captured in the City Development Strategy and its subsequent IDP. The current dynamics of political change in local government post the 2016 municipal elections are relevant to this point.

Despite the JCC's (1986) scenario as quoted in the opening paragraph, the democratic government has championed the need for citizen involvement in planning processes

to ensure that citizens are able to map out their needs, as government is in a better position to supply services that are demanded (Nyalunga, 2006). Everatt et al. (2010) contend that this process is not uncomplicated. Contemporary debates around participation in the South African context suggest that participation should be more than drawing in people to 'rubberstamp' already conceived developmental intentions. The question as to whether or not participation results in a changing status quo or seeks to perpetuate current socio-political dynamics remains a point of contention that needs to be investigated further. Furthermore, traditional approaches to participation have become outdated and participatory methods have remained ineffective (Nyalunga, 2006).

Linked to the issue of participation is the impact of the urban political economy. The need to understand the relationship between urban politics and participation is critical to understanding whether or not urban policy-making can influence the developmental trajectory. As a new political regime emerged after apartheid, Pieterse (2007, pg. 14) noted that "too much of the current scholarship on urban development is fragmented and partial, undermining our ability to get a handle on what is going on and how the status quo is maintained and bolted in place." It is critical to understand the relationship between politics, power and the sequence of decision-making that emanates from this relationship.

The dominant characteristic of post-apartheid urban South Africa is the conflict between economic and political power (as will be argued later in this dissertation) as demonstrated through the evolving institutional and governance systems of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (Mabin, 2002, Harrison, 2006, Harrison, et al., 2014). Developmental local government emerged in the post-apartheid period in order to mandate a new understanding at the local sphere to resolve the imprints remaining from apartheid. One of the cornerstones of developmental local government is participation. However, the deficiencies in public participation have relegated its intended outcomes as ineffective, merely placating communities.

Furthermore, City Development Strategies are used as urban policy tools across the world, primarily as an attempt to ensure that cities are able to alleviate poverty and ensure economic competitiveness by using a participatory approach to planning (World Bank, 2000; Cities Alliance, 2006). However, as a critique on the emergence and existence of CDSs, they tend to support city administrations in their efforts to become exclusively economically self-sufficient, rather than deal with socio-economic

issues (Robinson, 2011). Whilst City Development Strategies are regarded as policy initiatives, their relationship to strategic planning remains unclear and ambiguous (Lipietz, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006). As scholarly work has attempted to give meaning to urban policy, the definitions of urban policy, especially in a South African context have found its expression in a number of non-urban legislative pieces over the last two decades (Turok, 2015).

The key problem requiring investigation is whether long-term policy-making processes like *Joburg 2040* alter the city's development path or not. Hence, there are many issues for enquiry that are pertinent in the present moment: What does the CDS intend to alter or improve? Do City Development Strategies work? Is the CDS 'bolted' in the reality of the urban context? Is it working as planned or are there perverse outcomes? How has Johannesburg's CDS been formulated and has it evolved since its inception? Has the participatory component yielded any substantive benefit to the process? Can it be implemented effectively? Are city priorities politically determined? In sum, has the participatory component thus far, been worth the effort and expense?

1.6 Research Questions

The primary research of this thesis asks:

Has the Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy provided a new direction for urban policy making in South African cities?

There are five supplementary questions:

1. What factors led to the development of *Joburg 2040* over time?
2. How, if at all, were previous city strategies used to develop *Joburg 2040*?
3. What was the purpose of participation during the *Joburg 2040* policy-making process?
4. To what extent did participation influence the development of *Joburg 2040*?
5. Did *Joburg 2040* have an impact on development in the City since it was adopted?

1.7 Literature review

This dissertation will focus on the following theoretical areas: urban policy-making; urban development theory; strategic planning; City Development Strategies, political economy theory; developmental local government and participation. As a means to understand new directions for urban policy-making in South African cities, it is critical to understand the context of policy-making, perspectives on the political economy of cities as well as the role of participation in a democratic local government context. Chapters two and three constitute the literature review. The literature review chapters argue that urban policy is a tool intends to promote, support and maintain the growth of cities. In the South African context, urban policy implementation has reinforced historical developmental patterns and has failed to address and support urban transformation and as Bond (2006) claims, urban policy thus far has been unsuccessful in South Africa. Developmental local government emerged in the post-apartheid period in order to mandate a new understanding at the local sphere to remove the watermarks leftover from apartheid by encouraging a developmental approach to planning at the local sphere (Mabin, 2002; Harrison, 2006; Pillay, 2008).

The City of Johannesburg has produced five iterations of its City Development Strategy over the last 17 years, with the latest CDS currently being formulated. City Development Strategies in the City of Johannesburg have been formulated to meet particular development objectives by proposing developmental interventions for the institution (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). In the post-apartheid context, public policy initiatives were undertaken sequentially as public sector transformation was required. For example, the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 sought to provide a paradigm for development policies that aimed at redistribution that was consistent with a human development approach immediately after apartheid. (Pillay, 2008). The replacement of the RDP by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 2000 was consistent with a political transformational agenda that sought to ensure the country's economic salvation by creating a fertile environment for economic growth (Harrison, 2006). The 2012 National Development Plan Vision 2030 (Presidency, 2012) is the overarching development plan that sets forward a series of objectives in order for the country to achieve its developmental objectives. Cloete, De Coning and Wissink (2000) state that the role of policy was necessary in the South African context in order to bring about change as a result of the changing political environment, social dynamics, institutional formation and socio-economic changes that necessitated a renewed focus by a post-apartheid government.

Therefore, it is important to understand the driving forces that necessitate policy change. In the local government context, the transition to democracy meant that a developmental approach was adopted to ensure that the outcomes and interventions of government are representative of the various actors and stakeholders in cities (De Visser, 2009). Legislative changes such as the Municipal Systems Act 31 of 2000 stipulated the need for Integrated Development Plans (IDP), which are five-year plans produced by local government as a means to direct and co-ordinate the activities of the local authority (Harrison, 2006). As a tool to promote socio-economic development by placing people at the centre of development, IDPs became the *de facto* urban policy-making instrument in South African cities. Over and above IDPs, City Development Strategies emerged to ensure that cities are able to adapt and negotiate competing tensions in order to accelerate urban growth.

An important focus of the literature review will focus on the role Johannesburg played in facilitating developmental local government and chapter three supports the argument that Johannesburg is an epicentre of national power. The City played an important role in the transition to a democratic system of local government. However, the City has grappled with planning for the short, medium and long term as evidenced by the disjuncture between the IDP and GDS and the need to review and replace CDSs. Chapter three provides a critical assessment on the deficiencies of participation in Johannesburg.

Another area of enquiry is the notion of urban policy. Literature has indicated that there is no common definition of urban policy (Harrison, 2006; Pieterse, 2006; Lipietz, 2008; Pillay, 2008; Turok & Parnell, 2009) and that urban policy-making does not have a dominant methodology (Turok, 2009). Rather, such policy has been formulated as a response to the context of being responsive and sensitive to specific cultures and appetites for particular policies, as cities deem necessary (Cities Alliance, 2014). This exacerbates the gap between the relationships of City Development Strategies to urban policies. At times, CDSs are referred to as urban policy (Cities Alliance, 2006); however, as indicated above, this dissertation will argue that urban policy is a result of a unique set of circumstances that justify its need.

At the national sphere, policy-making attempts from 1994 to the present day are indicative of government's willingness to remove the watermarks of exclusion, inequity and fragmentation left over by apartheid. Moreover, Swilling (2005) and Pillay (2008)

state that the central issue of the democratic government has been to rethink the political economy of cities, however, without a coherent national urban policy to construct a post-apartheid vision for South African cities, local governments' have catalysed this opportunity by undertaking long-term planning. The experience of the City of Johannesburg's visioning (CDS) processes in this regard is useful, as the synchronisation between its policy iterations and the institutional fluctuations giving rise to *Joburg 2040* is the core of the study.

It is important to contextualise the relationship between City Development Strategies and public policy in Johannesburg. Parnell and Robinson's (2006) study focuses on the evolution of the City of Johannesburg's CDSs from democracy up until 2005. This study provides a useful analysis of the factors, causalities and the processes adopted by the City of Johannesburg to formulate City Development Strategies. This article provides a useful base, along with Barbara Lipietz's (2008) paper: 'Building a Vision for the Post-apartheid City: What Role for Participation in Johannesburg's City Development Strategy?' that focuses on the relationship between participation, the urban political economy and the formulation of City Development Strategies in the City of Joburg. Both of these articles contend that the relationship between urban policy and CDSs needs to be understood within the confines of the city's political economy. More importantly, this dissertation will locate the role of policy-making in defining the character of the city, in relation to its global and national relevance and the role of the city as a project of on-going urban transformation (Herbert and Murray, 2015). This dissertation will argue that this relationship is thrust by a sequence of circumstances with its connections, identities and influences extending beyond the city.

An important body of literature focuses on the characterisation of Johannesburg in the context of negotiating competing tensions faced by the municipality. Many studies of Johannesburg have read the city as a space of segregationist policies realised through a spatial embodiment of repressive and unequal relations (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). Furthermore, the transformation of the metropolitan city[1] is evidenced through periods of success and decline throughout its history (Harrison et al., 2014). This indicates a

[1] According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) Section 155.1.a, "metropolitan" is defined as a category A municipality. Furthermore, the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 (RSA, 1998) lists some of the characteristics of an urban areas as being a centre of economic activity, has features of high population density, is extensively developed and is an area where integrated planning is desirable.

perceived development coterminous with capitalist processes, which created a space of division, dislocation and socio-economic inequality (Herbert and Murray, 2015). Murray (2011) argues that it is within these confines that modern-day Johannesburg has been preoccupied with spatial restructuring, the de-racialization of services and the contestation of urban politics demonstrated through the changing vectors of institutional development. In attempting to deal with these structural causes and ailments, this dissertation will argue that the dramatic changes that continue to occur in Johannesburg are a juxtaposition of shared histories located within a rapidly globalising world.

This dissertation will trace the reasons for Council's commitment to adopt a long-term approach to planning and its implications for services and urban governance. The process to formulate *Joburg 2040* was heralded by the City of Johannesburg as a first for urban policy making in South African cities because of its extensive outreach process (CoJ, 2011a). Further investigation is needed to understand how participation can be used in long-term policy-making processes. Conventional theories of participation extol the values of it as being a process that should be able to inspire action through a combination of outcomes as a means to meet the basic needs of communities, promote community empowerment and ensure appropriate resource allocation (Nyalunga, 2006; McLennan, 2008). Previous attempts at utilising participation for City Development Strategies in Johannesburg were relegated to it supporting technical processes or had collapsed due to political pressures and shifting power dynamics in the City (Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Lipietz, 2008). In the current political environment of a DA-led coalition, this point is further emphasised.

As further interrogation of the participatory approach used by the City of Johannesburg in 2011 is required, a question emanates as to whether or not this participatory process was a graduation and extension of the regular IDP consultation process or whether or not the CDS was a genuine product of coproduction. Everatt (et al, 2010) in their assessment of participation in the IDP process in Johannesburg conclude that participation must shift away from informing and consulting people to an approach that seeks to allow people to become emboldened by participation. Moreover, one of the central concerns of this research is to focus on the relationship between the quality and implementation of developing CDSs and the role that participation has played in this regard. Therefore, it is also important to understand how the complexities of the institution and the political dynamics influencing it affected the participatory process.

1.8 Hypothesis

In Johannesburg, CDSs emerge from an amalgamation of socio-economic and political dynamics. The formulation of City Development Strategies in the City of Joburg prior to *Joburg 2040* were technically driven exercises that were undertaken by the City to inform its IDP processes. The development of *Joburg 2040* incorporated a public consultation process to legitimise the document. *Joburg 2040* attempted to emphasise a political imperative of an incoming political leadership that was willing to listen and engage with citizens. Nonetheless, participation during the *Joburg 2040* GDS outreach process did not bring about increased awareness of the city strategy. The GDS outreach process was only significant in influencing policy making during the *Joburg 2040* process. Participatory processes in Johannesburg, including the *Joburg 2040* outreach process occurred in a contested urban setting. As an outcome, *Joburg 2040* did little to alter the City's development path.

1.9 Research Design

This dissertation will be undertaken using a qualitative methodology. A qualitative methodology allows for greater exploration of meaning, purpose and reality by allowing the observer (the researcher) to immerse himself or herself in the context of enquiry (Harwell, 2011). As the study seeks to explore how the City of Johannesburg formulated *Joburg 2040* and whether or not it has provided a new direction the policy-making in South African cities, a qualitative methodology is appropriate to understand urban policy-making from its epistemological roots.

The researcher's prior knowledge on the subject as an 'insider' is crucial. The location of the researcher in the field of study means that the ability to understand, construct and reconstruct previous comprehensions of reality is important. It is crucial to acknowledge that the researcher's choice of methodology and interpretation has an effect on the sub-text of this dissertation. As the *Joburg 2040* process occurred in 2011, a qualitative methodology is appropriate to undertake an inductive enquire. This will enable the construction of theory and hypothesis testing by linking various concepts, through interviews as well as an analysis of appropriately published public documents relating to the case study.

There were four instruments that were used to undertake qualitative research for this report, viz. interviews, focus groups, participant observation and documentary

analysis. An interview guide was developed for undertaking both structured and unstructured interviews. A discussion guide was used for focus group discussions. An observation criteria form was developed for the IDP outreach sessions and a set of evaluation criteria was developed for undertaking documentary analysis. Thematic and discursive methods were used to analyse and process data and will be detailed in chapter four.

1.10 Chapter breakdown

Chapter one: Introduction

This chapter sets the tone for the research by casting the problem statement. It outlines the gaps in previous studies that focused on City Development Strategy making in the City of Johannesburg, as well studies on participatory approaches in policy-making processes. It articulates the purpose of this study as it frames the research questions and motivates for qualitative research design methodology.

Chapter two: Urban policy and the political economy of cities – a balance of forces?

This chapter provides a literary exposition on the context and dynamics of urban policy, its importance and its relationship to the urban political economy in South Africa. It focuses on the role of cities in the global context and provides an evolutionary account of urban policy making attempts in South Africa from 1994 to present day. This chapter references literature on long-term planning and the role of City Development Strategies and provides an understanding of the relationship between participation in policy making.

Chapter three: Johannesburg – between skyscrapers and slums

This chapter provides background and additional literature, by focusing on the importance of Johannesburg in the South African context. It traces the evolution of City Development Strategies from the initial days of democracy to the present *Joburg 2040* GDS. It also provides a current overview of the City of Johannesburg, and background on how participation is undertaken as a developmental tool in the City of Johannesburg.

Chapter four: Research design and methodology

This chapter provides justification for the qualitative methodology used. It outlines the four tools used to obtain data and evidence, the instrumentation used to assist with the

analysis and the methods of analysis used to process and analyse data. It also highlights the limitations of the research design and conveys the methods used to validate the data so that the research findings are valid and reliable.

Chapter five: Research findings

This chapter will present the findings regarding the impact of the urban political economy in developing *Joburg 2040* through to its implementation. It focuses on the path dependence of CDS, and traces how previous strategies and policies in the City of Johannesburg have evolved and how they impacted on the development of *Joburg 2040*. This chapter also provides findings in respect of how the strategy has been implemented in the City.

Chapter six: History matters

This chapter analyses the political economy of the City of Johannesburg by focusing on how changing dynamics in the city as well as the changes through the restructuring of governance in a political environment impacted on the development of *Joburg 2040*. It focuses on the context of the City of Johannesburg and analyses the reasons for the central position that Johannesburg plays in the country and how this has evolved over time. It analyses reasons for the development of *Joburg 2040* in the context of different city strategies, and the institution's ability to manage change.

Chapter seven: Johannesburg – a contested space for participation

Despite the attempt to co-create a CDS with citizens, this chapter argues that participation during the GDS outreach and subsequent processes have been undertaken as a political tool to gain legitimacy for decisions taken by the City. This chapter argues that the implementation of *Joburg 2040*, its relationship to the IDP processes as well as some of the new participatory approaches introduced by the City of Johannesburg since 2011, is representative of a politically determined vision rather than a citizen focused one.

Chapter eight: Conclusion - breaking path dependence – revealing new political dynamics in the City of Joburg

The concluding chapter answers the research question by providing a synopsis of whether or not *Joburg 2040* provided a new direction for policy-making. The conclusion was written approximately three months after local government elections and provides an analysis of the new urban policy narrative in the city and a comparison between

previous and current urban policy practices in the City of Johannesburg. The tentative conclusion proposes five potential areas for future research that stem from this study.

2. CHAPTER TWO: URBAN POLICY AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CITIES – A BALANCE OF FORCES?

2.1 Introduction

In order to answer the primary research question: "Has the *Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy* provided a new direction for urban policy making in South African cities?", this literature review is divided into four sections. The first section focuses on the importance of cities. It sets the context by providing an account of the urban political economy and its consequence for urban development. The second section focuses on urban governance and developmental local government in South Africa and focuses on the transformed role of the third sphere of government in South Africa. The third section highlights the issue of urban policy-making. It articulates the importance of public policy and analyses the relationship between policy, strategy and path dependency. It explores the urban policy context in South Africa by tracing previous urban policy attempts. The fourth section of this chapter focuses on long-term planning in cities and explores the phenomenon of city strategies in the context of policy-making and urban development in South Africa. The conceptual framework is captured in the figure 1 below.

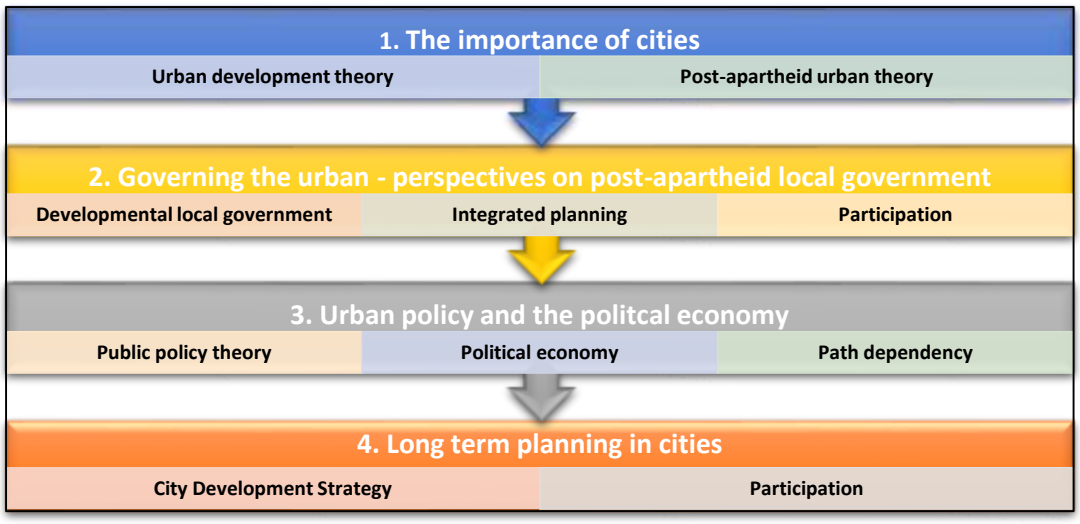

Figure 1: Breakdown of the four sections constituting the literature review.

Chapter 3 will focus on the City of Johannesburg and its evolution of City Development Strategies as it intends to build on the concepts and theories used to understand urban policy making and apply it to the context of the City of Johannesburg.

2.2 The rising importance of cities

The last couple of decades have seen an increased interest in the rise of cities (UN, 2016). Many publications on cities reflect this interest by postulating that the majority of the world's population will be living in cities, a trend that is likely to persist and grow. Coupled with this, there are a number of challenges facing cities today, such as: urban poverty, inequality, rapid urbanization, global warming and climate change, energy crises and water shortages. However, cities and in particular metropolitan cities also represent the best hope of finding solutions to particular urban challenges (UN Habitat, 2013; 2015; 2016; Clarke, 2013).

According to the State of the World Cities Report 2012/13 (UN Habitat, 2013), cities have a transformative role to play in terms of dealing with these challenges and crises that have emerged over time. The State of the World Cities Report 2012/13 contended that cities are in a better position compared to national governments, to at least deal with and address these global challenges. However, it also stated that cities need to be placed in better positions to respond to these challenges by harnessing resources and opportunities.

Given this role for cities, the nexus between globalization and urbanization offers a more complex perspective on contemporary urbanism. McCann (2004) notes that during the 1970s, critical work in urban studies was constituted by the role of capital and its subsequent flows of power and knowledge (further substantiated by Castells, 1972; Harvey, 2009, Harvey, 2006). Similarly, during the 1980s, studies in urbanism focused on the role of globalization and the city as a related globalized object of study (McCann, 2004). Much of the literature on urbanism focuses on the role of cities, and in particular large global cities as “organizing nodes of the global economy” (McCann, 2004, pg. 2318).

The UN Habitat’s State of World Cities Report 2016 (UN, 2016, pg. 30) states that “Cities have become the locus for change and the venue where policies and actions are mobilized.” This means that as urbanization rates increase across the world, cities will have to invest heavily in social and economic infrastructure, services, logistics and mass transit in order to cater for this demand. While the rate of urbanization increases at an unprecedented scale in the developing world, its correlation with economic growth is weaker (Peck and Tickell, 2002; McCann, 2004). Despite the importance of cities to national and regional economies, the role of cities in relation to national

economies remains marginal in broader socio-economic debates. Perhaps the opportunity for cities in the future will be further heightened by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals' (SDG) Goal 11 which for the first time focuses on cities and created a global urban agenda (UN, 2015). SDG Goal 11 states aims to "Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (UN, 2015).

Whilst the goal signals the centrality of cities in the context of global development, further interpretation is needed to understand the implications of the words "inclusive" and "safe" albeit that the Goal lacks a human rights approach to urban development. The holistic wording of this SDG signifies the need to take into account the broader socio-economic dynamics and challenges facing cities, but an integrated approach that recognises how the political economy impacts on urban development would be necessary for implementation of this Goal.

2.2.1 What is the urban political economy?

Political economy as an overarching concept has a broad array of interpretations (Salavrakos, 2012). The political economy of cities focuses on how development is situated within prevailing political and economic processes and how it shapes different relationships, contestations of power and development interventions in cities (McCloughlin, 2014). As cities around the world conceptualise their existence around globalisation and urbanisation, much of the literature around the city tends to focus on place making, rather than on the dynamic and complex role of cities as a consequence of political contestation, social production and historical configuration (McCann, 2004; Harvey, 2006).

A wealth of literature describes the scale and challenges of urban development across the world (UN Habitat, 2013; 2015; 2016; Clarke, 2013), there is also considerable evidence that cities are spaces where the bargaining and distributional conflicts between the poor and non-poor take place; where there are pressures emanating from contrived socio-political participation of the urban poor, and where constraints in the delivery of water and energy services are as a result of contestations of power (Carter, 2015). The layers behind the social, economic and political drivers of urban tensions tend to be less referenced in contemporary literature, as the relationships between these constraints ought to be considered as part of the wider political economy context.

Parnell and Pieterse (2010) note how the condition of globalisation presents unique challenges for poverty reduction in cities, where large concentrations of people remain institutionally excluded from city government support structures. They argue that whilst large cities are key to global economic positioning, such cities are not able to help the poor mainly because the instruments and values of the local state exacerbate the underlying drivers of poverty and exclusion. In practical terms, the tendency to address poverty and other urban challenges through macro-economic interventions cannot be realised without substantial political commitment and when "the interests of the poor can be embedded in the routine functioning of the state" (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010, pg. 17).

Peck and Tickell's (2002) study located cities as centres of neoliberalism, as many studies emphasise the top-down nature of neoliberal agenda setting in cities. Alternative views on how neoliberalism articulates with its contestations in cities can be attributed to a grassroots and bottom-up polemic, as David Harvey (2012, pg.6) appropriately states that "reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization." This collective power must be matched with the political task in cities to reimagine and reconstitute a different type of city that places human living and urban rights at the centre of the city (Pieterse, 2006). The next section traces South Africa's urban transformation in the light of competing economic and political forces at play during the post-apartheid period.

2.2.2 Critical reflections on urban transformation in South Africa

Throughout its history, the South African urban context has been shaped by policies and programmes that have controlled the movement and settlement of black people (Todes et al, 2010). Political processes that involved population control and forced removals led to a highly inefficient and inequitable urban form (Turok, 2015). According to Pillay (2008); Turok (2009) and Harrison (2006), South Africa's pre-1994 urban policies were predicated on the dictates of apartheid spatial planning. The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 legislated the South African city as being segregated according to race.

Turok & Parnell (2009) as well as Pillay (2008) state that one of the major challenges faced by South African cities results from the degree of control imposed on urban areas because of the Group Areas Act that denied the black majority residence in urban areas. Denying them the right to live in the city resulted in underdeveloped and

overcrowded areas fostering income and spatial inequalities within cities and regions. A major challenge facing the democratic dispensation were distorted human settlements and other spatial and simultaneously socio-economic problems such as unemployment and poverty (Turok, 2015).

According to Boraine et al. (2006), much of the development in the post-apartheid South African period focused on dealing with the country's segregationist urban history. This was an attempt to deal with the inequalities created by colonialism and apartheid. Much of the post-apartheid urban agenda focused on responding to the legacy of apartheid through separate policies and programmes rather than a singular approach (SACN, 2016; Turok, 2015). Therefore, according to Boraine et al. (2006), the first attempts at policy making in the democratic period focused on non-racialism, reconstruction and development as well as removing the watermarks of poverty and inequality left by the apartheid regime.

Todes et al. (2010) and Turok (2015) reflect on the changing socio-economic dynamic in South African cities. They argue that since the end of apartheid, metropolitan cities have been the main focus of in-migration from rural areas. One of the main reasons is what Pieterse (2006, pg. 82) describes as the "contradictory implications of sectoral policy initiatives". The lack of policy co-ordination linked to the rationale that municipalities ought to be the drivers of urban integration did little to give effect to new policy ideas. Harrison et al. (2003, in Pillay et al, 2008) cautiously note that at the turn of the millennium, governments' attempt at pursuing neoliberal policies exacerbated social and class divisions at the expense of the poor. As a result, apartheid era underdevelopment persisted during the democratic era and continue to date.

Bond (2003) queried the merits of allowing globalisation and other structural power imbalances to influence urban development instead of positing a broader understanding of the socio-economic environment in the country. He stated "South African cities reflected the capitalist residential, commercial, industrial and environmental processes based not only upon racial prejudice but also upon labour reproduction, capital accumulation and social control motives." He further added that post-apartheid policy programmes have mirrored those of the apartheid era.

Pieterse (2006, pg. 82) noted further that post-apartheid "integration efforts aimed at changing the apartheid city are often based on shaky conceptual foundations which produce unintended consequences." This supports Bond's (2003) point that after two

decades of democracy, South African cities still remain as segregated, fragmented and unequal as at the start of the democratic dispensation.

Parnell and Pieterse (2008) claim that the dominance of a particular brand of neoliberalism diminished transformational commitments and agreements to poverty reduction, socio-political inclusion and equal rights for all citizens. The exclusionary nature of state institutions has made the imperative of responding to poverty more challenging, as the local state has not been significantly empowered to address a transformative socio-economic, spatial agenda.

2.2.3 Political economy implications for urban development in South Africa

The need for inclusive growth in cities in the post-apartheid period requires government to be proactive and innovative (Mabin, 2002). As the political economy of cities in South Africa is subject to structural movements globally and locally, the need for government to raise the bar and become more ambitious should be a priority. However, as indicated above, much of government's attempt to create an inclusive urban setting have indicated a government that has not taken advantage of the utility of democracy (Bond, 2000; Boraine et al 2006). The attempt to shift orientation away from race, class and inequality has also resulted in a withdrawal of public participation in democratic processes as will be evidenced in chapters six and seven.

It is imperative to consider the connections between racially produced development and the legacy of economic production in cities. Turok (2012) argues that pro-poor policies of government have exacerbated citizens' exclusion at the expense of economic growth. Even though government attempted to politically and economically mediate these socio-economic tensions, the result of a splintered urban structure characterised by separation of residential and employment opportunities, makes a compelling case that there are governance weaknesses that are apparent (McLennan, 2008).

Thus, the underlying problem of political influence in cities remains contentious. As communities remain frustrated by the slow pace of development in cities, they evidence that the channels of political influence remain weak and ineffectual (McLennan, 2008). As service delivery protests have concentrated more in metros, as opposed to other municipalities in South Africa, the demands for better living conditions remain a threat to government's legitimacy to deliver (Municipal IQ, 2016).

At the local government level, government has suffered in its attempts to ameliorate the above mentioned structural challenges, and the conventional methods of providing services remain inadequate. Even though “metros were formed from complex amalgamations of separate administrations and incorporated large areas that lacked essential services” the complexity of planning at this level has been compounded by rising economic inequalities and the inability of government to “disrupt historical patterns of development” (Turok, 2012, pg. 45). The next section focuses on the rebirth of local government in South Africa, given the context of addressing development needs in a contested socio-political environment.

2.3 Governing the urban: Perspectives on local government in South Africa

This section argues that the need for a new post-apartheid system of local government in South Africa was part of a process of urban governance reform needed in order to unify competing forces inherited by cities. As the government of national unity negotiated a unified settlement in the early 1990s, the framework for a developmental system of local government was sketched. This section also provides the conceptual linkage between urban development theory and policy-making in cities, as local governments’ role in the post-apartheid era has undergone major structural transformation coinciding with the renewed enthusiasm to transform the urban landscape.

2.3.1 Why a ‘developmental’ approach to local government?

Popular resistance to apartheid local government gave rise to the model of local government that was negotiated during the early 1990s. The process of consolidating local government in South Africa emerged from the period of negotiations for a unified and equal system of government, with the imperative of transforming the apartheid system of local government that was based on segregation and racially defined access to services (Mabin, 2002). The need for developmental local government was based on the premise that if apartheid-style technocratic, land-use management methods and its political influence on planning continued, it would reinforce an inefficient and unequal system of local government. The Local Government Transition Act, 203 of 1993 (LGTA) was passed in tandem with the interim Constitution, in order to provide a basis for the democratisation of a post-apartheid system of local government.

One of the primary critiques of the LGTA was that it did not “fashion local government as an agent for development” (Seedat, 2005, pg.14). The foundations of developmental local government were laid in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government, which preceded the Constitutional provisions of 1996. According to de Visser, (2009) the White Paper introduced a number of new concepts and duties related to the nature of local government as an agent for socio-economic development. The concept of developmental local government provided a new definition and mandate for local government as being "committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet the social economic and material needs and improve quality of their lives” (RSA, 1998 a).

The White Paper on Local Government further defined four characteristics of developmental local government. They were: maximising social development and economic growth; integrating and coordinating development; democratizing development, empowering and redistributing; and leading and learning. The central tenets of developmental local government were rooted in the transition to a democratic, interdependent and distinctive system of government that broke away from the previous racially configured and illegitimate system of local government (De Visser, 2009; Mabin, 2002; Harrison, 2006).

One of the important features of developmental local government was that it was regarded as a “sphere” of government. The significance of developmental local government was that it was constitutionally recognised as a separate entity within the inter-governmental system (Seedat, 2005). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) directed national legislation (such as the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 (RSA, 1998b)) to provide the legal framework for the establishment of municipalities. By December 2000, new municipalities formed the basis of this newly established legal framework. This meant that areas not traditionally governed by any form of local authority were now formally established as local government institutions (de Visser, 2009). Section 2 of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 (RSA, 1998b) states that Category A municipalities are those established as Metropolitan areas, and have exclusive and legislative authority in their jurisdictions. Category B (local municipalities) and Category C (district municipalities) do not have the authority of metropolitan areas.

The Municipal Systems Act (MSA) of 2000 was adopted in 2000. The City of

Johannesburg was one of six category A metropolitan municipalities in the country (CoJ, 2006a) at the time. There are nine Metropolitan municipalities today (SACN, 2016). The MSA detailed the role of developmental local government and espoused many of the concepts enshrined the Constitution and White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 2000).

The White Paper asserted that integrated planning should be a prerequisite for municipalities, particularly in terms of ensuring that services could be co-ordinated and delivered in an integrated manner: that governance arrangements could support such delivery; and that community participation would feature as a socio-political tool to aid development. The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 further sought to advance the developmental discourse of planning at the local sphere, as will be detailed below.

The fundamentals of developmental local government have been in place since the drafting of the interim Constitution. As legislation on developmental local government intended to overhaul an entire system of planning, municipalities today are faced with a number of political, governance and administrative challenges. Even though the current system of developmental local government has been in place for over four municipal electoral terms, its inability to build development-orientated institutions compromises this visionary ideal (Turok, 2016; Sishlongonyane, 2016). Among these challenges are the lack of financial capacity, human resource capability, political instability and inability to plan and deliver in an integrated manner, which have hampered the experience of municipalities across the country (De Visser, 2009; Turok, 2015).

Despite the mechanisms of formal democratic processes, the key challenges to building development-orientated institutions relate to the myriad functions that local government is mandated to carry out. This literature review contends that in concert with government's willingness to ensure improved quality of life, developmental local government as a concept and practice has suffered as a result of unethical practice, unsustainable financial management and the lack of a capable cadre of urban managers to drive its policy and legislative requirements.

2.3.2 Integrated Development Planning – a means or an end?

Integrated Development Plans were introduced in the White Paper on Local Government in 1998 (RSA, 1998) as a key tool to achieve developmental local government and to enhance participation of communities in planning. Harrison (2006)

stated that IDPs are one of the outcomes of a process of policy 'convergence' that happened as a result of the negotiations towards achieving developmental local government in South Africa.

The core components and requirements of an IDP are stipulated in the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 (RSA, 2000). The Act specifies these requirements as: "A vision for the long-term development of a municipality; an assessment of the current level of servicing, and of economic and social development, in a municipality; the municipal council's development priorities and objectives for its elective term; the local council's development strategies; a spatial development framework; operational strategies; sectoral plans required by other legislation; a financial plan; and a set of key performance indicators in performance targets." In order to localise planning at the ward level, the Municipal Finance Management Act of 2003 introduced the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) concept, a tool to set annual service delivery programmes, to give better effect to implementing an IDP.

Local governments have implemented IDPs across the country since the dawn of the new millennium. As a critique, Harrison (2006) states that the initial IDPs were completed inadequately, sometimes providing more detailed and technocratic approaches to urban development, often devoid of participation. The need to ensure that participation forms part of the IDP process has been subject to much criticism and debate in the development of these medium term plans. Participation in this context has been viewed as compliance-driven and not necessarily developmental (Everatt et al, 2010; Everatt and Gwagwa, 2005).

This literature review does not evaluate the outcomes of the IDP process; but it acknowledges that the IDP process has made an important contribution towards local planning in South African cities by embracing new principles and approaches in order to drive urban change from a municipal level (Todes, 2004). Chapter 3 will detail the City of Johannesburg's experiences in producing IDPs and will also focus on its policy and strategy linkages.

2.3.3 The conceptions of political and social participation in post-apartheid cities

The concept of participation has been increasingly embraced by a number of governments around the world, in policy-making and policy implementation processes. Participation has been regarded as one of the cornerstones of democracy as it is

indispensable for the enhancement thereof, by promoting good governance and in the formulation and implementation of public policies (Nyalunga, 2006; Davids, 2006). Participation in theory allows for an inclusive policy making process in which citizens and interest groups become key actors.

There are numerous definitions of public participation that elicit divergent views, definitions and discourses. Arnstein (1969) defines citizen participation as "citizen power" in that it allows for citizens who are excluded from social, economic and political processes to deliberately be included into these processes and in the '*Ladder of Participation*,' as seen in Figure 2. There are also various concepts attached to the term participation, such as: community participation; citizen participation and public participation (Babooa, 2011).

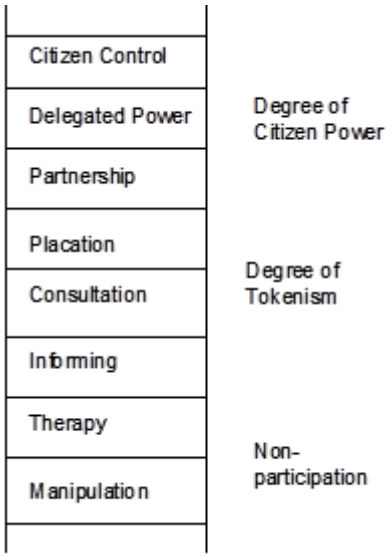

Figure 2: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969)

The International Association of Public Participation (IAPP, 2005) provides a *Spectrum of Public Participation* that recognizes that all levels of public participation are not the same. Figure 3 below indicates the IAPP's Spectrum of Public Participation (2005). The Spectrum attempts to tie five levels of participation with particular public participation goals that indicate a graduation of the participation process from 'inform' to 'empower'. As a model for engagement, the IAPP's Spectrum indicates the level of expectation of communities as the public participation goal indicates an increasing level of public impact.

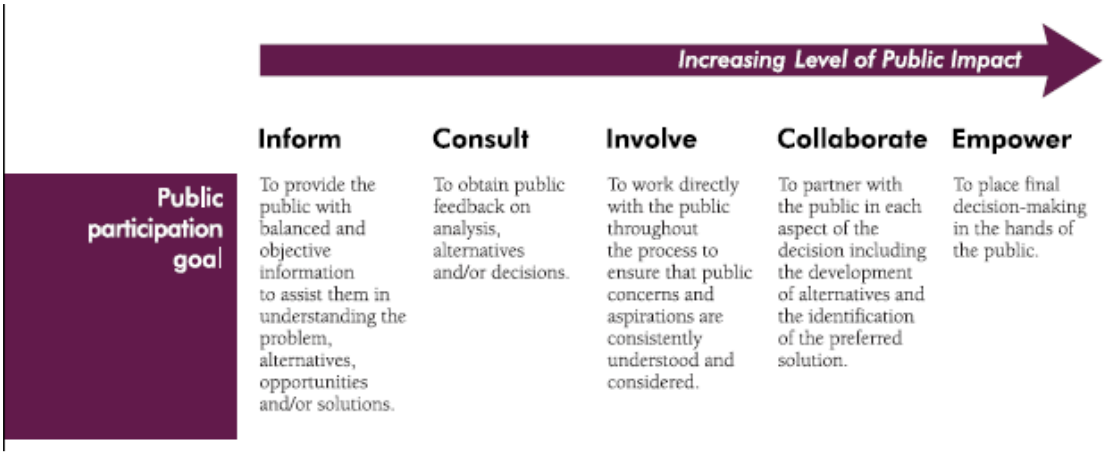

Figure 3: International Association of Public Participations' Spectrum of Participation ([2]IAPP, 2005)

Participation has become a deliberate activity undertaken by government institutions to achieve particular goals and objectives, and its legitimacy. Participation has also been used an indicator of successful policymaking and has become ubiquitous as an activity undertaken in decision-making processes. Pieterse's (2002, pg. 12) definition of public participation as "a process of social learning because it serves to empower uninformed, marginalized citizens about how they can advance the interests in conjunction with their communities" suggests that participation is a political process. Rooted in political philosophy, the concept of participation features strongly in the argument for a democratic system of governance and a participatory form of government. This allows for greater involvement of the population in decisions that may affect them.

Much of the thinking espoused in the policy and legislative prescripts of developmental local government point to its role as being people-driven, strengthened by participation as a process in order to renew a democratic system of local government. Even though participation has become the norm in community engagement and consultation in decision-making, it is not unproblematic (Everatt et al., 2010). Participation in the post-apartheid, democratic era can be regarded as a double-edged sword. Despite the anti-apartheid struggle against segregationist local government through grassroots and civil society activism, the legacy of participation is haunted by historical practices of exclusion and segregation.

[2] Accessed from https://www.epa.gov/epahome/pdf.html on 30 May 2016

2.3.4 Developmental local government and participation

The local government landscape in South Africa is complex. Its environment is shaped by the legacy of apartheid-style approaches to development, yielding a set of unique conditions such as a racialised society, poorly serviced areas and disconnected towns and cities (Turok, 2015). A developmental approach to local government is envisioned as a means to ensure that the practices of the local state are democratised. As such, one of the cornerstones of democracy and good governance is the significance and practice of public participation.

Chapter 7, Section 152 of the Constitution Act 108 of 1996 makes it clear that the objective of local government is to "provide democratic and accountable government for local communities" and "to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government" (RSA, 1996). Sections 72 to 78 of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 institutionalise the broad parameters of involving communities and local government (RSA, 1998), whilst the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 in Chapters 4 and 5 mandates all municipalities to develop mechanisms to consult and involve the community in decision-making processes. As stated above, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 encourages participation in municipal processes through (amongst other things) the preparation and implementation of IDPs.

According to De Coning (1996), public policy-making is an activity that precedes a forthcoming activity, action or development objective. Babooa (2011, pg. 73) states that participation in "policy-making is seen as a process to proceed to the publication of community objectives by local government which attempts are made to enhance and promote the well-being of citizens at the local government level." It can be argued that participation is a means to facilitate the development of the IDP process. Hence participation in the current local government system can be regarded as a public activity that attempts to influence future events by trying to find solutions to the problems faced by government and tackling them through an outcomes based, goal-orientated participatory approach (Nyalunga, 2006; De Coning, 1995).

In the context of developmental local government, IDPs have been championed as a process to deepen democracy, transparency and accountability in government. The central point is that in IDP processes, communities participate in the process rather than initiate, control and manage it, and the IDP process provides the legal platform in which to participate (Everatt and Gwagwa, 2005).

Whilst participation is seen as an ambitious public activity, there are also deficiencies in the IDP processes where participation is involved. There are a number of reasons for deficiencies in the IDP processes that highlight the weaknesses of participation. In the quest for promoting democratic decision making, Cloete, De Coning and Wissink (2006) stress the role of political power that places a particular emphasis on participative policy-making. They warn about the dangers of state controlled policy-making where particular decisions are somewhat opaque and vague, thereby facilitating further political tensions in the system. The value placed on political power also means that there are vested interests in policy-making processes leading to a resistance to change, since public policies cannot always be pre-determined.

There also other deficiencies in the participatory approach, such as the dangers of 'over-consultation' and conflicts of interest which may lead to policy failure as a result of structural contradictions in the developmental trajectories of communities. Participation may not always lead to a convergence of interests around a common development goal, resulting in policy failure. The acknowledgement that participation is also not a 'once-off' process means that it must be de-linked from political processes. There is also a need to capacitate communities to effectively participate in order to reduce apathy and transform attitudes of mistrust between government and citizens (Nyalunga, 2006).

Despite some of these deficiencies there are also ways to improve participative approaches to planning at the local level. This can be done through better process design and enhancing participation through the various stages of the IDP process (Nyalunga, 2006). Another area of improvement could be the identification of alternative techniques that pay attention to the factors, risks, uncertainties and obstacles that affect IDP processes. This would allow for greater incentives for planners and policymakers to become more involved in the IDP process by taking into account the various interests that influence public policies and connecting interests with policy choices (Everatt et al. 2010). The relationship between City Development Strategies and participation will follow later in the chapter.

2.3.5 Co-production and participation – a new radical approach?

Sherry Arnstein's *Ladder of participation* (1969) has been cited as a generic method for characterising the role of different users in a participatory process. However, one of the weaknesses of the ladder is that it does not fully articulate the complexity of

different relationships between the provider and user of services (Bovaird, 2007). In recent years, a radical shift in governance has attempted to use bottom-up rather than top-down negotiation and participatory processes (Cloete, De Coning and Wissink, 2006). Similarly, typical provider-user relationships have favoured the provider, rather than the user. Furthermore, traditional approaches to participation have been based on a command and control system where citizens have a contractual relationship with the state. The apparatus used by the state has become outdated and as such, participatory approaches cannot be linear processes, utilizing singular methods.

An approach that seeks to radically re-orient this approach that emerged in the 1970s, and expanded by Elinor Ostrom in 1996, is known as coproduction. According to Ostrom "coproduction implies that citizens can play an active role in producing public goods and services of consequence to them" (1996, pg.1073). One of the fundamental features of coproduction is that it attempts to bridge the gulf between user and provider by considering inputs from citizens into processes that are delivered by the state in a mutually reciprocal manner. The ideal is that citizens can act as co-producers, where their relationship to public service providers are akin to becoming co-planners and co-delivery agents, working alongside regular service providers.

However, the approach and methodology of using coproduction to generate policy remains limited. As Ostrom stated that “the production of a service, as contrasted to a good, was difficult without the active participation of those supposedly receiving the service” (1996, pg. 1073) the promotion of coproduction as driver of governance, and as a method to build capacity of communities, suggests that relationships are not bilateral. As there are multiple stakeholders present, it is important that generating policy through coproduction is able to navigate the complex interplay of relationships.

Furthermore, as Bovaird (2007) stated, the political feasibility to undertake a coproduction approach has an associated risk that requires a politicians to rely on communities as opposed to professionals to generate inputs into processes. Hence, case studies on coproduction in policy making in the developing world have been rare, but Bovaird concluded that “coproduction by users and communities has provided an important integrating mechanism, bringing together a wide variety of stakeholders in the public domain, although it is often hidden, frequently ignored, and usually underestimated in its potential to raise the effectiveness of public policy” (2007, pg. 853). In this context of attempting to produce outcomes through ‘bottom-up’ and co-generated inputs from citizens, the next section focuses on defining urban policy

making and traces the South African experience of urban policy making in the post-apartheid period.

2.4 Urban policymaking and the political economy

Theories of policy and policy-making acknowledge that policy is a multi-dimensional concept (Dye, 2005; Dror, 1987; Blackman, 1995). The various definitions of policy suggest that policy is central to the understanding of the way society is governed. The term policy indicates that it is a practice, a commitment or a statement of values (Colebatch, 2002). Policy is an approach that seeks to it being mobilized in a wide variety of social settings to stimulate change. Policy also sets out some kind of strategy for its own realisation (De Coning, 1995).

The sections above argued that urban development is situated in prevailing political and economic processes that are shaped by contestations of power and dynamic relationships between socio-political actors. In order to define urban policy, it is important to understand what policy is and how it relates to the urban context. This section seeks to provide conceptual clarification regarding the concepts of policy, urban policy and strategy. It is necessary to reflect on the use of concepts such as policy, public policy and urban policy in order to understand the implications for this academic inquiry.

2.4.1 What is policy?

Dye (2005, pg.3) defines policy as a course of action that “governments choose to do or not to do.” In order to understand the concept of policy, Cloete, De Coning and Wissink (2006) add that it is a reaction to the changing societal demands as a result of perceived problems that require governments to either improve or eradicate. Hence their argument that policies only exist to bring about change is important. Other earlier definitions of policy define it as “a declaration and implementation of intent” (Ranney, 1968, pg. 7). Hanekom (1987, pg.7) defines policy as "the activity preceding the publication of a goal…. Policy is thus indicative of a goal, a specific purpose and a programme of action that has been decided upon. Public policy is therefore a formally articulated goal that the legislator intends pursuing with society or with a societal group". Hogwood and Gunn (1984, in De Coning, 1996) point out that the terms policy and public policy are often used interchangeably. If policy is indicative of an articulation of a goal, then public policy for the purposes of this dissertation can be defined as an articulation of a goal that is generated through governmental processes, systems and mechanisms to allocate resource in order to realize societal goals.

In view of the above, the purpose of public policy is twofold. The first aspect of public policy is descriptive and the second aspect is normative. Descriptive policy models are concerned with the elements that have an impact on the public policy process. In most cases, this approach is used by political administrations to guide a particular course of action. The normative policy model emphasizes the substance of policy content and establishes whether or not the policy has had the desired results and what the consequences would be if it were implemented (Dye, 2005). In both respects, this confirms the definition that public policy provides a functional perspective on the processes of government and policy exists as an indication of a particular problem or issue at stake.

Public policy is also essential to keep the culture of democracy vibrant. Interventions by government to direct resources can be determined through choices made by citizens and expressed through public policy goals. The emphasis on values, ethics, societal relationships and the importance of policy management through governance and institutional arrangements indicates the importance of public policy in a democratic context. Participation and consensus in policy making is important as it aims to provide policymakers with information that could be applied to finding solutions to practical problems (De Coning, 1996).

2.4.2 Why is policy important?

One of the main reasons why policy analysis and policy development became a discipline was the dissatisfaction with the social sciences and their inability to produce policy options (De Coning, 1995). In the 1950s, Harold Laswell coined the term 'policy sciences' (Laswell, 1950) in an active move away from purely social sciences towards a policy focus. This approach sought to shift policy beyond the application of a simple technical analysis to consider other intangible cultural factors, political problems and other variables in society. Bobrow and Drtzek (1987) observe that the existence of policy is because policy problems do not operate in disciplined boundaries, rather, they reflect a variety of different disciplines that require different approaches to understanding contemporary, social and other sciences i.e. multidisciplinary or trans-disciplinary policies.

There are many reasons that warrant the need for public policy. As described above, some of these reasons include changes to the contextual environment and the need for affecting social change. Cloete, De Coning and Wissink (2006) add that policy need

and change does not only take place after implementation but during implementation as well. They provide seven reasons for policy changes giving effect to the importance of policy development. The seven reasons are: changing environment, changing public opinion, changing demands on the government, changes in the resource base, changing nature of institutions, changes in political leadership and changes in policy solutions or service delivery strategies.

Given the reasons above, Cloete, De Coning and Wissink (2006 pg. 25) observe that many public policies are "future orientated" and are usually a 'hypothesis' that is subject to change based on need, demand and circumstance. This hypothesis is subject to alteration and is closely associated to the political ideologies that influence the policy development processes. Another reason not covered is the need for policy change due to public pressure. In a democratic context, common approaches to public policy highlight the need for participation. Policy change would arise when public policies do not respond to the needs of citizens and/or are likely to be contested.

There are three issues that highlight the importance of policy. The first is the need for the policy and the process of developing that particular policy. The second is that policy is expected to empower decision-making and that policy makers need to exercise rational policy choices. The third is that polices must specify action that follows from the policy decision.

There are also a number of dynamics and driving forces that shape and influence policy-making. Perl (2013) uses the example of globalisation to indicate how it has shaped the routines of the policy-making processes. Globalisation has redefined relationships amongst policy actors and has also challenged the predictability of policy outcomes at different stages of public policy-making processes. As economic power has shifted from the West to the East, the risk of imbalances in global economies have brought about greater risks to communities as globalisation has perpetuated inequalities as it has favoured the wealthy and educated (Harvey, 2006).

Another important point to consider is the interaction between the state and society in policy-making processes. In more recent times, these relationships have become more blurred and convoluted. Perl (2013) highlights the decision-making process, whereby public power is shared between state and society actors. This draws attention to the integration of relationships amongst different policy actors in a globalized context. Policy scholars such as Perl (2013), Dunn, (1996), Dror (1968), Dye (2005) and

Laswell (1950) have been able to link these interactive relationships and have found correlations between policy actors and actual policy orientations. There are notable policy changes that have resulted from political developments or technological changes at a macro level, for example, the collapse of the Soviet Union allowed for movement of people and goods and a reorganization of the European Union; the ending of apartheid allowed for a freedom of movement and choice; technological advancement has drawn down the costs of communication and mobility and has facilitated new developments to support it; and so on.

2.4.3 The relationship between policy and strategy

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to clarify the understanding and relationship between policy and strategy. Theoretical material provided a definition of policy in that it is a purposive course of action that follows in dealing with a problem, in order to predict the state of affairs once that particular purpose has been achieved (Perl, 2013; Dunn, 1996; Dror, 1968; Dye, 2005; Laswell, 1950). If policy is an 'umbrella' term that encapsulates the policy making process, then strategy is a method of policy implementation that seeks to dedicate actions in a bid to achieve a particular result. According to this definition, the assumption is that a strategy emanates from a policy (Lyon and Maxwell, 2012; Cloete, De Coning and Wissink, 2006).

Strategies are attempts to translate policy into operations (Cloete, De Coning and Wissink, 2006). It assumes the following processes that need to be undertaken to develop a strategy: planning, programming, allocating resources and budgeting of prioritised areas towards the operational aspects of policy implementation. Strategy is an attempt that follows the policy process through ensuring that trade-offs are made to enable the decisions undertaken to have a lasting competitive advantage.

Lawrence Freedman in his book *Strategy: a History* (2013) demonstrates that strategy has military roots and that the use of strategy has been applied in war, politics and business. Policy on the other hand, is a modern approach that has both political and social roots as it attempts to enunciate the processes of government by providing guidelines for decision-making. Therefore strategies are used as an area of policy in order to make the policy seem more purposeful with a set of strategic decisions and choices behind it (Freedman, 2013).

This point is further elaborated as policies provide a specific set of guidelines that communicate what a society values in order to achieve a particular public objective.

Strategy deals with the allocation and deployment of resources to achieve particular goals. In many ways there is an overlap between policy and strategy in a way that is both designed to sequence a set of actions.

Lyon and Maxwell (2012) state that strategy development has become an increasingly prominent business-led initiative as governments, like many businesses, have embraced much of these corporate approaches to strategic planning. Porter (1996) further argues in favour of this method of strategic planning by stating that strategy is a means to create operational efficiencies and effectiveness by ensuring that activities are performed faster with fewer inputs and more productive outcomes. Therefore, governments have been able to use strategies to inform decision-making and ensuring that 'trade-offs' or choices are made in terms of what to do and what not to do.

Strategies are approaches used to formulate and implement a plan that constitutes different programs and processes accordingly in order to give effect to the policy. In the public sector, public policies appear to set the 'rules' and guidelines, based on shared consensus in order to structure planning and programming implementation. The generic policy process model assumes that a strategy is required to implement policy; hence it assumes that policies and strategies coexist. This is known as the phase of policy implementation (Cloete, De Coning and Wissink, 2006). However, a strategy can exist without a policy behind it, as will be discussed later when the focus is on City Development Strategies.

The relationship between policy and strategy remains complex. It is evident that there are overlaps and interactions between policies and strategies. It can be argued that the relationship between polices and strategies are not causal or linear, but they coexist depending on the context. In some cases, policies depend on strategies as a means for implementation and in other cases strategies can even be free standing without a policy behind it.

2.4.4 What is urban policy?

As discussed above, there is no commonly accepted definition of policy or public policy. Therefore, in order to understand what urban policy means, it is necessary to contextualise it in the broader urban sphere. Definitions of urban policy are as broad as definitions of policy and strategy.

One such definition of urban policy is that it is "essentially about the welfare of local residents in an urban society. This involves planning and delivering public services in supporting the development of the local economy" (Blackman, 1996, pg. 5). Cities Alliance defines urban policy as a process that needs to be sustained for the long term and articulates its purpose by stating that it should "aim at defining a vision, guiding principles and set of linked actions by national governments to realise the positive possibilities and to tackle the problems arising from the concentrated growth of population and economic activity" (Cities Alliance, 2014, pg. 5). Blackman's (1996) definition goes beyond the Cities Alliance definition in that it articulates urban policy as a means to ensure welfare of local residents. Neither definition articulates the interplay between various public and private forces.

The scope and purpose of policy-making is an important aspect of the urban policy development process. Similarly, changes in public policy overtime have been driven by competing ideologies (Pillay, 2008). One of the key actors in urban policy making is local government. Across the world, the responsibility of local authorities to develop urban policy has been varied. According to Cities Alliance (2014), the assumption that urban policy is the same thing in different contexts cannot be true. It further states that there is no singular model approach that can be used or replicated to guarantee particular urban policy outcomes. Therefore, urban policies need to be responsive and sensitive to the specific culture and appetite for such a policy (Cities Alliance, 2014).

This means that contemporary urban policies do not have a dominant methodology (Turok, 2009). Urban policies tend to focus on particular needs in particular cities, for example, new waves of urban policy have focused on economic competitiveness and urban innovation. This is in response to the context of globalization, the connectivity of cities and the flows of goods, services and people in the broader economy (Turok, 2009). There are also intended and unintended outcomes of urban policy in a globalizing world such as rising inequality, de-racialisation and gentrification, which have significant impacts on cities and local governance.

On the other hand, urban policy also depends on political ideology. An example of ideologically motivated urban policy focuses on dealing with social exclusion in cities. This has been inspired by the" right to the city" discourse initially proposed by Henri Lefebvre (1970). David Harvey's (2012) view that the 'right to the city' is based on an ideological predisposition argues that citizens within cities have a far greater role to play in terms of exercising for collective power to shape the processes of globalisation

and ultimately the city. Harvey's (2012) argument is that economic restructuring in cities have negatively affected citizen enfranchisement within cities and as a result, citizens have decreased rights over the decisions that affect them (Purcell, 2006).

Modern attempts at political economic restructuring in cities bear challenges for urban governance, the right to the city discourse attempts to provide a more radical alternative that challenges thinking away from a problematic neoliberal urban structure to a more democratic and enfranchised citizenry. Therefore, the right to the city is more than being an ordinary citizen residing in the city. It is about participating in decision-making, having access to resources and the services provided in cities.

In summary, urban policies ideally are more than a reaction to the need to improve the conditions in cities. They exist to ameliorate the concerns between growth and poverty, environmental protection and economic growth. Urban policy lays a basis for further attempts to regenerate and renew the city for new cycles of growth and development (Cities Alliance, 2014). The next section deals with the issue of path dependence in the light of changing dynamics that warrant the need for urban policy.

2.4.5 Path dependence and urban policy

The concept of path dependence refers to a set of dynamic processes that attest to an evolution of that particular process occurring over time. According to David (2000), it is an idea that attempts to explain how particular products or practices are used, based on historical preferences. Its philosophical roots stem from the interrelationships between historical institutionalism and economic disciplines (David, 2007; Melosi, 2005; Boshcma, 2007). "History matters" emerges out of this concept (David, 2007, Greener, 2007).

The concept of path dependence has been adapted to social and political sciences as an approach to understand and analyse the development and sequencing of institutions and organizational decision making. The popularity of the term path dependence has been loosely reduced to serving as a broad metaphor for organizational changes or inertia. However, as David (2000) and Boschma (2007) argue, the concept of path dependence is based upon rational choice. They argue that social and political processes do not evolve in an unconditioned manner, but rather where former decisions can have impact on those that follow (Sydow, Schreyögg & Koch, 2009.

The relevance to the field of public policy can be explained as Torfing (2009, pg. 70) claims that the in the "long-run, public polices and their institutions are bound to change either through a series of incremental adjustments or through a number of more of less public reforms." Therefore, there is synergy between urban policy and path dependence as Torfing (2009, pg. 72) adds further that "policy choice is constrained or shaped by institutional paths that result from choices made in the past" and policy decisions result from institutionalized legacies.

From an urban perspective, Woodlief (1998) asserts that urban policy-making can be explained using path-dependence theory as he adds that cities get 'locked-in' to developing suboptimal polices as a result of historical causation. In his comparison of New York and Chicago's urban policy-making processes, he found that New York's public policy making processes were constrained by the effects of the Great Depression for the decades that followed thereafter, whist Chicago's policies were constrained by the infrastructural developments undertaken by the city from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

From a South African perspective, there is a paucity of literature on the relationship between path dependence and South African urbanism. However, as Turok (2015); Todes et al. (2010) and Boraine et al. (2006) note, the remaining imprints of apartheid confronted the incoming ANC administration and the need to ensure that the legacy of apartheid was addressed; meant that the democratic government was forced to 'break' the path dependency. These and other scholars such as Mabin (2005), Swilling (2000), Pieterse (2006, 2007); Harrison et al (2015) note that the South African city in the post-apartheid period is constrained by its history. In the broader context of urban transformation, much of the policies adopted by the democratic government have attempted to ensure that even though *history matters,* a radical departure to setting a new urban policy agenda in South was required. As an elaboration, the next section traces the evolution of urban policy making attempts during the democratic period in South Africa.

2.4.6 Urban policy-making attempts since democracy in South Africa

The context of urban policy formulation in the post 1994 period according to Turok (2015) and Pillay (2008) was largely as a result of the challenges that were faced by the incoming ruling party, the African National Congress. Urban challenges such as housing and service backlogs, household poverty and inequality, inequality in municipal financing and expenditure, spatial anomalies linked to locational

disadvantages as well as high unemployment confronted the African National Congress (COGTA, 2014).

The pathology of urban problems above suggest that South African cities are still segregated and fragmented despite over two decades of urban policy making. There have been several attempts over the last two decades to develop urban policy in order to deal with the urban challenges facing the country. This section provides an account of the different urban policies undertaken in South Africa from 1994 to present day.

Shifting from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) – 1994-1996

The first major policy framework in the democratic period was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (RSA, 1994) that was approved by Cabinet in 1994. The RDP acknowledged the role of cities in integrating South African society in both infrastructural and socio-economic aspects. It sought to co-ordinate development at a national scale through an integrated approach to achieving economic, spatial, institutional and environmental strategies. This was to ensure that resources were used efficiently to empower the poor and marginalised.

Harrison (2006) cites the famous 'one city one tax base' slogan that was an important part of the pre-democracy struggle in order to mobilise community activism around issues of services and transportation. One of the post-apartheid approaches of dealing with the urban challenges faced in South African cities was the drafting of the RDP in 1994. This programme was presented as a broad socio-economic policy framework, however Harrison's critique is that it was highly influenced by global discourses in support of capitalism. The RDP adopted elements of both social and economic policy but it was not deliberately categorized as either.

Marais's (2001) argument was that the RDP was an ideological reference point to ensure that the political history of the ANC would assimilate to continuity during the post-apartheid period. As such, the RDP was seen as a paradigm for all government's development policies at the time. Bond's (2000) critique was that the RDP ran into trouble because of the lack of capacity to implement the policies, unreliable private sector interests and that it tended towards the interests of capitalism. As such, the closure of the RDP Office in 1996 was also a realisation of the economic impetus that government needed to pursue in order to implement developmental policies.

The replacement of the RDP Act with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996 was an acknowledgement that a new development framework was needed. The purpose was to ensure that poverty could be alleviated by "redistribution through growth" and that the country's economic salvation was required in order to redistribute resources (Bond, 2000; Marais, 2001). This macroeconomic approach to redistribute state resources was critiqued as being a policy framework unsuitable to the social, economic and political changes that the country was undergoing at the time (Bond, 2000).

In 1997, Cabinet approved the first Urban Development Strategy (RSA, 1997) that insisted that local government should become a means of implementing the RDP and GEAR, despite the ruling party not retracting the RDP (Harrison, 2006). This gave rise to the notion of developmental local government that was needed to ensure that resources were directed at the local sphere to ensure the delivery was more sustainable.

The Urban Development Framework (UDF) of 1997 – an acknowledgement of the magnitude and challenge of urban transformation

This framework developed by the then Department of Housing (DoH, 1997) noted the importance of urban areas for social and economic development (Pillay, 2008; Turok and Parnell, 2009). According to Donaldson (2001), the Urban Development Framework focused on four key programmes: integrating the city; improving housing and infrastructure; promoting urban economic development and creating institutions for delivery. The UDF recognised the urban challenge facing South Africa at the time and argued that a variety of options must be explored in order to deal with these challenges.

The UDF was a counterpart to the Rural Development Framework developed by the then Department of Land Affairs in 1997 that acknowledged that rural areas are the labour reserves of big cities. Thus, the UDF aimed to promote a "consistent urban development policy approach" that would guide the policy and strategy development of all relevant stakeholders in the urban space (DoH, 1997, pg. 6). It sought to give substance to the GEAR policy and focused on the realities facing South African cities at the time by outlining the dilemmas and contradictions affecting policy choices. Despite recognizing the strategic emphasis of the GEAR policy, it attempted to prioritise the most disadvantaged urban communities as beneficiaries of large-scale urban projects.

The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) of 2003 and 2006 – rooting spatial inequality in the political economy of cities

The NSDP was approved by government in 2003 and was the first set of spatial guidelines that attempted to establish the dynamics of South Africa's space economy. It provided an interpretation of the socio-spatial realities facing cities and suggested notable implications for government spending as a means to address the urban reality (Presidency, 2003). According to Pillay (2008), the NSDP was not a policy per se; rather it served as an "instrument for discussing spatial development priorities for South Africa within government" (Presidency, 2003, pg.38). It attempted to foster linkages between various government departments in order to direct spending in a horizontal and vertical manner to ensure that the same urban challenges could be met.

The NSDP acknowledged spatial inequality in South African cities, and that the South African space economy was a product of apartheid spatial planning. It conceded that those historical forces of growth were purposefully planned in order to exclude and marginalise communities based on race. The 2003 NSDP was replaced with another version in 2006. Both the 2003 and 2006 versions noted that the polarisation of South African space economy as a result of apartheid spatial planning continued to perpetuate developmental problems in cities (Oranje, Van Huysteen and Meikeljohn, 2010). However, the NSDP placed a greater emphasis on people as opposed to place than previous urban polices. This direct shift in emphasis was acknowledgment of the role that cities played in terms of social upliftment.

Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) of 2016 – A new deal for cities?

The IUDF is South Africa's recent urban development framework approved by Cabinet in 2016. It takes its impetus from the National Development Plan (Presidency, 2012), Chapter 8, on 'Transforming Human Settlements'. The IUDF, in its introductory section, states that it intends to mark a 'new deal' for South Africa's towns and cities. In order to break the path dependency, the IUDF offers to guide inclusive development in the country (Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2016 p.3). It contextualises the urban challenge facing South Africa now and in the future, and provides an analysis based on a number of urban and socio-economic trends. It acknowledges the spatial inefficiencies in South African cities and that the gains made since democracy have not yet reversed the patterns of spatial inequality, urban poverty and inequality. It proposes four strategic goals to achieve its vision of a "Liveable, safe, resource

efficient cities and towns that are socially integrated, economically inclusive and globally competitive, where residents actively participate in urban life" which are access; growth; governance and spatial transformation (COGTA, 2016, pg.4).

The IUDF is another policy attempt that recognises the importance of towns and cities to South Africa's development. Given that this framework is drafted two decades after democracy, it recognises the problems of previous urban policies such as the RDP, UDF and NSDP. The IUDF proposes eight levers for urban growth for an integrated and inclusive space economy. It recognizes that previous strategies and policies have indicated a rural bias and concedes that the rural-urban interdependencies must be balanced, as urban development is not an alternative to rural development (COGTA, 2016).

As the IUDF is the most recent attempt to address the spatial reality in South Africa, it encompasses previous urban policies such as achieving integration, transformation and reconstruction. It remains to be seen whether or not the IUDF recasts the dynamics of the South African space economy, as it is a recently approved policy framework. The intention of the National Development Plan and the IUDF does indicate a more resurgent approach and a policy shift to understand the spatial dynamics in South Africa. The IUDF is the recently approved national urban vision, however, without an accompanying national spatial plan means that there is an urgent need to move beyond abstract policy concepts. Thus, the plausibility and desirability of the IUDF as the next iteration of urban policy cannot be assessed as yet.

This literature review summarises the role of urban policy making in the South African city, in the post-apartheid period, as an attempt to achieve the following outcomes. Integration, which is perceived to be achieved through a combination of compacting the urban form and integrating different transport uses and mixed land uses, preventing urban sprawl, promoting improved access between employment and residential accommodation, as well as regenerating the potential of cities and towns (Turok, 2015). Infrastructure development, which is seen as a key driver of economic growth, is crucial to the improvement of cities and towns in order to contribute to its overall functionality and performance (Turok, 2015). Sustainable living, which is an interrelated form of urban development, which seeks to ensure that the flow of resources to meet the needs of city inhabitants in the present day without compromising the ability to meet future needs (McLennan, 2008).

2.5 Long-term planning in cities

The first three sections of this chapter contextualised the political economy by providing an understanding of the dimensions and attributes that warrant the need for urban policy in cities. This section accentuates the factors that warrant the need for long-term planning and focuses on City Development Strategies and explores the phenomenon of CDSs in the context of policy-making and urban development in South Africa.

2.5.1 Understanding long term planning in cities

Long-term planning as a policy exercise is undertaken as a means to provide an aspirational view of the city with a focused statement, articulating the desired future of the city. It aims to link programmatic interventions that seek to improve quality of life, enhance economic growth and ensure long-term environmental sustainability (Robinson, 2011). These are focused strategic policy initiatives and are scaled to the urban context. Furthermore, the differences between cities in the developed and developing world suggest that the legitimacy for long range planning warrants deeper inspection (Boraine et al., 2006; Lipietz, 2008; Parnell & Robinson, 2006). This is explained below.

In developing cities much of the focus has been on rising urbanization, unemployment, informality and infrastructure and service provision. This is compounded by the lack of infrastructural development that impacts on both economic and social life, often linked to political conflict (Parnell & Robinson, 2006). Policies in the developing world that have focused on these urban pathologies are a means to finding a balance between tensions in cities. In the developing world this has also been further augmented by the policy rhetoric of ensuring social integration with pro-poor outcomes through participatory means.

In the developed world, the ambition of urban policy is largely focused on the discourse between growing economic competitiveness, city promotional marketing, promoting environmental sustainability and decentralisation at a local level. According to Lipietz (2008), Robinson (2011) and Parnell & Robinson (2006) these actions are usually linked to forces of globalization that are shaping contemporary cities. This does not mean that the challenges of poorer cities do not affect wealthier cities. However, policy approaches in wealthier cities have been used to encourage developing cities to rethink their initiatives, and benchmark accordingly.

2.5.2 What are City Development Strategies?

It is in this context that the approach of City Development Strategies (CDS) has emerged as a long-term planning tool in cities across the world. Rasoolimanesh et al. (2011) claim that over 200 cities across the globe have undertaken CDSs with varying degrees of success. In the developing world, City Development Strategies became a phenomenon encouraged by the World Bank and Cities Alliance from the late 1980s. CDSs straddle between urban governance and politics. According to Parnell and Robinson (2006) CDSs are usually undertaken during periods of crisis or political change.

They are undertaken by both smaller and larger cities and CDS products usually fall under different technical rubrics such as economic policy, spatial plans, environmental sustainability and even city marketing (Rasoolimanesh, 2011). According to the Cities Alliance *Guide to City Development Strategies* the role of the CDS process is intended to "shock the urban system under controlled conditions causing stakeholders to be truly objective in assessing the situation, then to strategically deploy a limited number of actions to enable the city to dramatically change its performance" (2005, pg. 21). City Development Strategies are usually proposed through visioning exercises that stretch across a number of disciplines and terrains such as spatial planning, economic development, international development practice as well as political strategy. The substantive overlap of content suggests that many common policy elements are required. Clark (2013) adds that CDSs employ various techniques such as visioning, scenario building, storytelling and participation to consider alternative futures for cities.

Clark (2013) contributes further that CDSs can be used as a policy tool to incorporate competing objectives in cities that attempt to address the full range of issues in urban areas. He further states that the CDS can be used as "a platform for the people for democratic participation in debate and a mechanism to customise clear options for the future" (Clark, 2013, p. 10).

Further analysis is required in order to understand power relations in formulating and implementing City Development Strategies. Parnell and Robinson (2006) write about the political potential and effectiveness of City Development Strategies and the substantial financial investment made in terms of implementing them. However, Pieterse's (2008) concern around CDSs side-lining the politics of a negotiated urban

future especially in poorer cities where political changes usually bring about policy changes, bears relevance to CDSs being undertaken through overly technicist approaches. As this dissertation will argue, CDSs are also vulnerable to political changes.

Robinson (2011) provides a more critical perspective on City Development Strategies. She states that whilst city strategies intend to adopt a balanced approach to development, economic success is not the only ambition for undertaking these strategies. She further states that the techniques for doing a CDS are generally the same across the world, but expresses a concern that these formal strategy documents have embraced neoliberal development agendas blended with other international agendas (such as globalization) through overly technical approaches, disregarding local needs and objectives. Perhaps more critically, a question needs to be asked in terms of what are the usual indicators of successful CDS implementation (Rasoolimanesh et al. 2011).

Literature (often fragmented) suggests that the generic City Development Strategy process offers ready-made solutions for any context (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2011; Cities Alliance, 2014; Lipietz, 2008). However as stated in section three, policy is (or should be) dependent on the context and circumstance in which it is developed. Whilst City Development Strategies are rooted in the strategic planning process, there is a paucity of information regarding the extent to which these policy requirements are suitable to the circumstances in which it is pursued. Robinson augments this point by stating that, "city strategies inhibit the world of global urban policy that has as yet drawn little attention from urban studies" (2011, pg. 21).

From the previous section that traced national urban policy practices in South Africa, City Development Strategies and their relationship to urban policy is not obvious. The guide proposed by Cities Alliance (2006) recommends a methodology that intends to reconcile competing interests, yet it proposes a comprehensive approach to devise similar urban outcomes such as livelihood enhancements, improved quality-of-life, economic competitiveness, environmental sustainability, efficient spatial forms, good governance and prudent fiscal management based on a broadly neo-liberal framework. This means that CDSs should differ depending on the urban context for which it is produced, but this is not always the case.

2.5.3 Why undertake a City Development Strategy?

Opportunities for citywide strategic long-term planning have been articulated above. It is also important to understand why CDSs are developed and what influences them. What is clear is that there are complex and interrelated sets of elements that are at play in the development of CDSs. Cities Alliance (2006) refers to these elements as the ideological perspectives, financial and human resources and the political environment in which CDSs are developed.

Cities in both developed and developing settings have used CDSs as an instrument of urban policy-making. As Lipietz (2008) remarks, these processes have been favoured as a mechanism to develop a new understanding of the city as a 'collective actor.' Cities in the global north have undertaken CDS exercises as a means to ensure that a shared vision places the city on an effective path towards achieving sustainable development (Lipietz, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006).

However, much of the literature on cities in the developing world indicates that CDSs have been derived to constitute a pro-poor agenda. The City of Joburg's *Human Development Strategy* of 2005 (CoJ, 2005) is one example and will be explained in the next chapter. Even though CDSs encourage cities to maximise their performance in raising living standards, pro-poor agendas through CDSs incorporating the World Bank (2005) and Cities Alliance (2006) methodology promote the theory that poverty reduction can best be achieved by accelerating economic growth. The policy objective of reducing poverty through growth is paradoxical in that growth alone cannot achieve pro-poor outcomes. CDSs that recognise the World Bank paradigm tend to have a myopic focus that divert the attention away from the overall pro-poor agenda that it envisages (Lipietz, 2008; Robinson, 2011).

2.5.4 How are City Development Strategies undertaken?

The renewed enthusiasm (as will be evidenced by the City of Joburg experience in the next chapter) for planning at a city scale indicates that generating strategic visions and comprehensive plans and programmes for city futures is a widespread undertaking. This is evidenced by the Cities Alliance's *Guide to City Development Strategies* that cites examples from Mumbai to Bangkok to Johannesburg to São Paulo as well as Glasgow. Cities Alliance (2001 in GHK Consulting 2002, pg. 7), state that the "CDS is concerned with the following:

- Good governance - through sustainable, environmentally friendly, decentralised approaches, creating space for civic engagement and delivering equitable, efficient and transparent solutions to urban problems.
- Enablement - through the creation of a legal and institutional framework that empowers local authorities to reduce poverty and improve productivity and standards of living.
- Capacity-building the development of human resources and the creation of the institutional and legal frameworks required allowing diverse stakeholders to participate in public policy making and be informed of its outcomes.
- Vibrant markets, including those in the informal sector."

There is no single approach to developing a CDS, but GHK Consulting (2002, p8) documents restate that the Cities Alliance CDS content process ought to contain (at least) the following:

> a consensual vision statement; a strategic framework for economic growth and poverty reduction; pilot activities carried out using internal resources; and an investment framework including information on proposed actions and sources of finance (Cities Alliance 2001).

In order to shape the outcomes and policy ambitions articulated in the CDS, many CDSs assume similar formats by adopting a strong technical approach and by undertaking a consultative process with stakeholders (Robinson, 2011). However, GHK Consulting (2002) states that the lack of a common and consistent typology of producing CDSs might either be one of the biggest weaknesses or strengths of the CDS process. This means that the success of the CDS ultimately depends on the methodology that is followed.

2.5.5 The relationship between CDSs and participation

Over the last 30 years participatory processes have become common in CDSs across the world. As a means to deepen democracy and address pro-poor concerns, CDSs have depended on participation in a policy-making exercise to ensure the collective expression of urban policy goals (Rasoolmanesh et al, 2011). Various cities across the world have used participatory processes as an experiment in urban governance. Cities such as Melbourne, Sydney, Johannesburg, São Paulo and New York have developed city strategies as an attempt to broaden and reach estranged communities (Lipietz, 2008; Francis-Brophy, 2006). Empowering communities to make rational choices

through participation in City Development Strategies can be used as a means to redirect resources to unlock services.

According to Francis-Brophy (2006) much of the literature around long-term planning and policy-making processes emphasises how participatory processes can benefit directly from involving a cross-section of people who might be affected by urban policy outcomes. Lipietz's (2008) case study focused on how the City of Johannesburg used participation to satisfy its developmental response to deepening democracy in addressing the issues of poverty and inequality that plagued the city long before democratization. Francis-Brophy's (2006) study on city strategies in the Australian cities of Melbourne and Hobart focused on how participation was used to strengthen democratic governance and ensure sustainable outcomes in these cities. Both studies question the efficacy of participatory processes in city strategy making as a means to improve urban governance in these respective cities and Lipietz (2008) questions how the political and economic forces shaped early CDSs in Johannesburg.

Much of the academic and policy literature has extolled the virtues of public participation, but participation is a concept that is not unproblematic. For example, even though there might be genuine willingness to participate, opportunity costs, the time, resources, knowledge and skills required to participate might be lacking. Furthermore, if participation is intended to change patterns of domination, often the state and elected representatives may be unwilling to relinquish power (GHK, 2002). At times, the rhetoric of participation is used to maintain the status quo. Lipietz (2008, p. 137) cites the example of Johannesburg's earlier iGoli 2010 CDS process as a "botched affair, effectively collapsing under the weight of contestation provoked by restructuring of local government." Everatt et al. (2010) argue that the IDP development in Johannesburg also suffered a similar fate as its use of technocratic language killed the enthusiasm of the participatory process. This meant that both the CDS and IDP processes were relegated to being developed within the bureaucratic structures of the institution and by consultants.

Lipietz (2008) highlights the role of power dynamics in participatory processes in CDS formulation. She notes a caution that these processes are shaped by power relations in the urban setting. She stresses that more attention needs to be paid to how political structures and power are used in undertaking participatory and deliberative processes. One of the objectives of this dissertation is to uncover how the *Joburg 2040* CDS was developed within this context.

This raises the question of whether or not there are any successful public participation processes that have been used in the developing world in urban policy making. The Kerala People's Planning Campaign (KPPC) is one such example that sought to incorporate elements of participatory processes to ensure that both elected officials and citizens worked together with communities and built capacity on both sides. One of the main lessons learned from this example was that all parties concerned used participation when there was genuine commitment to mitigate urban challenges (GHK, 2002).

Another example is the iconic participatory planning and budgeting process from Porto Allegre in Brazil. The aim of participatory budgeting from the Brazilian experience is to "establish a sustained mechanism of joint management of public resources through shared decisions on the allocation of budgetary funds and of government accountability concerning the effective implementation of such decisions" (De Souza, 1998 p. 464). The success of the Porto Allegre experience has been able to influence participatory budgeting across the world as it attempted to foster a new approach to direct democracy by redistributing resources through democratic processes (De Souza, 1998).

From a South African perspective, Everatt et al's. (2010) study assesses the quality of and impact of participation in the IDP process. In examining the dynamics, processes and actors of participation in IDP processes, they conclude that participation is more than involving people in existing political and developmental processes. They acknowledge that participation is a critical step in deepening democracy, but the process must be part of a broader transformative and redistributive project that seeks to facilitate greater developmental outcomes that "challenges the architecture of the status quo" (Everatt et al, 2010, pg. 24).

Returning to the issue of participation in CDSs, Lipietz (2008, p. 157) provides a reminder that "alongside punctual exercises in participation, more formal democratic processes remain crucial channels for delivering equitable and even pro-poor outcomes." The experiences of both Kerala, Porto Allegre (and Johannesburg as will be evidenced in Chapter 3) point to the shifting role of urban politics. Both examples provide some useful remedies for consideration, in particular in which they have devolved certain powers to local authorities and their citizens. This means that an

alternative situation of polarized urban politics, weak civil society and corruption would in essence dampen the outcome of a CDS process (Lipietz, 2008).

In summary, the role of participation in City Development Strategies as reflected in the literature has suggested that as cities undertake long-term planning exercises, there is an equal desire to ensure that representative politics becomes part of the process. As an attempt to ensure institutional and governance innovations, participatory processes have tended to indicate an uneasy struggle between democratic decentralisation and dealing with tensions in the urban system and in government itself.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review focused on the rising importance of cities and the rationale for urban transformation in South Africa. In the context of urban policy-making in post-apartheid South Africa, given the challenges faced by the incoming African National Congress in 1994, this literature review traced the various urban policy initiatives over the last 20 years in order to understand how the pathology of urban problems have been addressed over this period.

This literature review contends that there is no universal definition of policy and urban policy; however, the relevance of a policy depends on the context to which it is formulated and applied. Furthermore, as the relationship between policy and strategy is not clear it is argued that a policy can exist without a strategy and vice versa but they do co-exist. A strategy deals with the allocation and deployment of resources to achieve desired goals.

As part of the renewed enthusiasm to plan at the city scale, City Development Strategies have been used by many cities across the world. However, this literature review clarified that there is no singular approach for developing a City Development Strategy and the ambitions of CDSs vary in different contexts.

Many CDSs have embraced participatory processes over the last three decades to ensure that these long-term strategies are ‘collectively owned’ and can benefit local policy outcomes in cities. This has been subject to much criticism as questions are raised as to whether or not participation in City Development Strategy formulation actually shifts the balance of power to citizens and improves urban governance. It is

important to note that participation is a critical step in deepening democracy, but the process must be part of a broader transformative and redistributive project that seeks to facilitate greater developmental outcomes in cities in the long term.

3. CHAPTER THREE: JOHANNESBURG - BETWEEN SKYSCRAPERS AND SLUMS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the City of Johannesburg and its evolution of City Development Strategies over the last two decades. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the importance of the City of Johannesburg in transforming local government in South Africa. It also intends to focus on the use and applicability of participation in long-term strategic planning processes. This chapter will answer the research question: "*What factors led to the development of Joburg 2040 over time and how, if at all, were previous city strategies used to develop Joburg 2040?"*

This chapter seeks to do three things. Firstly, the chapter will articulate the importance of Johannesburg in South Africa in terms of the political economy of the city and how it influenced its institutional design from the apartheid era to the democratic period of transformation. Secondly, it will trace the evolution of CDSs in the City of Johannesburg from the late 1990s to the present day. Lastly, the chapter will look at the current reality of the City in the context of its socio-economic, demographic and physical representations.

3.2 The importance of Johannesburg

Johannesburg occupies a central place in the country's history. Harrison et al (2014) refer to Johannesburg as the 'dynamo' of South Africa's economy and its position remains the epicentre of corporate headquarters and business services. It is also the largest of the nine metropolitan municipalities in the country and continues to attract large numbers of migrants from across the country, as well as the continent (Harrison et al, 2014; CoJ, 2015). As this chapter will indicate, Johannesburg is a divided city (Murray, 2011).

Beall et al. (2002, pg. 9) underscore the importance of Johannesburg as a key metropolitan centre because its "success is significant for the southern African region of which it is the economic hub and magnet for people from across the continent." Furthermore, they augment this view in that the city provides "an example of a post-conflict urban centre with people making difficult transitions from the state of conflict in protest politics to the more laboured and protracted businesses of reconstruction and

development" (ibid). This can also be attributed to it playing a crucial role in the political developments of the country throughout its history.

Seedat (2005) focused on Johannesburg's role in the political economy of the country. He stated that Johannesburg's role was affected by the legacy of apartheid in terms of racially determined access to urban infrastructure and services. This resulted in high levels of poverty, unemployment, inequality, marginalization as well as an unequal spatial landscape (Turok, 2012; Harrison et al, 2014; Todes, 2014; Murray, 2011).

In addition, the city[3] of Johannesburg continues to attract scholarly attention as a result of its policies and processes originating from the pre-apartheid period to present day democracy. Scholarly works such as Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall's (2008) *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*; Martin Murray's (2011) *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*; Loren Kruger's (2013) *Imagining the Edgy City* and Phillip Harrison, Graeme Gotz, Chris Wray and Alison Todes' (eds., 2014) *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid* bears testament to the recent scholarly work by paying tribute to the city's significance and prominence in the country.

3.2.1 Race, space and Johannesburg's apartheid past

Whilst the foundations of the apartheid city were laid during the initial years of the National Party's ascendancy to power, the legacy of apartheid planning with respect to spatial inequality remains inextricably linked to the current make-up of South African cities (Turok, 2015; Mabin, 2005; Gotz, Wray and Mubiwa, 2014; Gotz and Todes, 2014). Racially motivated planning frameworks resulted in "islands of spatial affluence" in a "sea of geographical misery" (Williams, 2000, pg.168; Mabin, 1999; Bond, 2000, Everatt, 2014). This, coupled with popular resistance to apartheid as a result of spatial inequity, inspired communities and activists to call for a 'one city one tax base' approach to local governance. According to Planact (2009, pg.152), the 'one city one tax base' activism helped shape the understanding that a unified city would be:

> "Operated as an organic urban whole, it would be essential for city governments to operate on a city-wide scale, and for city government to deploy the resources of the entire city to deal with priorities of the entire

[3] City with an upper case 'C' denotes the institutional and legal entity that is the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The lower case 'city' refers to the geographic, social and economic jurisdiction.

city. In other words, only metropolitan local government could unwind the legacy of the apartheid city."

During apartheid, the Johannesburg Council was divided into 13 local government administrations separated by race. There were seven white municipal councils and four black local authorities as well as two Coloured and Indian management committees. White administration's had a much stronger tax base and even though they had a smaller population, it was better resourced in order to extend service delivery across its respective administrations, mainly in the north of the City (Harrison and Zack, 2014, Everatt, 2014). Black Local Authorities on the other hand had almost no resources for development. The consequences were high levels of inequity in terms of infrastructure facilities, particularly in black, Indian and coloured townships (CoJ, 2001; Seedat, 2005). The resulting socio-spatial, north-south divide concretizes the racial geography of the city (Everatt, 2014).

The demands for a one-city government were made during the struggle against apartheid, rooted in the townships and based on mass mobilisation and boycotts of payments to black and civic authorities (Mabin, 2005). Much of the negotiations around the transition period focused on the role of local government as a means to grapple with the challenges facing South African cities (Mabin, 2005).

The significance was that Johannesburg was at the forefront of political change in local government in the country. The Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (CWMC), formed in 1989 as a result of a 'one city one tax-base' campaign, was one of the first efforts towards a unified city. This paved the way for later negotiations towards local government transition across the country (CoJ, 2001; CoJ, 2006a). The period of the early 1990s led to the initial preparatory work for new municipal arrangements in Johannesburg that were to follow later.

The Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993 (LGTA) acknowledged that negotiations were underway for a new system of local government (RSA, 1993). The Act was also useful in determining the establishment of local negotiating forums that later gave rise to the Greater Johannesburg Local Negotiating Forum (GJLNF). At the same time the LGTA introduced a two-tier metropolitan structure, where much of the debate around the future institutional structure of Johannesburg took place. Negotiations were led by community activists and community leaders culminating in a participatory forum of approximately 50 member organisations inclusive of both white

and black local authorities. Some parties argued over having a strong top-tier institution with a weak substructure, whilst other negotiators believed that the opposite, a weak top structure with strong substructures, would create a more integrated city (CoJ, 2001).

As the country moved towards the general elections of 1994, it was agreed that a four-substructure model would be formalised with a strong central metro government. The first metropolitan local government elections were held in 1995 and that gave rise to the Greater Transitional Metropolitan Council with Four Transitional Metropolitan Local Councils (TMLC). The mandate of the two-tier government was an attempt to integrate the City by restructuring it in order to eliminate disparities left over by apartheid in order for redistribution to occur. (Mabin, 2005; CoJ, 2001; CoJ, 2006a).

3.2.2 From crisis to change

The fiscal crisis of 1997 in Johannesburg was the turning point of the negotiations for restructuring metropolitan local government in South Africa. Mabin (2005) writes that as metropolitan governments such as Johannesburg ran into financial problems, the role of local government began to be questioned and taken more seriously. This crisis threatened the city's ability to deliver services and to redistribute resources. The fiscal crisis of 1997 resulted from the city's mandate to address the imbalance of the past. However, as a result of the structure of metropolitan institution at the time, it was unable to fund its own ambitious capital plans (Beall et al. 2002; CoJ, 2001; CoJ, 2006a).

The financial crisis of the time was significant in terms of informing national thinking on the future of metropolitan local government. The attention given to Johannesburg was important because the city had a profound impact on the national policy negotiations and decisions at the time (Mabin, 2005). Judging by Johannesburg's financial crisis, national government realised that in order to fund redistribution initiatives and address development backlogs in underdeveloped communities; a longer-term approach to restructuring local government was necessary[4].

The scale of the financial crisis meant that a number of steps needed to be taken to resolve the crisis. Firstly, a Committee of Ten was set up that focused on stabilizing

[4] This would be later addressed by former President Mbeki in his 2006 January 8 Statement recommending a long-term, growth and development plan for Metropolitan cities.

the financial situation by adopting austerity measures through budget cutting and tightened financial decision-making processes. Secondly, as financial austerity measures were put in place, it was realised that a complete restructuring of local government was required in Johannesburg. Legislative changes as a result of the White Paper on Local Government as well as the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 adopted a policy position of the 'unicity' (CoJ, 2006a). Thirdly, an institutional review was commissioned to re-orientate the institution to streamlining operational and service delivery activities.

By 1999, *iGoli 2002* was a strategic plan that put forward a new model of political governance. This was introduced to provide a solution to the City's problems of reintegrating the divided substructures and the need to re-organise service delivery operations. Whilst the financial crisis in Johannesburg in 1997 was regarded as a catalyst for "saving the city", it also underscored the need for a radical transformation of the local government system across the country (CoJ, 2001, pg. 33).

As the new Johannesburg unicity was established after the elections of 2000, the City's structure based on the *iGoli 2002* plan did not go uncontested. Initial contestations and opposition to the future vision of the City of Johannesburg were led by the trade union movements SAMWU (South African Municipal Workers Union) and IMATU (Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union). Opposition from the governing ANC and it reluctance to support the plan were based on the view that it was fundamentally flawed, represented a neo-liberal agenda of privatizing state services and would fragment labour rights (Beall et al., 2002).

The period between 1995 and 2000 was an effort in establishing the foundation for local government across the country. Beall et al's. (2002) critique of that period was that the restructuring of Johannesburg did not take into account the views of the poor. Although the restructuring of Johannesburg was ostensibly an exercise in deepening democracy and extending the rights to all residents, this process did not fully involve the public - notably the poor, in terms of determining the operations of the City (Moloi and Neke, 2010).

3.3 Johannesburg today

One of the supplementary research questions asks: *what factors led to the development of Joburg 2040 over time?* Another asks: *do strategies such as Joburg*

2040 impact on development processes and programs in the city at large after being adopted? It is important to understand what the City of Johannesburg looks like today in terms of its institutional structure, socio-economic development trends as well as how participation and policy-making initiatives have taken place thus far.

3.3.1 Understanding the current context

There are approximately 4.9 million people in the City of Johannesburg today (Stats SA Community Survey, 2016). It is located in the Gauteng province – a contiguous City Region (the Gauteng City Region) of approximately 13 million people (Stats SA Community Survey, 2016). Johannesburg is the territory that falls under the jurisdiction of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality with its historical centre being the central business district (Harrison, 2015). Its urban structure has evolved over time to include a number of smaller towns and other major economic hubs such as Rosebank, Sandton and Midrand. Historical townships such as Soweto, Alexandra, also form part of the municipal jurisdiction. In articulating the spatial form of Johannesburg, Mbembe and Nuttall (2004, pg. 357) note the "sprawling, polycentric character of Johannesburg and lament the intensely privatised and quasi-anarchic vision of urban growth." They further point to the polarisation of the city by race, class, income and occupation.

Development indicators point to Johannesburg as being the economic powerhouse of South Africa by generating approximately 17% of South Africa's gross domestic product (Stats SA 2011 quoted in CoJ, 2015). According to the City of Johannesburg's 2015 IDP review, Johannesburg is the seat of the financial sector in South Africa (CoJ, 2015 pg. 14).

Harrison (2015) writes about the periodization of the cycles of development in the City of Johannesburg over its 150-year history. He states that Johannesburg has gone through periods of advancement, stagnation and decline. The post-apartheid period brought about a new vitality through the opportunities presented by democracy. The growth during the initial years of the post-apartheid period mirrored some of the institutional challenges the City faced as a result of the transition to a new phase of growth after decline (Murray, 2011).

The need to ensure sustained positive growth in the face of economic uncertainty meant that there are a number of contradictory trends in this current period of Johannesburg's history (Harrison, 2015). For example, the city has one of the highest

levels of income inequality relative to other global cities around the world (Clarke, 2013). Despite an increase of approximately 8% in the level of human development over the last 20 years, as measured by the Human Development Index, inequality still remains high at 0,68 (Stats SA, 2015). This, coupled with slow population growth rates and the near saturation level of urbanisation, alongside persistent transnational migration has meant that deep fractures remain within the social fabric of the city (Harrison, 2015).

The IDP of 2015 proposed new mechanisms to fast track transformation in development initiatives undertaken by the City (this will be detailed in subsequent chapters). In summary and to highlight these contradictions Mbembe and Nuttall (2004, pg. 366) concluded that:

> Johannesburg is peopled not just by workers, the poor, criminals, and illegal immigrants, but also by civic-minded public intellectuals of all races, as well as highly skilled migrants, jetsetters, and a new black elite. It is a home to corporate headquarters, finance houses, legal services, accounting firms, media outlets, entertainment industries and information technology ventures. The city has become the great shopping mall for most of sub-Saharan Africa, a place of circulation and exchange.

3.3.2 Structure follows strategy

As described above, the City of Johannesburg's municipal structure was established in 2000. In this period of developmental local government, the establishment of the Johannesburg City Council performs the function of a legislative assembly. Its mandate is to hold the executive and administration to account. As part of the system of governance, the current separation of powers model enables the council to delegate functions between the legislature and the executive. This confines constitutional and legal provisions that allow council to function as an oversight and representative body (Savage et al., 2002; Seedat, 2005).

There are approximately 270 councillors made up of 135 ward councillors and 135 Proportional Representative councillors elected in terms of a party list system (IEC, 2016). The Executive Mayor oversees ten Mayoral Committee members who are allocated to an executive portfolio, and is the political leader in Council. Following the fourth democratic local government elections held in August 2016, the City is now led by the Democratic Alliance through a multi-party coalition arrangement along with the

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Since 1994, the City was led by the African National Congress.

The City Manager leads the administration and is appointed by Council in terms of Section 82 of the Municipal Structures Act. According to the Act, the City Manager is the Accounting Officer and the Administrative Head of the institution, and his/her responsibilities include managing service delivery, financial affairs as well as the responsibility of functional areas of social development, economic development, development planning, safety and other services. There are 11 Municipal Entities owned by the City of Johannesburg with a mandate to deliver services such as water, electricity, waste removal and road maintenance (CoJ, 2015[5]). As discussed above, the creation of Municipal Entities derives from the *iGoli 2002* plan.

There are approximately 27,000 employees in the City of Johannesburg located in both municipal entities and core departments (CoJ, 2015).

Following the adoption of *Joburg 2040* in 2011, the City of Johannesburg undertook an organisational review that aimed at streamlining the institution for better service delivery. This institutional review followed previous organisational restructuring processes undertaken from the period 2000 - 2011. Previous attempts at restructuring the City of Johannesburg focused on the development of the unicity model in 2000 and the separation of powers model in 2006[6].

The purpose of the institutional review was to align the institution with the *Joburg 2040* strategy. The outcome of the institutional review was to clarify roles and responsibilities, eliminate complexity, ensure greater integration and refine the roles of regions, departments and entities where necessary (CoJ, 2012).

One of the main outcomes of the institutional review was the formation of the 'Cluster' approach adopted by the City of Johannesburg. It outlined four Clusters directly

[5] The current DA-led Council have set in motion a plan to reabsorb municipal entities back into the core administration of the City. At the time of writing, the process is subject to Council approval and is expected to be completed within the 2017/18 municipal financial year.

[6] The newly elected DA-lead administration have proposed a revision of the City's institutional make-up and this process is only likely to be completed during the 2017/18 municipal financial year.

aligned to the four Outcomes of *Joburg 2040*. The four clusters are: Human and Social Development, Economic Growth, Sustainable Services and Governance. A member of the Mayoral Committee chairs each Cluster by providing political leadership and guidance (CoJ, 2015).

The purpose of the cluster model is to ensure greater coordination between departments and entities regarding service delivery. This is in line with the City of Johannesburg's development paradigm embedded in *Joburg 2040* that focuses on the "interrelatedness" of four urban "concepts" or "drivers," viz. the social, environmental, economic, and institutional (CoJ, 2011 pg. 23).

The cluster model has been used in other spheres of government, however, this was the first time that such an approach was used in the City of Joburg, and it was directly informed by the CDS. It was introduced by the new City Manager at the conclusion of the institutional review towards the end of 2011.

3.4 City Development Strategies in the City of Joburg – between competition and contestation

The previous section outlined the political and economic processes that led to the transformation and new role of developmental local government in Johannesburg and in South Africa in general. This section traces the evolution of the different city strategies that were prepared by the City of Johannesburg since the initial days of the unicity model until the current *Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy* of 2011.

The previous chapter questioned the definition of urban policy and the forces that stipulate the need for it. Chapter 2 argued that the relationship between policy and strategy remains unclear but there are overlaps between them. It also articulated the role of long-term planning in cities as a means to grapple with competing tensions at the city scale. This chapter builds on the notion that City Development Strategies are policy tools that determine the urban policy agenda in cities in the context of competition and contestation for power and resources.

The City of Johannesburg has used the term *strategy* for all of its long-term plans since the 2002 iteration of the *Joburg 2030* long-term plan. Parnell and Robinson (2005) articulate the reasons for Johannesburg embracing of CDS initiatives since the

transition to democratic local government. They state that, "the process which this crisis (of 1997) set in train, also established important elements of the political landscape which determined the course of the wider city visioning, or City Development Strategy (CDS) process" (Parnell and Robinson, 2005, pg. 342).

This section will provide a chronological overview of the different strategies adopted by the City of Johannesburg since 1999. A timeline of Johannesburg's City Development Strategies in depicted in Figure 4: A timeline of CDSs developed by the City of Johannesburg between 1999 and 2016. The first CDS was the iGoli 2010 (not to be confused with the *iGoli 2002*) visioning process initiated in 1999, followed by the adoption of *Joburg 2030* as the long-term 'economic' vision of the City of Johannesburg in 2002. The Johannesburg *Human Development Strategy* of 2005 was the 'pro-poor' strategy, and the first comprehensive CDS was known as the *Joburg Growth and Development Strategy* was adopted in 2006. The 2011 *Joburg 2040 Growth Development Strategy*[7] is the city strategy presently being implemented by the municipality.

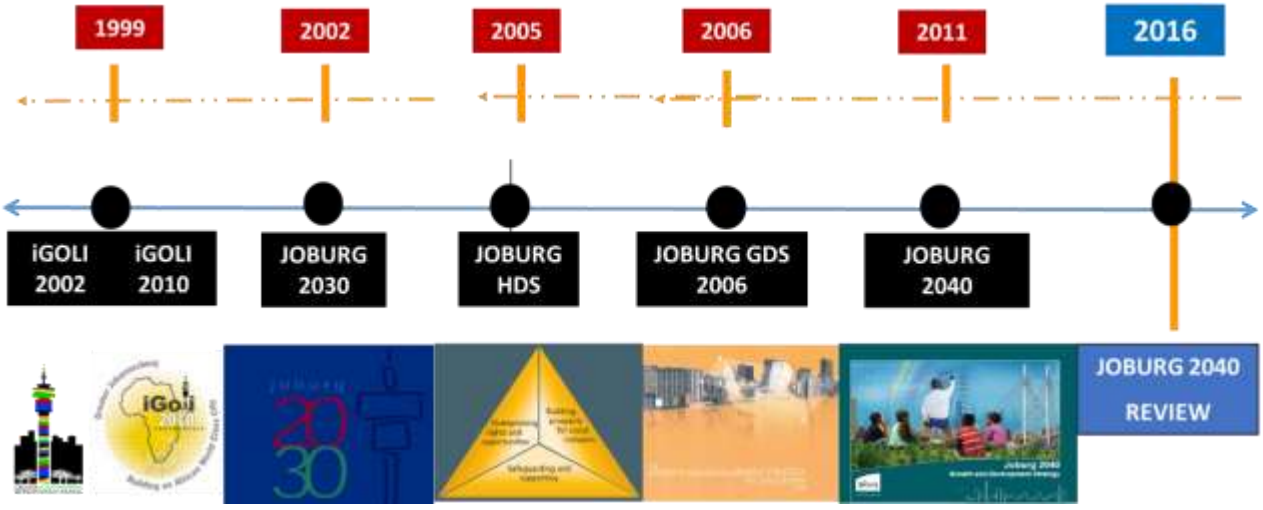

Figure 4: A timeline of CDSs developed by the City of Johannesburg between 1999 and 2016.

3.4.1 iGoli 2002 – responding to a governance crisis

iGoli 2002 was a three year strategic plan that involved the structuring of the metropolitan functions with a view towards improved service delivery in Johannesburg. It emanated from the crisis of the late 1990s and put forward structures that would

[7] At the time of writing, Joburg 2040 is subject to a review that is expected to be completed by July 2017. The author of this dissertation is authoring the revised CDS for Joburg.

deliver greater levels of services with more efficiency and less fragmentation than what the City inherited (GJMC, 1999; CoJ, 2001).

The key purpose of the plan was to ensure political governance reforms in the City that focused on a central core with a regionalised administration, utilities, agencies and corporatized entities working together to reconfigure service delivery in the City (Beall et al. 2002). *iGoli 2002* continued to promote the unicity approach by addressing fragmentation in the political governance within the city. This meant that there were new roles and responsibilities for the Executive Mayor, the Mayoral Committee, and on the administrative side relating to the role of the City Manager as the Chief Executive Officer (GJMC, 1999; CoJ, 2001; Savage et al, 2002).

The *iGoli 2002* plan provided both institutional and service delivery reforms in the City of Johannesburg. As mentioned above, one of the primary goals of the plan was to put together a single central administration to manage and coordinate activities with decentralised regional administrations responsible for providing urban management services. The establishment of utilities agencies and corporatized entities meant that the City was able to assign financial and operational authority to autonomous companies to provide goods and services in the city. The plan also proposed financial reforms that sought to focus on multi-year budgeting and planning in order to achieve financial sustainability (GJMC, 1999; CoJ, 2001).

Beall et al (2002) provide a more critical view of the *iGoli 2002* plan. They cite oppositional voices of the time coming from trade unions whose resistance centred around debates on privatisation and the cost efficiencies of the new institutional reforms. They also argued against the *iGoli 2002's* lack of public participation by not involving local stakeholders and citizens who were the beneficiaries of the plan. One of the central arguments by Beall et al. (2002) is that this plan adopted a neoliberal approach to service delivery based on financial reform, by using business objectives to define a new social and economic agenda for the institution. The central argument is that the policy decisions that emanated from this plan focused on *efficiency* rather than *equity* (Seedat, 2005). This view is also illustrated by Bond (2000), in his critique suggesting that the GEAR policy (RSA, 1996) was also used to determine and influence local government practices.

Despite opposition to the plan, it is argued that this plan set a precedent in getting government to think about what needed to be done in local government in terms of

dealing with a divided city in a period of rapid and unpredictable change. One of the most important outcomes of this plan was that it set a foundation for long-term strategic planning in the City and for the first time attempted to strengthen the strategic capability of local government institutions. It was able to get the City to start addressing long-term planning problems by using foresight to calculate probable future developments and its limitations.

3.4.2 iGoli 2010 – a nexus between past and future development

iGoli 2010 was the first attempt at a CDS that emanated from the *iGoli 2002* process and was also initiated in 1999. It aimed to consolidate the new metropolitan structure that was proposed during the *iGoli 2002* process. It was the first attempt at a CDS whereby the emerging strategic vision of an "African world-class city" was introduced (CoJ, 2001). It proposed two important strategic goals. Firstly, it intended to correct past development practices by drawing on methodologies from the transitional period and by proposing an agenda to change the drivers of poor performance. Secondly, it intended to build a platform to invest in the future by enabling a new approach to enable Johannesburg to create improved conditions for sustainability (Seedat, 2005).

According to Parnell and Robinson (2005), this strategy was based on research and data gathering by external consultants managed by a steering committee within the City of Johannesburg. iGoli 2010 did not reach fruition because it was "interrupted" by the local government elections of 2000 and the commissioned research and data was then used to inform the next iteration of the CDS known as *Joburg 2030* (Parnell and Robinson 2005, pg. 342) [8].

Parnell and Robinson (2005) further point out that a participatory process was due to have been followed after the document was drafted, through stakeholder forums, which would culminate in a broader city summit. This stage of the CDS process was not followed as a result of the suspension of the iGoli 2010 plan. Key questions remain as to why the plan was sacrificed but the consultants remained and why did participation not occur before to inform the drafting of iGoli 2010.

[8] Confirmed through personal communication with Rashid Seedat and Jan Erasmus (2016) and will be detailed further on in this research report.

3.4.3 *Joburg 2030* – growth at all costs!

The City of Johannesburg adopted *Joburg 2030* as the next iteration of its City Development Strategy in February 2002. Some of the data and research of the non-approved iGoli 2010 was used to inform the strategic underpinnings of *Joburg 2030* (Lipietz, 2008). The 2030 plan was an economic strategy that intended to guide strategic decision-making, resource allocation and economic activities of the City. It is claimed that the main objective of this strategy was to “achieve a better quality of life of the city’s citizens by increasing the standard and quality of life" (CoJ, 2002, pg.1).

As an offshoot of the iGoli 2010 process, its analysis identified four critical issues facing the city that needed to be addressed in order to ensure economic growth. Its fundamental premise is based on an ideological viewpoint that assumes ‘trickle-down’ economics (Seedat, 2005; Lipietz, 2008). This suggests that if economic growth is promoted, then the benefits will trickle down to all citizens thereby addressing all other problems as well. According to CoJ (2006a), *Joburg 2030* was the most important strategic planning document for the period 2000-2006, as it was able to spawn other strategic documents such as the City Safety Strategy and an Inner City Development Strategy.

The theoretical framework proposed in *Joburg 2030* simplified the identification of the key drivers affecting economic activities in Johannesburg, and it proposed a strategy to stimulate these drivers in a way that enhances economic growth (Van Reyneveld, 2005). It attempted to provide a pragmatic view on the new developmental role given to cities in the new democratic local government period. The emphasis on economic growth as the precondition for quality of life as the underpinning of the strategy has not gone unchallenged. One of the main criticisms of *Joburg 2030* was that it did not take into account initiatives that would promote social development in the city (Harrison, 2015). The premise that economic growth, in the long term could be a basis for increasing employment as well as taxation for the council was in essence the underpinnings of *Joburg 2030* (Lipietz, 2008). This was the most controversial aspect of this CDS.

Lipietz (2008) further scrutinises the *Joburg 2030* plan in the context of participation in policy development. The ambiguity of participatory politics, as Lipietz (2008) puts it, is more evident in *Joburg 2030* than in the iGoli 2010 plan. In many ways the political party encouraging this CDS did not take into account pro-poor concerns; rather, the

focus was on economic growth and the positioning of the City in a globalizing urban system. Despite the dramatic changes at a socio-political level, the view that being “World Class” meant that the City championed a new global city agenda that encompassed aspects of economic competiveness and investment attraction as a critical factor for future development (Seedat, 2005).

3.4.4 The Human Development Strategy - a message of support to the poor

The *Human Development Strategy (HDS)* of 2005 was conceived as a partner strategy to *Joburg 2030* (CoJ, 2004). The intention of this document was to provide a framework that was able to accommodate a "human development perspective and address conditions such as poverty, inequality and social exclusion on a city-scale" (CoJ, 2004 pg. 2). Seedat (2005) points out that the HDS was formulated on the recognition that the pro-growth approach encapsulated in *Joburg 2030* would not sufficiently address issues of poverty, vulnerability and exclusion that confronted the majority of citizens.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, CDSs developed according to the *Cities Alliance Guidelines* (2005) recommend pro-poor approaches with a combination of pro-growth strategies, particularly in the developing world, to form a holistic and sustainable articulation of a city's future. The rationale of having a separate pro-poor strategy was seen to be complementary to the pro-growth economic strategy of *Joburg 2030*. Thus, the HDS concluded with a set of targeted interventions that aimed to support the poor and those who were marginalised in order to find their expression within the city (CoJ, 2005).

3.4.5 Growth and Development Strategy of 2006 (GDS 2006) – strategic or comprehensive?

The City of Johannesburg's *Growth and Development Strategy 2006* was an amalgamation of all previous CDSs developed during the previous period. It acknowledged the role of CDSs as a global policy phenomenon undertaken by many cities across the world (Parnell and Robinson, 2005). It also attempted to harmonize and align national and provincial strategies into a new local government strategy. It defined clear strategic incentives to accelerate growth and reduce poverty and combined both pro-growth and pro-poor strategies from previous periods (CoJ, 2006b). The Joburg GDS of 2006 is an example of the first attempt to satisfy what

Ward and McCann (2011) would later refer to as the common breed of thinking around city strategy making by focusing on the cumulative effects of place, politics and power.

Joburg GDS 2006 recognised a new role for urban policy-making in a fluid and complex urban environment. It makes the case for long-term planning by taking into account the life cycle of development of the city. However, it does not define what 'long term' means, but it is assumed to mean anything longer than a five-year term of office. As it aimed to build and consolidate other strategies in the City, it acknowledged the weaknesses of previous strategies and recast a central and stronger strategic message about a developmental course that would need to be followed (CoJ, 2006b; Lipietz, 2008). For the first time the CDS placed IDPs adjacent to the long-term strategy of the City.

This city strategy packaged four interrelated components. The first one was the 'long-term strategic perspective,' which was an analysis of trends and expresses future developmental challenges and opportunities. The second was the 'development paradigm' that presented a normative argument of how to address challenges and take advantage of opportunities in the city. The third was a 'vision statement' of what the city would look like in the future and fourth was a set of 'strategic choices' that inform goals, objectives and programmes (CoJ, 2006b). Despite being compiled by experts drawing from various sources of data and information, this document claims to represent the collective interests of all of the city's citizens.

The *Joburg GDS 2006* does acknowledge that a participatory approach existed. It stated that a participatory approach was launched by taking into account the views of business, labour, government, academia and communities after a series of nine sector workshops to discuss the aspects of the strategy. This culminated in a GDS summit that enabled the consolidation of the final city strategy and IDP for the period 2006 to 2011 (CoJ, 2006b). However, this occurred only after the strategy was already written and the participatory process merely legitimised the document.

Joburg GDS 2006 attempted to provide "coherence and completeness" by filling in strategic gaps that were highlighted during the first period of local government (CoJ, 2006b pg. 7). Both Lipietz (2008) and Parnell and Robinson (2006) agree that this CDS attempted to reconcile previous city strategies as well as competing interests that are implicit for long-term sustainable city development. However, they agree that no further participatory processes were repeated other than in iGoli 2010. Participatory

endeavours during the period 2000 to 2006 were relegated to IDP processes that fulfilled a legislative requirement. This will be elaborated upon further on in the chapter.

3.4.6 A critical analysis of *Joburg 2040*

The *Joburg 2040* strategy process was initiated in July 2010. A number of position papers were commissioned by the City of Johannesburg and were undertaken by external researchers to provide a perspective on 'what the future holds' for the City going into the future. A draft city strategy was released for public consultation on 2 August 2011 to provide the initial impetus to the GDS outreach process. At the completion of the GDS outreach process, *Joburg 2040* was launched on 20 October 2011, fully endorsed by all political parties represented in the Johannesburg City Council.

Joburg 2040 contains a vision of where the City wishes to be by the year 2040. The city strategy contains six principles that were inherited from the 2006 GDS. They are four long-term Outcomes that are derived from the City's development paradigm that seek to contribute to achieving the City's vision of being "liveable, sustainable and resilient" (CoJ, 2011, pg. 15). There are 19 Outputs that relate to each particular Outcome of the GDS and each Output sets forward a number of strategic objectives that would enable implementation of the city strategy over time. There are also 26 proposed indicators to track implementation of the City's GDS. The 10 Strategic Priorities were the political priorities for the 2011-2016 term of office and according to the diagram below, were translated into day-today operations and captured in semi-operational and semi-strategic IDPs. The IDP for the period 2016-2021 is subject to a review as a result of the current political changes in the City of Joburg. This process is captured in figure 5 below.

The strategic intent emphasises that socio-economic development is a necessary condition for improved quality of life. Joburg 2040 makes pragmatic use of a number of theories and concepts such as sustainability theory (see Brundtland Commission; Jeffrey Sachs), resilience theory (see Good Governance Learning Network; Brookings Institution), new urbanism (see Charter for New Urbanism) and creative cities (see Richard Florida; Charles Landry) needed to justify its strategic intent. To augment this, the city strategy provides a detailed empirical analysis of the key trends and drivers that inform the rationale for the development paradigm and the strategic Outcomes and Outputs of the GDS.

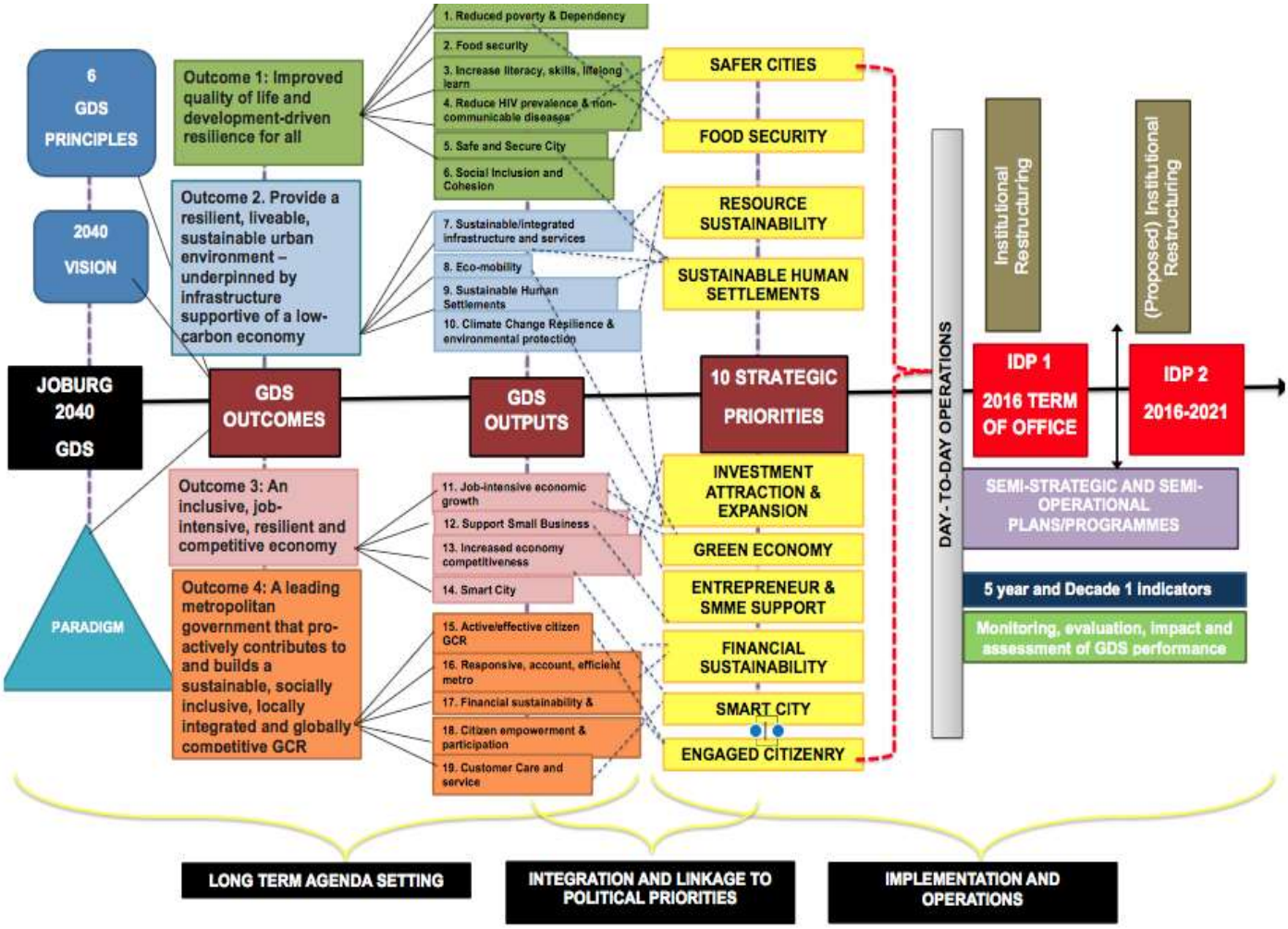

Figure 5: *Joburg 2040* GDS Outcomes, Outputs linked to 2011-2016 Mayoral priorities and day-to-day operations for the period 2011-2021.

However, the strategy does not attempt to deal with all major issues that affect the City. It does not provide any direct short-term programmes and responses to dealing with issues such as poverty, unemployment and spatial marginalisation and does not provide a clear delineation that is needed for strategic trade-offs that needed to be made. The absence of an implementation plan (even though this was developed at a later stage and published in subsequent IDPs as a GDS Roadmap) is evident.

Whilst the GDS highlights the pressing locational constraints and challenges facing the City, the document can be critiqued for its tendency to aspire towards the nature of successful global cities, rather than focusing on the unique characteristics of understanding the City's position in the global network of world cities. One of the fundamental weaknesses of *Joburg 2040* is that it underestimates the extent of economic success and its implications on the urban poor. The phenomenon that

Joburg is a microcosm of South Africa is well recognised in the document, however, the implications and trade-offs are lacking in the document to balance the forces of economic growth and human development.

To its advantage, the GDS stops short of falling into the trap of providing scenario options (Harrison, 2015). One of the features of *Joburg 2040* is that it recognises the role it plays within the context of the Gauteng City Region (GCR), but it does not provide an approach to the role of the City in working with other municipalities and spheres of government to resolve common problems. Similarly, the city strategy does not provide adequate attention to the requirement of building a capable and strategic city administration to implement its vision for the future.

Applebaum, Harrison, Todes and Charlton (2016, pg. 53) in a paper commissioned by the City of Johannesburg on "Strategic planning in a turbulent and uncertain world" as part of the *Joburg 2040* review, state that one of the primary concerns with *Joburg 2040* relates to "the element of co-production and the extent to which the GDS has transformed organisational and societal relations in relation to transformation." Despite the GDS outreach process attempts to foster a participatory approach to developing city strategies, a co-production approach as stated by Applebaum, Harrison, Todes and Charlton (2016) is a gradual and emergent process that enables the City to play a key role in various stages of planning and problem solving in an agonistic manner. The next section provides more detail on how participation was undertaken in the City of Joburg.

3.5 Participation in the City of Joburg

The reconstituted structures of local government were designed to reverse the negative and unjust impacts of apartheid (Mabin, 2002). The need for a democratic system of government at the local level was a key objective of the ANC government as it assumed power in 1994. The decentralised and autonomous objective of local government has been to ensure that local democracy is enhanced and that residents are involved in the manner in which they are governed (De Visser, 2005). Despite these value-laden intentions, participation is still an elusive term, as described in the previous chapter.

3.5.1 How is participation undertaken in the City of Joburg?

One of the key issues in this dissertation is participation. Many researchers have questioned the application of public participation processes and the problems associated with its implementation, particularly at a city level (Everatt et al, 2010; Benit-Gbaffour, 2008; Lipietz, 2008; Rogerson, 2004).

In order to understand the practical process of participation, this section will focus on the City of Johannesburg's approach to undertaking public participation particularly through the IDP process. In its 2011 IDP the City of Johannesburg's commitment is to adhere to the legislated requirements of participation, ranging from public meetings, mayoral roadshows, stakeholder summits and sectoral engagements. In its 2015 IDP, the City of Johannesburg states that it remains "committed to ongoing consultation and engagement with communities" (CoJ, 2015, pg. 124).

It should be noted that this form of local government participation takes place in the context of poverty, inequality and contestation where expectations are high and budgets are limited (Everatt et al., 2010). This means that diverse interests cannot always be met, and moreover, the deliberation through an IDP does not always represent all sectors of society (Seedat, 2005). In this context, it is crucial to distinguish between those that have the resources to participate and those who have to be assisted to participate. Inequality and the inability to participate is also a predictor of who gains and who loses out in these processes.

The discord between intention and practice is evident by assessing different iterations of the IDPs. With respect to ‘real’ participation, issues that dominate the City of Joburg's IDP consultative process tend to perpetuate some of the inequalities already present in society. For example, concerns around tariff increases and financial management seek to only benefit those who are better resourced in the city. Everatt et al. (2010, pg. 250) critically argue that participation in IDPs in practice tend to be praised in "abstract" terms, however, in practice it "requires a sense of obligation, it’s content diminished by repeated demands, and its value tends to be viewed in more prosaic terms."

In its 2012 IDP, the City admits that the driving force of its participatory approach intends to move beyond compliance-driven information sharing sessions that seek to ‘rubber-stamp’ approval from communities on issues that affect them. However, this is

not the case in practice. Participation still means ‘consultation’, in that communities and stakeholders are not provided with an equal opportunity to influence decisions and become involved in the shaping of plans that affect their livelihoods.

Despite the inefficiencies in the practices related to IDP process, the City of Joburg has attempted other participatory approaches that warrant a different, ongoing type of dialogue with citizens. For example, the Jozi@Work programme is a model of service delivery based on communities co-producing services with the City through Capability Support Agencies (CSAs). It attempts to put forward a developmental partnership approach that seeks to ensure that citizens are no longer passive recipients of service delivery. The City also undertakes a number of targeted stakeholder sessions with the corporate sector, academia and civil society. The City also undertakes ward-level Cluster Community Conversations (CCC) that intend to identify service delivery hotspots and areas for intervention based on data generated from the City’s Customer Satisfaction Survey and the Gauteng City Region Observatory’s GCRO’s Quality of Life Survey (CoJ, 2015).

The political will to initiate this new dialogue based on programmes and not only the IDP was stimulated by the *Joburg 2040* outreach process. However, the expectations and ability of the institution to create spaces for participation remain in contrast with the objectives of the developmental agenda proposed. Participation in the City of Johannesburg is only encouraged through invited spaces and as Winkler notes it remains “ineffective in addressing” the plight of those whose choices are effectively determined behind closed spaces (2011, pg. 252).

3.6 Conclusion

In answering the research question*: What factors led to the development of Joburg 2040 over time and how, if at all, were previous city strategies used to develop Joburg 2040",* this chapter highlighted the importance of the City of Joburg’s role in the formulation of democratic local government practices and policy developments in South Africa. The City of Johannesburg played an important role in negotiations for a developmental system of local government. The transition to a ‘unicity’ was strengthened by the struggle for a democratic local government that was negotiated through the lens of Johannesburg's experiences. Restructuring efforts took place during the 1990s as a means to create a long-term strategic direction for the City. This did not go uncontested. The lack of public participation and the restructuring of new

business functions were contested by trade unions. This chapter has suggested that the move towards a renewed governance and institutional model was based on number of imperatives that emerged in the preceding years. It is against this backdrop that the need to optimise governance arrangements, streamline the institution and improve service delivery imperatives became more urgent in the City of Johannesburg.

The changes and enhancements that accompanied the transformation of the institutional arrangements of the City of Johannesburg were bound by the following parameters: constitutional and legislative frameworks were applied, structure was to follow strategy, institutional processes, systems and mechanisms would be strengthened and a participatory approach needed to be incorporated. This accompanied the evolution of CDSs in Johannesburg. To date there have been five iterations of Johannesburg's strategic plan. Neither of these strategies have been explicitly called 'policy' documents, though every strategic document developed by the City of Johannesburg has yielded particular policy outcomes.

Despite marginal attempts at public participation during the strategic planning processes, only the *Joburg 2040* GDS was developed through a consultative process. Furthermore, the GDS outreach process stimulated other participatory approaches that now accompany conventional IDP consultation processes. This chapter confirms that previous city strategies were used to inform *Joburg 2040* however, the extent to which it has informed *Joburg 2040* will be evidenced in the forthcoming chapters.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction and purpose of the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research method that was used. Qualitative methodology was used to operationalise and answer the research questions. This chapter will expand on the appropriateness of the research methodology, explain the instrumentation that was used to undertake this enquiry, provide reasons for the approach used to collect, process and analyse data as well as to highlight the limitations encountered.

4.2 Appropriateness of research design

A qualitative methodology was utilised to undertake this research. According to Harwell (2011, pg. 147) "qualitative research methods focus on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants—that is, qualitative research explores meaning, purpose, or reality." A qualitative approach allows an observer to immerse him or herself in the context of enquiry, and to ponder "why" questions. The location of the researcher in the field of study allows for an interpretive approach whereby the study is made within a specific context.

There are number of approaches that use qualitative research. Information is collected through case studies, personal communication, ethnographic research, documentary analysis and research participation and observation (Harwell, 2011). Qualitative methodology is also useful because it is inductive. This means that the researcher is able to construct theory and hypothesis by linking concepts and theories from the details provided from participants (Flick et al. 2009). One of the benefits of qualitative methodology is that the approach is flexible and open as a result of the relationship between the participant and the researcher.

According to Flick et al. (2009) one of the basic assumptions of qualitative research is that it ascribes meanings to relationships that are created through social interactions. Another important point is that qualitative research intends to focus on the communicative nature of social reality, as the limits to reconstructing previous constructions of reality are the starting point (Flick et al, 2009). Conceptuality becomes a guiding principle to understand the perspective of the participant. This means that in

a qualitative approach, the subjective perception of the researcher is used to influence the direction of the research process (Harwell, 2011). Furthermore, qualitative approaches assume that reality is created interactively and meanings are created subjectively.

In this dissertation, this methodology was useful to frame questions by combining contextual information with initial assumptions in a manner that demonstrates the depth of enquiry. This meant that interviews, focus group discussions, documentary analysis and participant observation were able to provide a degree of comparison and allow for an understanding of the causalities and complexities that informed *Joburg 2040*.

4.2.1 Positionality

> "As a qualitative researcher I do not think being an insider makes me a better or worse researcher; it just makes me a different type of researcher" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, pg. 54).

The quote above from Sonya Dwyer and Jennifer Buckle's (2009) paper explores the notion that a researcher can be both an insider and outsider in qualitative research. Therefore, the background of the researcher becomes important in determining the relevance of information and to use information in a way that makes better sense for the reader to understand the argument (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). The researcher's ability to operate in an open-minded manner meant that the overriding goal of testing data and generating theory remained relevant during the data collection and processing phases.

As stated in the introduction, the researcher is employed by the City of Johannesburg. He played a significant role in the development of the *Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy* and the GDS outreach process. He authored Chapter 5 in *Joburg 2040* entitled 'Listening to our Citizen's Voices.' Despite this, every attempt has been undertaken to ensure that no bias occurred during the drafting of this research report, however, bias may exist nonetheless.

The researcher's experience as an insider, provides an important vantage point in that the knowledge gained from practical experience will be critiqued against the rationale for its development, the methodology used to develop the strategy and its implementation since adoption. Therefore, the researcher's ability to obtain access to

key informants, documentation and processes pertinent to the field of study narrowed assisted in operationalising the research questions.

4.2.2 Interviews

Both semi-structured and unstructured interviews were undertaken during this research process. Semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview schedule that was developed from the literature review. Semi-structured interviews were used in cases where participants identified provided consent to be interviewed just once.

Interview participants were informed prior to the date of the interview and asked for consent to be interviewed. A range of interviews were scheduled with the author of *Joburg 2040*, the City Manager of Johannesburg from 2011 to 2016, former and present senior managers, as well as a participants in the *Joburg 2040* process. Members of the public could not be interviewed individually and focus groups were used to explore their awareness and knowledge of *Joburg 2040*.

4.2.3 Focus Groups

According to Neuman (2011), focus groups are a qualitative research method whereby people are informally interviewed in a group setting. One of the advantages of focus groups is that participants are able to build upon the ideas of one another as stimulated through the group dynamic. Unexpected and often new perspectives emerge when participants engage in a discussion in a group setting (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012). Another advantage of well-moderated focus groups is that participants express the opinions freely in a natural setting, and participants query each other as a means of explaining the answers to each other. The main disadvantage of a focus group study is that it is not representative, and the findings cannot be extrapolated for the broader population.

The City of Johannesburg through UNISA's Bureau of Market Research (BMR) conducts focus group studies to provide an interpretation of key dynamics that emerge either from surveys conducted by the City, or as a follow-up to the City's IDP. Permission was obtained from the City of Johannesburg to use data from these focus groups for this study. The researcher was able to influence the design of questions and co-chaired focus groups with permission from BMR. The theme of the focus group study was "Quality of Life in the City of Johannesburg" and it was derived from the first Outcome of the *Joburg 2040* GDS and the results of the GCRO Quality of Life Survey III of 2013. A discussion guide was developed and a facilitator moderated the session.

Three focus group sessions were observed and the data used for this research and the group demographics is detailed below.

4.2.4 Non-participant Observation

Participant observation was another method used to collect data. According to Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, (2012, pg. 152) observation is "helpful to allow you to understand the participants' worldview by actively engaging in activities in which they are involved." The technique used in this research was non-observation as the researcher observed participatory processes hosted by the City of Johannesburg, without interacting with the people in that particular setting.

One of the advantages of direct observation was that it allowed access to a social setting not generally available. Participant observation was undertaken during two IDP outreach sessions hosted by the City of Johannesburg in April 2016. No formal permission was required as the sessions were open to members of the public. IDP outreach sessions are held every year as part of the legislated objective of developing the IDP document. The purpose of the 2016 IDP outreach sessions was twofold. Firstly, these sessions intended to provide feedback on the implementation of the 2011-2016 IDP, and secondly they were to present the new focus for the post-2016 mayoral term. An observation guide was developed in order to collect data and to organise accordingly. The observation guide focused on the time, activity, behaviours and actions of both city officials and participants.

Following the local government elections of August 2016, the researcher undertook a period of additional participant observation during the first 100 days of the incoming DA-led coalition government's leadership. The purpose of this period of observation was to ascertain how the new leadership of the City would respond to the strategic agenda, its decisions and the long-term vision of the City and its CDS, key projects and programmes initiated during the previous administration and the governance arrangements that are now proposed.

4.2.5 Document analysis

Document analysis is a method used to understand the rationale behind specific decisions that are captured in primary, secondary, public or private documents. As Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) note, documents do not stand on their own and are situated within a frame of reference for their content to be understood, as they serve as receptacles for evidence for particular claims. Furthermore documents are

products that are socially constructed. For the purposes of this research, documentary analysis focused on the meaning of the document, the importance of the document and the representation of the document as it has been conceived.

A number of public documents were used, none of which were classified or otherwise unavailable to the public. The previous city strategies such as *iGoli 2002*, iGoli 2010, *Joburg 2030*, *HDS*, *Joburg GDS* 2006, various IDPs from 2011 to present day and Annual Reports published by the City of Johannesburg were used. Where relevant, other published documents, and statistical information from recognised institutions, were also used as part of this analysis. The purpose of using documentary analysis was to ensure that the perspective of the City was analysed. Furthermore, the analysis of documented information explicitly focused on the contextual meanings based on the document. An assessment guide was developed and will be explained below.

4.3 Operationalizing research questions

The table below provides an indication of the approach used to operationalise the research questions in terms of generating primary data. Different instruments were applied to different research questions to broaden the understanding of the social constructs and the processes that shape particular outcomes. In order to generate a range of credible data, the overall approach used multiple qualitative techniques to enrich the data gathering experience.

Research question	Approach
1. What factors led to the development of the *Joburg 2040* over time?	Semi-structured interviews with relevant city officials past and present. Documentary analysis with extractions from the City's published documents such as the CDSs, IDPs, Annual Reports and other official documentation.
2. How, if at all, were previous city strategies used to develop *Joburg 2040*?	Structured interviews with relevant city officials. Documentary analysis.

3. What was the purpose of participation during the *Joburg 2040* policy-making process?	Semi-structured interviews with relevant participants. Focus groups. Participant observation from IDP sessions.
4. To what extent did participation influence urban policy making in the metropolitan area?	Unstructured and semi-structured interviews.
5. Did *Joburg 2040* have an impact on development in the City since it was adopted?	Unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Documentary analysis with extractions from the City's published documents such as the CDSs, IDPs, Annual Reports and other official documentation. Participant observation (post Elections).

Table 1: Operationalising research questions.

4.4 Instrumentation

Four instruments were used to undertake qualitative research for this thesis. An interview guide was developed for undertaking semi- and unstructured interviews. A discussion guide was used during focus group discussions. An observation criteria form was developed for the IDP outreach sessions and a set of criteria was developed for undertaking documentary analysis.

4.4.1 Interview guide

The interview guide, (Annexure A), was developed as a tool to structure and guide how the interview will be conducted. The strategy used in the interview guide was formulated by restating the research problem, reflecting on the research questions and drawing out key concepts from the literature review. For example, introductory questions probed participants' knowledge on conceptual definitions of urban policy, CDSs, whilst the remainder of the interview probed participants' knowledge of the City of Johannesburg's role in South Africa, urban policy-making and participation.

For semi-structured interviews, the interview guide provided a list of probing questions that enabled the researcher to delve deeper into area of focus. This also allowed the researcher to corroborate data from other sources as new lines of enquiry related to a

particular phenomenon emerged. The semi-structured interview had three broad categories of questions: introductory questions were used to introduce the concept and the field of study; leading questions focused on key specific areas drawn out from the literature review and concluding questions allowed respondents to elaborate on anything broader or not already covered.

4.4.2 Discussion guide for focus groups

A discussion guide, (Annexure B) was used for focus group sessions. The discussion guide was developed by UNISA's BMR in conjunction with City of Johannesburg officials. The researcher was able to design questions pertaining to this study that formed part of the discussion guide. The structured discussion guide was used to ensure consistency across all focus groups. The questions ranged from broad open ended questions about *Joburg 2040* and the IDP, as well as a number of questions around quality of life and its broader contextual interpretation in the City of Johannesburg. Whilst the latter part was not the focus of this study, the concept of quality of life remains a significant substantive feature of *Joburg 2040* and interpretation of that component of the focus groups was useful.

4.4.3 Observation criteria for IDP sessions

In order to organise data from IDP sessions, an observation guide (Annexure C) was developed. The observation guide focused on event sampling, which involves capturing events that occur in social settings. The observation guide made reference to the time of the event, the substance of the session (i.e. content from presentations, question and answer sessions and actors involved in the process) and the behaviour of actors was observed. The observation guide was developed using the key theoretical constructs that emerged from the literature review. Field notes were written up according to the observation guide and the same observation guide was used for both IDP outreach sessions.

4.4.4 Documentary analysis criteria

A set of criteria was designed to assess the quality of evidence from documentary sources. Wagner, Kawukich and Garner's (2012, pg. 147) four proposed criteria were used. The first is about **authenticity,** and focused on the origin of the document and its consistency in relation to other similar documents developed by the City of Johannesburg. The second criterion was based on the **credibility** of the document, how the document was developed, how accurate the data and the information in the document were, and what the socio-political dynamics that characterized the document. The third criterion focuses on **representativeness,** the purpose of the

document for the institution, the broader intention of the document, and what it represents for the institution. The fourth criterion focuses on **meaning** and substance of the document. In this case, a number of sub-criteria focused on issues such as details relating to particular projects, programmes and interventions as well as financial and fiscal matters relating to institutional implementation of *Joburg 2040*.

4.5 Setting and participants

4.5.1 Interviews

Eight interviews were conducted. The table below indicates the interviewee, their role and/or job description and the date.

Interview participant	Role and/or Job Description	Date	Location
Stephen Narsoo	Urban Policy and Planning Consultant and former employee of City of Johannesburg	21 April 2016	Bedfordview, Ekurhuleni
Jan Erasmus	Director: Strategy and Relations - City of Johannesburg	11 May 2016	Braamfontein, Johannesburg
Trevor Fowler	Former City Manager - City of Johannesburg	12 May 2016	Killarney, Johannesburg
Rashid Seedat	Head: Gauteng Planning Authority – Gauteng provincial Government and former Director responsible for the *Joburg 2040* process	19 May 2016	Newtown, Johannesburg
Andrew Barker	Urban Planner, Developer and Independent Consultant on Participatory Methods	19 May 2016	Braamfontein, Johannesburg
Tinashe Mushayanyama	Deputy Director: Strategic information	20 May 2016	Braamfontein, Johannesburg
Anonymous participant	Employed by the City of Johannesburg	2 June 2016	Braamfontein, Johannesburg

Blake Mosley-Lefatola	Head: Group Strategy, Policy Coordination and Relations, City of Johannesburg	16 October 2016	Braamfontein, Johannesburg

Table 2: List of interview participants, description of role and date of interview.

4.5.2 Focus Groups

BMR designed the recruitment criteria for the focus groups. They were stratified according to gender, age, local residents who are economically active and inactive (unemployed) and who displayed a location history of permanent residency within one or more CoJ regions as well as other South African provinces and neighbouring countries. These demographic and geographic criteria presented an ideal basis for constructive deliberations regarding conditions of livelihood across different gender, age and economic groups. The researcher played no role in structuring or coordinating the composition of the focus groups.

Location	Number of participants	Number of Groups	Date	Focus Group Category
Soweto Civic Centre	18	2 (9x2)	2 May 2016	Soweto residents
Metropolitan Centre, Braamfontein	12	1	8 May 2016	Youth
Metropolitan Centre, Braamfontein	15	1	20 May 2016	Business and corporate sector
Total	**45**	**4**		

Table 3: Focus Group setting and participant data

4.5.3 Post-election participant observation

The period of observation lasted from 23 August 2016 to 1 December 2016. During this time, a journal of events was kept by the researcher in order to record important announcements, projects, programmes and priorities of the new political leadership of the City of Johannesburg. This period of observation provided a useful basis to further enhance and explore the substantive themes of this research such as the role of CDS in a period of political change, urban policy-making, participation and the contested nature of Johannesburg was observed.

4.5.4 IDP sessions

Two IDP outreach sessions were attended as an observer in Lenasia and Orange Farm on 13 April 2016 and 20 April 2016 respectively. The Lenasia session took place at 18:00 hours and the Orange Farm session commenced at 11:00 hours. The participants ranged from ordinary citizens to organised members of civil society and other representative institutions such as community-based organisations (CBO) and non-profit organisations (NPO). Political parties also attended these meetings. In both meetings, the City of Johannesburg provided transportation to bring in participants from outlying parts of the region. Both meetings commenced at least an hour after the scheduled time.

4.6 Data analysis, collection and processing

For the purposes this research, two techniques of data analysis, collection and processing were used. A thematic analysis followed a theoretical analysis in order to collect, process and analyse data; and discourse analysis was used to ascribe meaning, understanding and interpretation of human behaviours in the particular contexts observed.

4.6.1 Thematic analysis

The thematic analysis follows from the conceptual and theoretical outcomes of the literature review. As a general approach, themes and patterns in the data that was obtained from interviews, participant observation and focus groups were identified and coded. Coding was used as a method of comparison covering interview transcripts, observation field notes and focus group notes. Thematic analysis was helpful in understanding the recurring words, phrases, topics and patterns of information and how participants were able to construct meanings. Five types of coding methods (from Wagner, Kauwlich and Garner, 2012) were used to analyse primary data; conceptual codes, relationship codes, perspective codes, characteristic codes and contextual codes we used to provide overall perspective.

The grouping of codes into particular units of analysis meant that particular meanings could be ascribed to particular codes. Thematic analysis from coding is an integral part of the grounded theory process as it guides the data collection process. From the thematic analysis, techniques of analysis were used to discover patterns of similarity, abstract relationships and logical explanations that provided a coherent understanding

of a particular construct. An analytic narrative was then provided to illustrate the paraphrasing of the data. Chapter 5 highlights the key findings that emanated from the evidence gathering process.

4.6.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis complemented the thematic analysis by analysing meanings from human behaviour by interpreting it in the context from which it emanated. Coding was used to analyse the data and discourse analysis focused on constructing deeper symbolic meanings from the data. This method of analysis rests on a philosophical assumption that the recognition of various discourses is not able to determine causalities, rather it is to look at the accounts of what is possible in particular circumstances in various discursive 'versions'. Discursive analysis allowed for interpretation of the historical changes in a particular process by determining how certain issues determined the trajectory that was followed. It was able to provide a clearer situational analysis of the matter under investigation.

4.7 Ethical considerations

This research process does not focus on controversial practices or sensitive groups or individuals. The research design involves a number of senior officials, and focus groups involved members of the public, and all participants were informed of the nature of the procedures and the research project. All participants involved in the research process provided informed consent. Permission was sought and granted by interview participants. Participants that chose to remain anonymous were provided with the necessary confirmation of confidentiality.

All participants in interviews and focus groups were reassured that withdrawal from the process could be accommodated and that transcripts would be provided upon request. Where applicable, certain interview transcripts were requested to remain confidential. Notes and reports from direct observational sessions do not make reference to any particular individual, group or institution. Anonymity and confidentiality was used to safeguard participants' identity.

4.8 Validity of data

The validity of data is crucial in order to ensure that the degree to which conclusions are reached are accurate. As a qualitative methodology was used, internal validity is necessary to account for the data generated through this research. Firstly, a differential

selection of participants was used for interviews. Past, present and senior City officials were interviewed, as well as citizens who have participated in CoJ processes for over two decades. Focus group participants also represent a broader differential of the community as they were selected randomly and across various socio-economic and demographic profiles (and this was backed up by documentary analysis).

Comparing the content in terms of the instrumentation used to obtain evidence provided content validity. Following the literature review, the interview guide used content to deliver responses through conceptualising the constructs that were under study here. A comparison of content that emerged from various interviews, the literature and documentary reviews provided another layer to test the validity of the content.

The validity of data is also indicative of the social setting and environment in which the research is being operationalised. To ensure that data was as reliable as possible, measures for reliability were developed. In terms of interviews, where there was a lack of data, discrepancy or contradictory data, follow-up interviews were held. A second administration of the interview was compared with the first, and the degree of similarity between the responses provided an indication of the reliability of the responses. In developing the interview guide, a parallel form of reliability testing was used to ensure that similar questions were asked to respondents and the correlation between the respondents provided an estimation of reliability. This method of reliability testing was also used for the focus group sessions where internal consistency measures were used to provide some indication of the reliability of the data generated.

4.9 Limitations

One of the major limitations of this research methodology was that it expected interview participants to recall events from memory. The events leading to *Joburg 2040*, as well as the development of the *Joburg 2040* outreach process and its implementation took place over five years previously. However, it was also necessary to solicit views about the development of CDSs in the City of Johannesburg over the last two decades. Interview participants were required to recall past events, reflect on them, and questions were structured in order for participants to recall events related to a particular issue. As the task of recalling events incidents and processes from memory is complex, timelines were used to articulate different time intervals and events that required assessment. To overcome this, longer questions were asked to participants

to recapture a particular event or issue. During the analysis process, issues of recall inaccuracy were identified. In these cases, follow-up questions were undertaken with the participants. This was done to ensure that there was no misclassification or distortion of data.

This research also intends to understand the dynamics of participation in the City of Johannesburg; but, ordinary members of the public could not be interviewed due to limitations of time. In order to sample ordinary members of the public, a quantitative a survey or perception study would be required. Even though focus groups were used as an instrument of qualitative research, the views received by ordinary members of the public from these focus groups do not reflect their individual participation in processes.

With regard to participatory observation at IDP outreach sessions conducted by the City of Johannesburg, the main limitation was that the programme and agenda was organised in advance, leaving limited time to engage with those who participated in the session. The content and substance of these IDP sessions mainly expressed the issues of the day and did not provide an articulation of previous participatory exercises.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has articulated the justification for the qualitative methodology used to obtain evidence for this thesis. The operationalisation of the research questions through undertaking interviews, focus groups, direct observation and documentary analysis has been justified with the relevant instrumentation used to obtain data. The use of thematic and discursive analysis to process and analyse the data were useful techniques to generate responses to the research questions. The next chapter highlights the research findings.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an account of the findings that emanate from the research methodology employed. This chapter provides a narrative and critical account of the findings which will be expanded and analysed in Chapters six and seven. This chapter will present the findings regarding the role of the urban political economy in developing *Joburg 2040* through to its implementation. It focuses on the path dependence of CDS, which traces how previous strategies and policies in the City of Johannesburg have evolved and how they impacted on the development of *Joburg 2040*. This chapter provides the findings on the CDS formulation, its relationship to urban policy making in Johannesburg, its relationship to participatory processes in the local government context and how it has influenced the CDS process in Johannesburg. This chapter also provides an account on how the strategy has been implemented in the City.

5.2 *Joburg 2040* emerges from an interplay between political and economic forces

The political economy plays an important part in understanding the factors that informed Johannesburg's City Development Strategies over time. It is important to contextualise the City of Johannesburg in the political economy in which it is situated. The examination of how economic and political factors have influenced City of Johannesburg is a key finding as the relationship between these factors have culminated in an evolving city strategy over the last 17 years. In support of the literature, this dissertation agrees that Johannesburg's role in driving the transformation of local government has been a catalyst for democratising local government across the country. The importance of Johannesburg to the national economy bears testament to its driving force as a key global city (Harrison et al, 2014).

The history of Johannesburg in terms of its cyclical rise and decline has been characterised through the various moments in its development (Harrison, et al, 2014). Johannesburg's past as a result of mining resulted in an activist-inspired approach to development (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; Fowler, 2016, personal communication, 12 May 2016). During the days of apartheid when policies of segregation divided the city, Johannesburg was characterised by contestation, struggle and activism.

The concept of developmental local government and developmentalism in general is born out of this history. Much of the struggle for a democratic system of local government is rooted in the political economy and the struggle for justice, freedom and equality. This confirms Todes' (2014), Everatt (2014) and Zack and Harrison's (2014) view that, the city of Johannesburg remains a divided city, and, as a result, the majority of the poor live in the peripheries or in the 'deep south' of the city. The middle and upper classes live in the north of the city.

Within the urban political economy context, Johannesburg played a leading role in negotiating for developmental local government that paved the way for long-term planning of the city. Interview participants such as Trevor Fowler, Rashid Seedat and Blake Mosley-Lefatola played a key role in the negotiations for democratic local government. They confirm that the negotiations were stimulated by developments taking place in Johannesburg. Both Seedat and Mosely-Lefatola played an activist role in the struggle for democratic local government by championing the 'one city one tax base' campaign that was based on idea that if the City had a single tax base drawn mainly from white areas it would be able to fund developments in poorer black areas.

During the initial years of the recasting of developmental local government, the City of Johannesburg ran into financial trouble. As stated in chapter three, the financial crisis of 1997 was a key moment that served as a catalyst for longer-term developmental improvement in the city. The need to restructure the City in order for it to deliver services and ensure financial sustainability in a dynamic and rapidly changing context is indicative of the peculiarity of political and economic processes that shaped the city during the late 1990s and early 2000s. The ability of the City to plan for the long term was a key learning moment, which is a defining mark of being developmental.

5.3 Past dependent or path dependent?

The issue of path dependence of CDSs is also a finding in terms of the manner in which past decisions have influenced the developmental trajectory of the city. Factors such as the understanding of urban change and the evolving urban context have found their way into the development of the institution, its governance and its ability to plan for the present and future.

This is evidenced by the *iGoli 2002* plan as the initial strategic plan adopted by the City of Johannesburg (in 1999) that sought to reshape the institution by focusing on

improving the City's finances, reforming its service delivery and restructuring the institution to become more responsive to its context. Despite challenges in the contestation to the plan (as outlined in chapter three; Beall et al, 2002), the plan allowed the City to become self-sufficient as an institution. The finding here is that the introduction of the iGoli 2010 plan was premised on the need to think about the future in order to become self-sufficient, once again indicative of a learning government.

Another finding was that long-term planning only emerged after the *iGoli 2002* plan as a technical exercise undertaken by experts and consultants contracted to the City. Evidence from interviews (Erasmus and Seedat, personal communication, 2016) intimates that for the first time, long-term thinking started to find its place within the institution. Interview respondents confirmed that as the democratic dispensation of local government came into being in 2000, the City turned to undertaking research and information gathering to start informing policymakers about the changing context of the City. *iGoli 2002* was not realised because of political and administrative changes as well as the pending democratic local government elections. Research and information from the City's contracted panel of experts laid the foundation for a new approach to long-term planning based on evidence intended to suit an agenda that was politically motivated (Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Lipietz, 2008).

The abandoned iGoli 2010 project spawned the *Joburg 2030* strategy; adopted in 2002, it maintained a narrow economic focus that sought to address structural impediments to economic growth. The subsequent *Human Development Strategy* that complemented the economic focus of *Joburg 2030* was adopted as the City's next strategy that argued for an anti-poverty approach for Johannesburg. At the time, a number of other strategies were developed in the City such as the Environmental Strategy and the City Safety Strategy (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016). Each of these strategies were undertaken by consultants and experts contracted and/or employed by the City of Johannesburg. The next two chapters will indicate that these CDSs were undertaken in closed spaces simultaneously linked the changing political and institutional dynamics in the City.

As the first term of democratic local government was coming to a close in Johannesburg (2006), it was decided that a consolidated long-term strategy needed to be in place. At the same time, former President Thabo Mbeki's January 8 Statements' (Mbeki, 2006) recommendation that all metropolitan cities needed to adopt growth and development strategies became a political imperative. To its

advantage, Johannesburg's attempt at developing a consolidated and comprehensive city strategy was undertaken prior to the local government elections of 2006. The strategy incorporated aspects of both the economic and human development strategies and also incorporated a developmental argument that informed strategic issues around the urban space economy, the natural environment and governance.

For the first time, there was purposeful integration between the long-term vision of the city and the short to medium term delivery agenda. As indicated by Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) short-term planning was only integrated with long-term planning during the second period of developmental local government (2006). The importance of this finding is that the second period of democratic local government set the tone for the next iteration of the city strategy, namely *Joburg 2040* in 2011. One of the key findings of this research is that the *Joburg 2006* strategy was the first strategy that was synchronised with an IDP. Previously, the City of Johannesburg developed IDPs as a means to comply with the prescripts of legislation. During the 2006 period, the City Development Strategy was broken down into a five-year medium-term plan with strategic thrusts that informed medium term targets and deliverables for the institution.

5.4 Strategy informs policy in Johannesburg

Evidence obtained from interviews suggests that urban policy-making in the City of Johannesburg has been undertaken through City Development Strategies that have spawned other functional and sector specific policies (Erasmus; Seedat, personal communication, 2016). In the case of the City of Johannesburg and contrary to the findings presented in the literature review chapters (notably De Coning, Cloete and Wissink. 2006; Lyon and Maxwell, 2011), strategy informs policy. City strategies in Johannesburg have evolved from narrow functional strategies to a broader comprehensive strategy documents as stated above. Urban policy has followed a similar trajectory in the City as a result of the lack of a national urban policy guiding CDS formulation in the City. The City embraced the CDS concept as it allowed for flexibility in making strategic choices.

The finding here is that *Joburg 2040* is a ‘hybrid’ as it encompasses both strategic planning as well as policy principles. Policy directives are subsequently derived from the City Development Strategy. As a strategy, the first attribute of the document is that it is aspirational and enunciates a vision in terms of where the city is going and what it

wishes to become. However, as a weakness, *Joburg 2040* is internally focused as it relates to the organisation as the only implementing institution to achieve the intended vision spelt out in it (Harrison, 2015).

The second attribute of the GDS as a strategy is that it contains a mission. The mission is about how the City is going to fulfil its vision and provide an extension in terms of how it seeks to achieve the vision through direct interventions. The interventions are spelt out in the 2012 IDP which proposes that a GDS Roadmap be formulated to guide implementation of the strategy through subsequent IDPs over the next three decades. *Joburg 2040* contains a number of goals and objectives that are termed 'outcomes' and 'outputs.' These outcomes and outputs as defined in *Joburg 2040* are cognisant of the context in which the City was at the time of writing the strategy. *Joburg 2040* (CoJ, 2011a, pg. 9) recognises that the City must be able to navigate the tensions in the urban system by stating that:

> The shifts reflected in this document, including the development of long-term outcomes, outputs and indicators, are representative of changes nationally and globally, where strategies have shifted to being more outcomes-based in nature. The outcomes-based approach strikes the balance between defining, with relative certainty, a 'future development path' – while still accommodating for change. This is particularly relevant in the current paradigm of uncertainty and volatility, within which target-setting is particularly difficult, given the range of unknown variables.

Those are two attributes that comprise the strategy: a set of goals that are measurable and targets that are focused. The policy component follows the strategy, as policy in the Johannesburg context was essentially about what the City was going to do to change organisational performance to enable strategy implementation. The finding here confirms the definition of policy offered in the chapter 2, which states that policies are "about the set of rules that are intended to govern behaviour or seek to change behaviour in either positive or negative ways with a set of incentives that encourage behavioural change." Therefore, *Joburg 2040* is a strategy that intends to guide policy development in the City, and is not a strategy that intends to operationalize the implementation of urban policy.

5.5 Linking political promises to an urban vision

Joburg 2040 was conceptualised on the basis that a strategy already existed (*Joburg GDS 2006*) that took into account the long-term strategic perspective of the city; and that the IDP was already developed to deliver on that mandate. As an informal arrangement, as stated by Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016), it was agreed that a city strategy would be reviewed at five-year intervals, along with the IDP. As stated above, it should be noted that CDSs are not legislated or mandated requirements in the South African local government context.

Five-year reviews of the city strategy are linked to political terms of office and were undertaken through technically-driven processes**.** The mandate to review the Johannesburg city strategy was overseen politically, however the formulation of the document was independent of political processes. Political transition was on the horizon with the impending 2011 local government elections and an incoming new Executive Mayor, and with it the administrative changes that would follow (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016). The impetus to review the strategy was important in order to appreciate the changing context and new issues that were changing at global and national scales, which needed to find expression in city planning processes (Narsoo, personal communication, 21 April 2016). This will be expanded on in chapters six and seven.

A key finding relating to this point is that all previous City Development Strategies were undertaken internally, via technical processes informed by research, driven by policy experts. This was no different for the *Joburg 2040* strategy. A number of research pieces were commissioned to understand the changing context in which the City operated. Commissioned research was undertaken by the City in order to appreciate the changing context in a way that would either change or reinforce the strategic direction of the city. Issues such as climate change, technology, urban renewal and economic growth needed to be contextualised in the City setting (Narsoo, Erasmus, Mushayanyama, personal communication, 2016). Furthermore, a reflection of the City's performance during that period was analysed, in terms of how it had contributed to the changing dynamics confronting it. The period, post the 2010 FIFA World Cup, leading up to up local government elections, saw the technical drafting of the City Development Strategy.

The finding here is that as the processes of reflecting and forecasting occurred simultaneously, this was not a straightforward process. At the same time, the City attempted to consolidate itself in a period of global financial crisis and after the FIFA 2010 World Cup and associated expenditure. In many ways the development of *Joburg 2040* occurred in a period of transition, however the GDS needed to provide strategic impetus to ensure that there was political continuity as well, factored into a revised urban vision, with a new political leadership arriving.

5.5.1 Taking advantage of participation: The *Joburg 2040* outreach process

City of Joburg officials wrote the *Joburg 2040* city strategy internally. A draft document was developed by August 2011 that provided a new articulation of the city's goals and objectives. Following the local government elections, the incoming (now former) Executive Mayor decided to embark on an outreach process. The GDS outreach process was conceptualised to relay the thinking around the future of the city and to incorporate the views of ordinary citizens, experts and civil society via multiple platforms and channels in order to capture their voices (Tau, 2011).

The *Joburg 2040* outreach process was a significant step in the methodology of the city strategy (Harrison, 2015). It followed the technical process of drafting key strategic directives in the form of a draft GDS. These key directives were presented to the public over a nine-week process of engagement. Interview participants note that the GDS outreach process created a new platform for dialogue in the city (Narsoo, Erasmus, Mushayanyama, personal communication, 2016). This dialogue was not only about the strategy. Many issues that emerged from this process were short-term, and were of more value to the IDP process.

However, the GDS outreach process was a political tool to establish credibility of a new incoming leadership (Fowler, personal communication, 12 May 2016). As a process that enshrined the principles of consultation, it proved to be tactically important for an incoming government and the Executive Mayor as it provided a methodology to engage on issues by adopting requesting stakeholders to co-produce the GDS. Erasmus (personal communication, 11 May 2016) adds that for the first time, people were able to consider what some of the strategic issues were against the day-to-day operational issues of city government and what interventions were needed to implement its vision.

5.6 Outreach and Participation – serving whose needs?

Participation in general has been an intractable problem in the City of Johannesburg. Despite various attempts at participation in IDP processes (Lipietz 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Todes, 2014), the GDS outreach process was the only engagement held on strategic (non-IDP) matters. Interview participants note that whilst this process took place immediately after local government elections, it was less of a process used to generate enthusiasm about the future of City and more about introducing a new political leadership to citizens. This was the first attempt to introduce a coproduction approach to developing the city strategy, despite failed previous attempts, and IDPs being undertaken for over fifteen years by the City.

The GDS outreach process as stated in *Joburg 2040* intended to inspire a new City Development Strategy for a new political term of office (CoJ, 2011a). It added a new dimension to drafting City Development Strategies as it assisted the technical process by focusing the strategy writing process on thematic focus areas that were different from the generic Cities Alliance Guide (2006). Even though a new strategy was developed, traces of previous City Development Strategies remained in the document. For example, the City's 2006 vision from the previous GDS became the new 2011 mission of the strategy. The six principles of the GDS were retained and amalgamated into a new development paradigm (CoJ, 2011a).

The argument given by the city officials is that the strategy had to be more focused, and previous strategies needed to be further distilled for improved implementation. Officials claim that this is demonstrated in *Joburg 2040* because previous strategies did not incorporate the views of the public. A key finding is that previous city strategies were technically complex and what emerged from the outreach process was a need to simplify the strategy (Narsoo; Erasmus, personal communication, 2016). As stated in *Joburg 2040*, the strategy was simplified into four Outcomes and 19 Outputs from the previous GDS that contained "62 long-term goals and 181 long-term strategic interventions" (CoJ, 2011, pg. 9).

The GDS outreach process was a once-off-event. Even though it assisted the technical drafting of the city strategy, its legacy is only relevant to that process. The channel for communication that the GDS outreach process opened up was not sustained. Awareness of the City Development Strategy is also limited as will be evidenced later in this chapter from the findings that emerged from the focus groups and analysis of

the City's Customer Satisfaction Survey of 2015. The outreach process in general reflected the views of mainly experts and organised civil society as captured and referenced in the approved GDS.

The development of a city strategy is not a compliance requirement therefore participation in this regard is also not compliance driven. There is no legislative requirement for City Development Strategies and participation in this manner. At the level of strategy making, this form of outreach was the only process undertaken by the City since 2011. Participation since then has been solely focused on the IDP process. The IDP process is a legislated requirement and evidence suggests it is a process of information sharing only (Everatt et al., 2010). Contrary to the requirements of legislation, the IDP outreach processes carried out throughout the years only inform citizens and stakeholders of the plans already developed by the City. These outreach processes do not allow for any influence or collaboration from stakeholders. The City of Joburg claims that IDP outreach have been undertaken as a means to sustain the GDS process. However, evidence from the observation of the IDP outreach sessions, and from the focus groups confirm the opposite. Interview participants noted that the terms of engagement that people participate on, are the issues that matter to them the most on an everyday basis, and not higher-order strategic thinking.

Despite the intention of coproducing a new urban vision, the participatory outreach approach was introduced to accompany the technical process and was regarded as a "value add" by City officials interviewed. In terms of content, the City led discussions on issues identified through the research and technical drafting processes. As officials claimed, discussions were not influenced in any way by a particular approach: "a lot of valuable information was received that changed previously held perceptions on key areas" (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016). It is claimed by City officials that the participatory approach did not generate any public choices. City officials contend that *Joburg 2040* remains a document that reflects political choices relevant to the then ruling party and that term of office only. Therefore, the GDS outreach process served the needs of the institution rather than citizens.

5.7 Disparate awareness of *Joburg 2040*

A key finding from the focus groups is that awareness of the GDS varied across the different groups. Even though the intention of the GDS outreach process was to promote the GDS by placing into the public domain, after five years of implementation,

awareness of the strategy appears to be low. It is acknowledged that focus group data is not representative of the broader population; therefore, in order to obtain a definitive understanding on the levels of awareness of *Joburg 2040*, a quantitative study may be required. The dashboard figures below indicate the levels of awareness of the GDS and IDP obtained from the focus group sessions held in Soweto, the youth focus group and the business focus group.

Soweto Focus Group

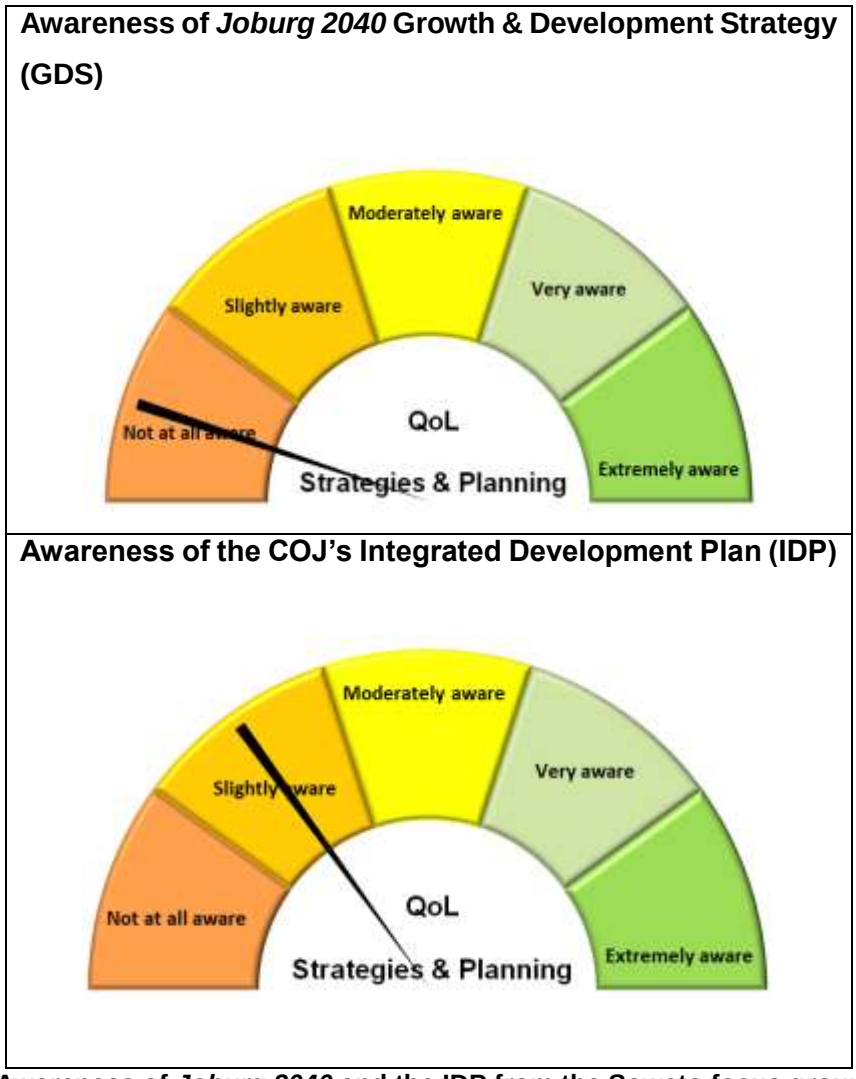

Figure 6: Awareness of *Joburg 2040* and the IDP from the Soweto focus group (CoJ, 2016)

Participants in the Soweto focus group were not at all aware of *Joburg 2040*. Participants said that "we have never heard of the City's vision before" and that the CoJ should rather focus on issues currently affecting the community instead of long-term strategies. However, participants were slightly aware of the IDP process and indicated some involvement in participating in CoJ-lead participatory processes.

Participants indicated a withdrawal from IDP participatory activities due to “nothing happening”, “lengthy processes of repair services” and “empty promises” advocated by the IDP.

Youth Focus Group

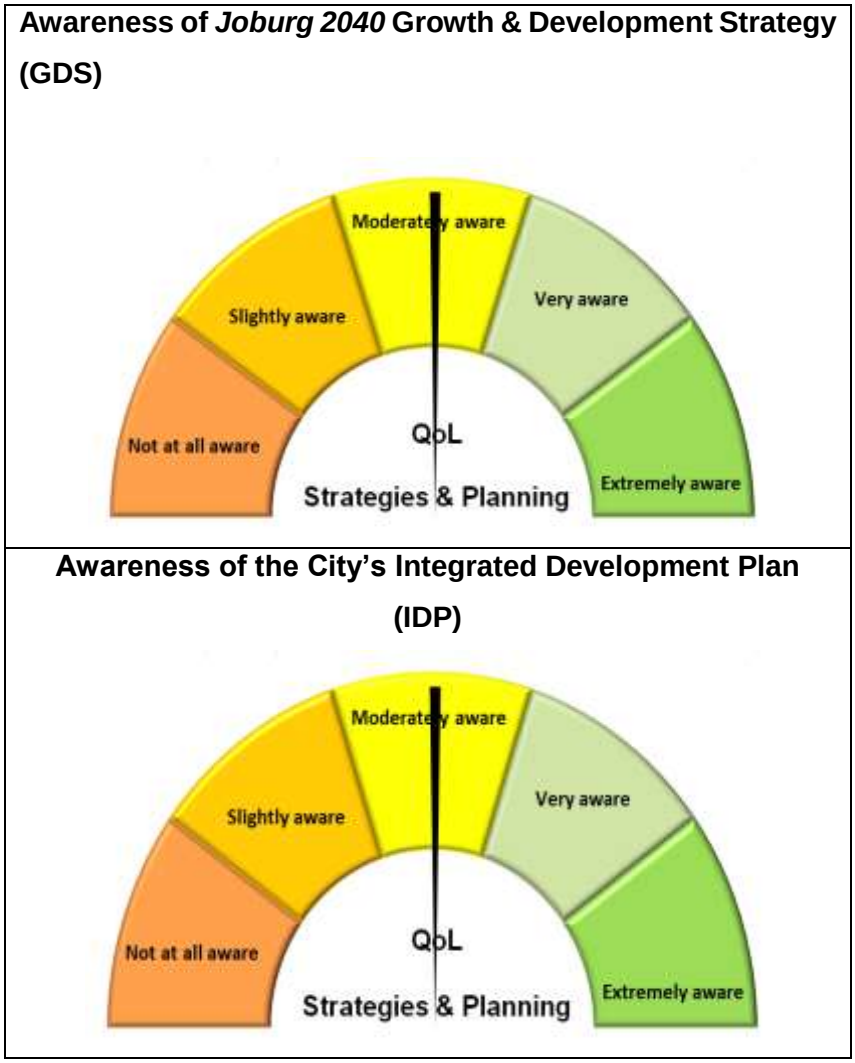

Figure 7: Awareness of *Joburg 2040* and the IDP from the Youth Focus Group (CoJ, 2016)

Participants in the youth focus group were moderately aware of *Joburg 2040* and certain participants claimed to have participated in the GDS outreach processes. However, participants mentioned that the youth do not trust the City’s long-term vision and articulated that the CoJ should rather focus on issues currently affecting the community instead of long-term strategies that do not seem achievable. Participants lamented that “City plans carry false political promises” and “everything is already determined anyway, without us.” The moderate awareness of IDP stems from majority of discussants involved in ward committee affairs and that they participated in IDP outreach sessions.

Business Focus Group

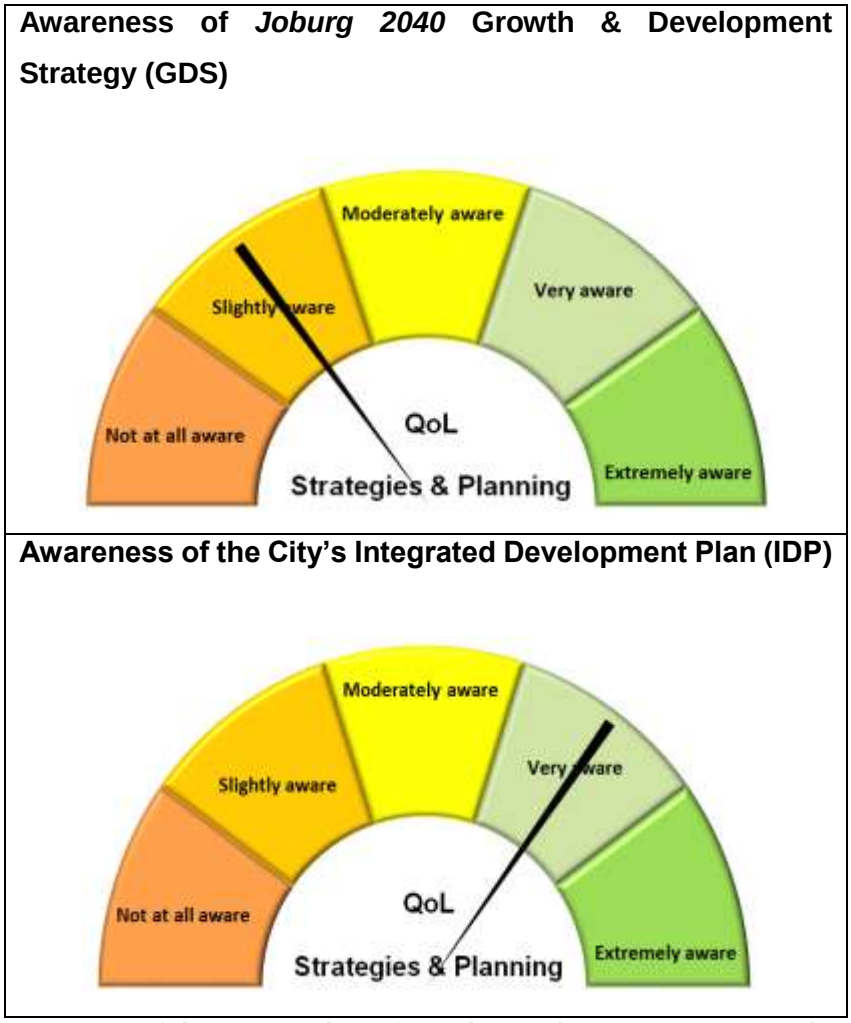

Figure 8: Awareness of the GDS and IDP from the Business Focus Group (CoJ, 2016)

Participants from the corporate sector were slightly aware of the City's long term strategy with some participants relating the City's GDS to a corporate strategy. As per the other two focus groups, participants articulated that the CoJ should rather focus on every day, operational issues instead of long-term strategies. Participants believed that the City's vision was "too aspirational" and made "no sense" to the business sector because it did not align to the city's role as South Africa's most "dynamic business hub". However, high levels of awareness of the IDP is based on the notion that it addresses present-day issues and supported "some of the corporate sectors most pressing needs as opposed to a long-term vision".

One of the common findings of the focus group discussions was that awareness of the GDS is limited because it is a complex document. Participants across all focus groups

lamented that the City was unable to simplify the document enough for it to be understood. The reasons for low levels of awareness can also be attributed to the limited use of social media and the proper usage of the medium. Since this was the first time a social media approach was used, this technology became a new platform for people to express their discontent with City services, as opposed to generating long-term choices. A lot of criticism was levelled at the City from mainly Cape Town-based institutions, and there were a lot of comments not related to the process such as operational, billing and service delivery matters (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016). What the GDS outreach process did was that it opened up an alternative dialogue channel. Through social media many unrelated processes were also brought to the table as indicated above.

In terms of distinguishing between long-term and short-term issues, all of the operational issues were forwarded to those developing the IDP. This is evident by the higher levels of awareness of the IDP as see in figures 6, 7 and 8. City officials stated that most of the immediate issues relating to service delivery and other everyday issues were dealt with through the Executive Mayor's 90-day service delivery program and were subsequently captured in the IDP.

5.8 Declining satisfaction with participatory processes in Johannesburg

In order to better understand participatory processes, an analysis of surveys such as the City's Customer Satisfaction Survey and Gauteng City Region Observatory's (GCRO) Quality of Life Survey III was undertaken. Evidence obtained from the City of Johannesburg's 2015 Customer Satisfaction Survey (CoJ, 2015,) indicated that a total of 38.2% households indicated that they were involved in metro or participatory processes of the CoJ during the 12 months preceding the survey.

The Customer Satisfaction Survey (CoJ, 2015) provides a Communication Efficiency Household Satisfaction Index (CEHSI) whereby 7 indices such as ward meetings, community based planning, public meetings/stakeholder summits/consultative meetings, and four communication modes are weighted. The overall levels of satisfaction with participatory consultation and communication efficiency shows a deterioration over time. Satisfaction dropped by seven index points from 70 to 63 between 2010 and 2015.

As a measure, the City's Communication Efficiency Household Satisfaction Index (CEHSI) weighs the City's participatory process by providing an average of customer's satisfaction of the following components: Ward meetings, Community based planning meetings, public meetings/stakeholder summits/consultative meetings. It also focuses on communication modes such as: official City of Joburg websites, information/awareness campaigns, information contained in community newspapers and social media. However, the biggest decline is evident with low levels of satisfaction in public meetings, stakeholder summits and consultative meetings with an average of 5.26 out of 10 basis points.

Focus group data indicate that levels of awareness and participation vary across different city processes. Participants in the Soweto focus group claimed that "all that COJ does in public meetings is to inform us of the plans that are already developed" and that "we have no say as to what the City will really look like in the future." To deconstruct the data further, if one compares the levels of satisfaction between 2006 and 2011 (figure 9), it varied between 46 and 68 points, with a peak of 70 during the FIFA World Cup 2010 year.

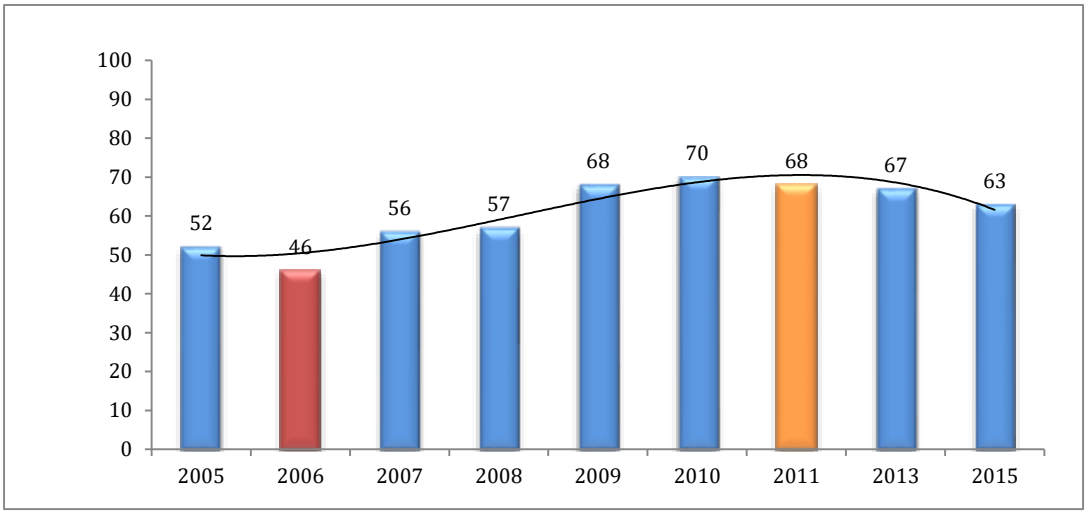

Figure 9: Public participation levels in the City of Johannesburg between 2005 and 2015 (CoJ, 2015)

2006 was the year that the first *Joburg GDS 2006* was developed. With the weighted average of 46 points, it received the lowest levels of satisfaction in the 10-year period of the survey. This was also the first time that the City synchronised the city strategy to the IDP. Whilst the reasons for low participation during 2006 were not investigated, it is noted that the 2011 process saw a 22-point improvement with regard to level satisfaction.

Furthermore, evidence from the GCRO's 2013 Quality of Life Survey's Participation Index confirms that participation is low in the City of Johannesburg. Almost two thirds of respondents indicated low participation. Over 95% of all participants across all demographic categories surveyed in the GCRO's 2013 Quality of Life Survey indicated that they have not heard about the IDP process in the Johannesburg (Figure 10).

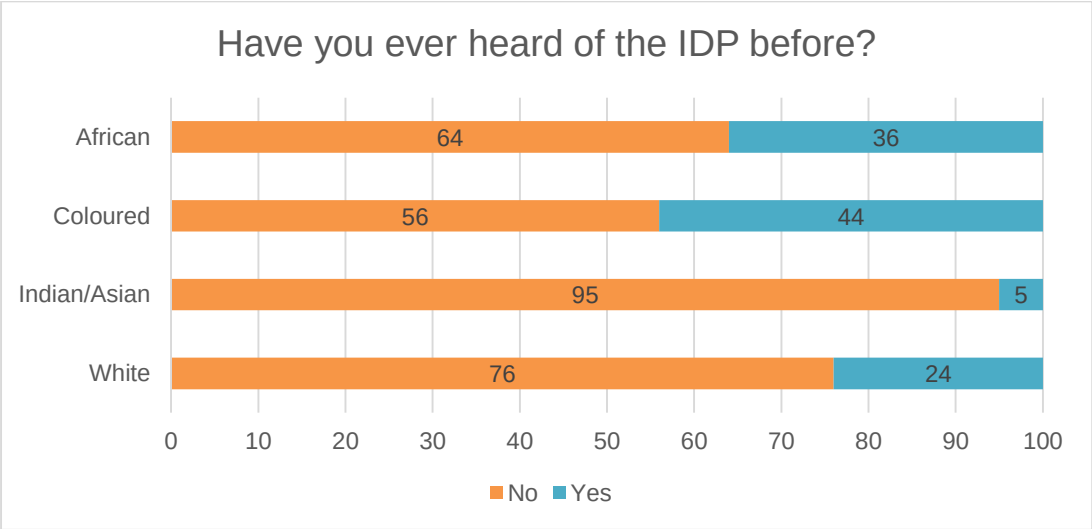

Figure 10: Awareness of the IDP by racial breakdown in Johannesburg (GCRO Quality of Life Survey III, 2013)

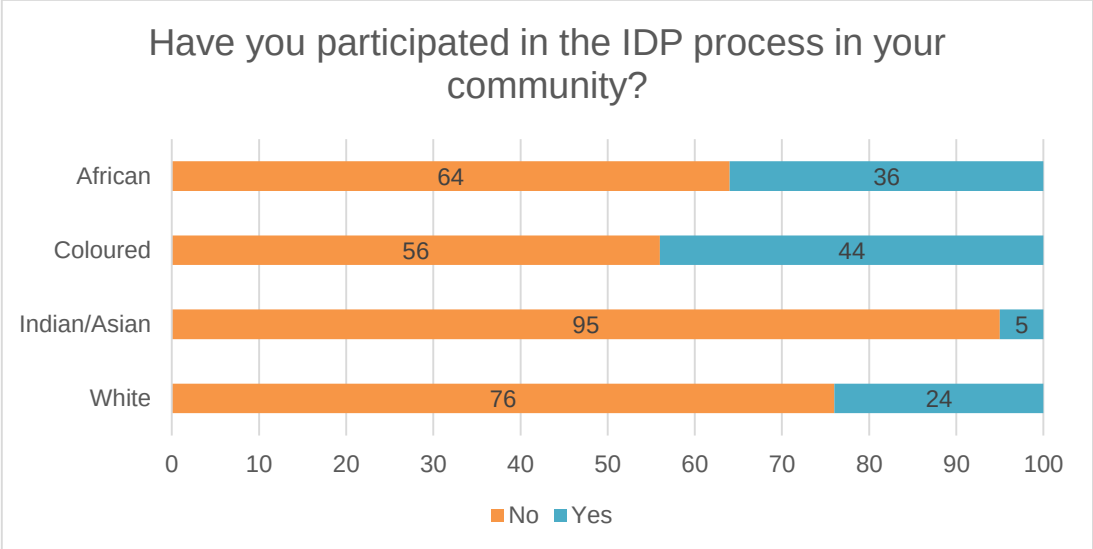

Figure 11: Participation levels during the IDP process by racial breakdown in Johannesburg (GCRO Quality of Life Survey III, 2013)

In terms of participation in the IDP process, Figure 11 above indicates that participation in the IDP process across the four demographic categories varies and is lowest amongst Indians and Whites.

5.9 *Joburg 2040* implementation challenges

Joburg 2040 was implemented by the city after a range of discussions aimed at identifying the best approach to implementing city strategy and by identifying programs for implementation. There were a number of changes during the initial years of implementation, for example, there was a new incoming administration that was not part the GDS outreach process. There was also a parallel institutional review process that emanated from the finalisation of the GDS. There were a number of new Heads of Department that entered into the institution, and were tasked with implementing the city strategy after it was already approved. That meant that the time to implement the city strategy took a lot longer internally, and as stated by officials interviewed, comprehension of the GDS was limited because of the new management structure. The early implementation of the GDS only took place one and a half to two years after the GDS was approved (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016).

As stated by CoJ officials interviewed, one of the failures of the implementation of *Joburg 2040* was that the selected programs in the IDP were not directly related to the outcomes or outputs of the GDS. There was no direct relationship between the choices of selected programs and the strategic intention of the city strategy. Therefore, the institution could not establish a clear link between the programmes and strategy, especially in the formulation of the IDP. Another key aspect that did not materialise fully was the monitoring and evaluation component of the implementation of the city strategy. Interview participants claimed that this was one of shortcomings of the strategy as it only proposed long-term indicators not easily measurable at the in the short-term (Narsoo; Mushayanyama, personal communication, 2016).

However, implementation of *Joburg 2040* yielded a number of new policy interventions. In order to deal with spatial inequality in the City of Johannesburg, it initiated the Corridors of Freedom policy. As a means to improve and reform service delivery, the institution adopted a coproduction model known as Jozi@work. A ‘smart city’ approach to improving connectivity and streamlining local government processes using technology was derived from *Joburg 2040*. An intervention that was reinvigorated from the *Joburg 2040* outreach process was established as the ‘Community-Based

Planning' initiative. This initiative seeks to ensure that participation at local level informs projects and programmes for the short to medium term. This will be expanded in the next two chapters.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a narrative account of the development of *Joburg 2040*, the contextual dynamics and participatory processes that shaped the strategy as well as the challenges of implementing the strategy since 2011. The next chapter provides an account of how the urban political economy shaped *Joburg 2040* and how remaining policy imprints from previous CDSs lead to the development of this strategy.

6. CHAPTER SIX: HISTORY MATTERS

"Joburg, or Jozi, Igoli, or whatever other nickname seems to fit at the moment – is a contradictory place where the genuine ideas for racial harmony and equality have come face to face with the enduring legacies of racial antagonism and distrust." (Martin Murray, City of Extremes, 2011)

6.1 Introduction

Urban policy-making in the City of Johannesburg is a continuous interaction between intellectual processes and institutional responses (Murray, 2011; Harrison et al, 2014). As indicated in chapters three and five, CDS processes stemmed from a number of technical and intellectual processes that allowed the City to derive a forward-looking agenda in order for the City to place its values, goals, objectives and principles to solve urban problems (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). The participatory process undertaken during the drafting of *Joburg 2040* attempted to consolidate the gains of developmental local government by broadening the reach of urban policy making.

This chapter analyses findings from the data presented in the previous chapter. It focuses on the context of the City of Johannesburg and analyses the reasons for the central position that Johannesburg plays in the country and how this has evolved over time. It analyses reasons for the development of *Joburg 2040* in the context of different city strategies, and the institutions' ability to manage change. Based on evidence, this chapter articulates the factors that prompted the development of *Joburg 2040* in terms of its rationale and the causalities that led to *Joburg 2040*.

6.1.1 Understanding the urban political economy of the City

As stated in the previous chapter, the urban political economy is important to understand, because political and economic influences shape the city and to an extent the City Development Strategy. One of the important aspects of understanding the political economy in the City of Johannesburg is about how the city is or is not able to shape social life. A traditional, and often neoliberal approach to understanding the urban political economy often alludes to the nature of cities as centres of growth, production and wealth creation (Florida, 2002; Peck, 2005). In chapter three, literature indicated that the urban political economy has developed as a response to the spatial

competition for resources, restructuring of urban settlements and changes as a result of dramatic shifts in political and economic systems (McCann and Ward, 2011).

The assemblage of the City in relation to the forces that shape it is better understood in the Johannesburg context. The City of Johannesburg's former City Manager Trevor Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) makes the point that these are not mutually exclusive positions in the city, stating that: "Johannesburg emerged out of an activism that looked at how to create equity out of development. Johannesburg was shaped as a structural expression of industrialisation and the need to advance class interests." The important point from this claim is that that the integration of "urban" with the "political economy" emphasises the relationship between economic structures and social power in a city that is an amalgamation of cosmopolitan demographics and a centre of economic growth. The urban political economy in Johannesburg is a lens to understand the nature of the rise, decline and rise of South Africa's most prominent city (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004).

6.1.2 Structuring and restructuring of governance systems

Murray (2011) and Harrison et al. (2014) argue that the transformation of the city as a result of capitalism, exploitation and activism generated uneven social, economic and spatial outcomes. Former Head of Strategic Planning in CoJ and now Head of the Gauteng Planning Authority, Rashid Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) has a view on the struggle for democratic local government that sees it as one of the critical methods of challenging the apartheid state because of the conditions of the local state prior to democracy. The structuring of the institution in the early days of democracy, according to Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) emphasised the dramatic shifts taking place in local government in the country (Mabin, 2005). This was in a context of uneven development locally, where the demands for democratic local government were critical to challenging apartheid. Similar claims were made by Blake Mosley-Lefatola who heads up the City's Strategy department.

The importance of the City of Johannesburg must be understood in a broader context of 'who governs the city?' The intellectual relevance here is that power relations influence social life. From a Neo-Weberian perspective (defined as account a modern view on the Weberian theory of the state) it suggests that one can look at the problematic of the city institution as a representation of the relationship between historical conjunctures of society, economy and human agency. Former CoJ employee, author of *Joburg 2040* and strategist Stephen Narsoo puts it more simply

by stating that “the structure of Johannesburg is based on hierarchy system of command and control based on decision-making at the top” (personal communication, 21 April 2016).

In Johannesburg, the need to deal with the legacies created by colonialism and apartheid has long dominated the developmental discourse (Todes et al, 2010; Turok, 2015). As confirmed by Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) and Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016), governing the City of Johannesburg was a test of the incoming ANC administration’s ability to display their democratic credentials. The task of structuring and restructuring the institution during the formative years was problematic. The financial crisis of 1997 was an early indication of the City’s inability to balance urban development with institutional transformation. In many respects the interim structures during the late 1990s were governance structures and not entirely service delivery oriented. This contributed to the financial crisis at the time. The attempt to break down planning and policies that linked geographic areas formerly zoned by race with a particular resource base and suburb, in order to redistribute revenue, was a huge governance challenge. The institution could not respond in a manner that catalysed a developmental approach (Mr Trevor Fowler, personal communication, 12 May 2016). However, the attempts to foster a developmental approach in Johannesburg proved fruitful as the initial structuring (between 1995 and 1999) and restructuring (2000) of local government in the City of Johannesburg paved the way for the broader conceptualisation of developmental local government (CoJ, 2005; Lipietz, 2008).

The relationship between economic stabilisation and political governance during the period of developing the *iGoli 2002* model in 1999 was premised on the notion that combining political and economic governance structures would restore the institution. The key was that Johannesburg's importance in the national context has been both political and economic (Beall et al., 2002). The *iGoli 2002* model, relevant to this point, emphasised the need for structural transformation of the city. The creation of regionalised governance and service delivery entities served two important functions. The first was that it allowed for a simplistic streamlined method of delivering services through a corporatized entity. The second is that it was able to generate revenue to ensure the economic viability of the institution (CoJ, 1999).

6.1.3 Changing dynamics in the city

The concept of urban transformation provides insight in terms of the changing dynamics within the city. In the Johannesburg context, its history and evolution bears testament to its mining past (Beavon, 2005; Murray, 2011). The key dynamic that this triggered was extreme exploitation that was followed by organised resistance. The issue of resistance has been a part of the city's history (Murray, 2011). The stages of development leading to the making and shaping of *Joburg 2040* are critical. These different stages of development broadened the scope and allowed the City of Johannesburg to embrace a number of ideas that have contextualised an agenda of urban and institutional transformation. This is detailed below.

Embracing change has been one of the perennial features of the ongoing planning of post-apartheid Johannesburg. For example, during the first decade of democracy Johannesburg's population growth rate averaged approximately 4% per annum (UN, 2014). In the context of high urban growth and increasing levels of urbanisation, the need to ensure that governance can adapt to complex change did feature in the City of Johannesburg. The emergent view was that Johannesburg needed to adapt to systematically understanding its developmental challenges and the complexity of the democratic urban governance (Seedat, personal communication, 19 May 2016). The early years of restructuring governance systems in the City of Johannesburg was a narrow articulation of short-term responses to the most immediate challenges such as delivering basic services and cross-subsidisation to support redress (Seedat, personal communication, 19 May 2016).

Furthermore, the rise of globalisation in technical and organisational innovations pushed the institutional bureaucracy to rethink its place as a global city. Sassen's (2004) theory on the global city bears relevance to this discussion. Amidst the context of capital mobility, the demand for infrastructure and services, economic polarisation and social inequality became prominent features of Johannesburg's global city status. Not surprisingly, globalisation has been a key stimulant of urban change in the City of Johannesburg. This confirms Murray's (2011) view that the consequences of globalisation on the city are multiple and contradictory. The urban landscape of post-apartheid Johannesburg bears the scars of the "twin processes of fragmentation and polarization" where "extremes of ostentatious wealth and destitution" provide a revealing insight into the dramatic re-emphasis of a new production of Johannesburg's space economy (Murray, 2011, pg. 20).

As Narsoo (personal communication, 21 April 2016) states, cities like Johannesburg that emerged after colonial periods were forced to “reinvent” themselves. This meant that the city was forced to grapple with a number of developmental challenges and changes – where post-apartheid Johannesburg became increasingly divided, where exclusive and private enclaves were located further away from informal settlements and where coalitions of private interests commanded a new imperative over the physical layout of the city (Harrison, et al, 2014). One of the key aspects of the municipality was to understand how to manage complex urban changes in uncertain environments. The first incarnation of this approach was to consider institutional transformation. The urgency to adopt a unicity model was underpinned by the need to ensure the city was able to manage change in an effective and efficient manner. Even though the unicity model was embedded as the institutional structure, the struggle to deal with change needed to be more distinguished. Despite the institutionalisation of democratic local government, deficiencies at the local sphere have been subject to the changes shaped by political and economic forces in the City.

6.1.4 The urban paradox

The ‘urban paradox’ is a critique of the general theory of sustainability. It is based on the view that as cities embrace more attempts to become sustainable in the long run, their practices tend to rationalise unsustainable development. The concept of urban paradox emerges strongly from the evidence. This is based on a discourse that Johannesburg remains central to the country’s and continents’ growth despite having to deal with challenges of reshaping the city in the context of marginalisation and resistance (Turok and Todes, 2011). The racial and spatial segregation that characterises the city today, along with widening differences between the wealthy and the poor, places the city in an untenable position as it struggles to maintain its status as a sustainable global city. The paradox is that the City remains juxtaposed between striving to become ‘world-class’ and ‘integrated’ amid the geography and demography of separation and fragmentation (Sihlongonyane, 2016).

It can be argued that historical dictates and prescriptions to segregate and forcefully remove citizens according to race are the underpinnings of economic segregation and urban poverty in the city today (Murray, 2011). Therefore, as Seedat recalls, (in the 1980’s) challenging the state at a local level meant that it was essentially about challenging the entire apartheid state (personal communication, 19 May 2016). Local government was one of the apparatuses of the apartheid state that was being

challenged. At the dawn of democracy then, it was necessary to ensure greater integration and consolidation of the City.

Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) provides a nuanced argument to explain this urban paradox in the political economy of Johannesburg. He laments the need to develop at a rapid pace to redress past imbalances ought to have set the tone for incremental development did not take place as expected. He further provides three reasons why such a paradox existed:

> During the early years, one of the main reasons for the dysfunction of local government was the lack of understanding of governance, the second was a lack of understanding of the resource base and how resources needed to be deployed and thirdly there was a lack of understanding of the physical capability of development - even if you have the resources - what is physically capable of being delivered?

The consequence of apartheid spatial planning through racial segregation created a series of separated, homogenous spaces that were racially divided. This creation of a homogenous social and geographic context, enforced through legislation was meant to cater for a differentiated urban space (Mabin, 2005; Harrison et al. 2014). Williams (2004) also argues that given the backdrop of exclusion, the concept of transformation sought to provide a dimension that intended to become a compensatory and redistribution measure to structurally replace the socio-spatial effects of apartheid. As such most of government's policy frameworks, programmes and interventions highlighted the need to address the historical antecedents of these unequal socio-spatial disparities.

The need to create a non-racial, democratic and non-discriminatory environment has been the vision of all post-apartheid governments (RSA, 1996). As described in Chapter 3, the need to reconfigure South Africa's cities and towns to become more heterogeneous is characterised though the number of national urban policies and perspectives that sought to re-orientate South Africa's urban environment to remove previous racial and segregatory practices. However, as Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) and Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) note, the ambiguity of delivering services and dealing with transformation at the same time during the early period of transition, was problematic. At the time, both interviewees allude to governments' lack of understanding of providing socio-economic support to give expression to the objectives of transforming South Africa's

socio-spatial past. This confirms Pieterse's (2006) observation that the transformative potential of the instruments used during the initial periods of transformation perpetuated the apartheid city because the intertwined problems remained intractable, as radical democratic politics were not able to flourish and create a sense of what Swilling (1991) called "a people friendly living environment."

6.2 Shifting from past dependence to path dependence

The previous section analysed the interactions between the political and economic dynamics that have shaped the City of Johannesburg and led to the formative expressions of its long-term vision. This section analyses the concept of path dependency and the relationship to a strategic plan in an organisation that is constantly evolving. The concept of path dependence has both social science and economic roots (Melosi, 2005). It is used as an important lens to view and analyse which past decisions have influenced the developmental trajectory of city.

The importance of this section is that tries to evaluate and analyse how historical matters such as the institutional restructuring, governance and policy-making processes imprinted on the current *Joburg 2040*.

6.2.1 Intersections of policy and strategy

The literature review defined public policy as the articulation of an outcome that is generated through governmental processes, systems and mechanisms to allocate resources in order to realise societal goals. Urban policy is much more difficult to define (Pillay, 2008). The importance here is that policy is dependent on the urban context, as discussed above; and the forces that shape the 'urban' are complex. Cloete, De Coning and Wissink's (2006) generic policy model places strategy as part of the management or expression of policy. They theorise that a strategy is a product of the policy process as it intends to provide a course of action to implement the details that policies envisage. This generic model assumes that strategies are operational plans.

However, this is contested in the Johannesburg experience. Erasmus (personal communication, 11 May 2016) states that:

> "Strategies are about defining your strategic choices that are informed by the context and the analysis of the situational environment. It is about providing a set of choices that are essentially representative of political choices that need to be made."

Erasmus contrasts Cloete, De Coning and Wissink's (2006) argument by defining policies as rigid instruments that are "like a set of bylaws and that are binding and are not as flexible and responsive as a strategy can be." Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) and Tinashe Mushayanyama, the City's Deputy Director of Strategic Information (personal communication, 20 May 2016) agree with this finding, when they state that strategies are like an overarching layer that proposes a new approach that needs to be undertaken. Narsoo (personal communication, 21 April 2016) emphasises that policies should follow strategies as a policy intends to specify particular interventions to stimulate change in order to allow for the implementation of the broader goal that is contained in the strategy.

As evidenced above, Johannesburg's approach to strategy development deviated from the generic policy process model. The term 'strategy' has been used throughout the various iterations of the City's long-term planning exercises. It has deviated from the generic model because of the following reasons that can be traced back to the evolving context in which each CDS was developed: strategy informed operations through the IDP; the strategy-making process was not legislated, it was a broader articulation of the various obligations of the institution; and it emphasised a political agenda. This does not mean that these CDSs are not urban policy in the traditional sense, as each one of the different city strategies encapsulated fragments of an evolving policy terrain that needed to be addressed.

The motivation behind the development of the city strategy was rooted in the discourse of national post-apartheid policies. For example, *iGoli 2002* had to embrace the notion that urban problems needed to be addressed in a systematic and structured manner by ensuring institutional sustainability. Furthermore, the foundation of *Joburg 2030* was built on a mainstream neoliberal view that by addressing the constraints to economic growth, the City would be able to address the deepening socio-economic problems in society. The *Human Development Strategy* on the other hand was a critical response to the economic strategy being inadequate to address pro-poor concerns.

It can be argued that City Development Strategies in Johannesburg have attempted to provide the semblance and a narrative for locating broad national urban policies through a logical method of implementation, which is what strategies traditionally defined, are meant to do. The key point is that a reading of various CDSs in the City of Johannesburg over time provided an appreciation of the changing context in order to shape and motivate policy directives.

6.2.2 Managing change in the City

The emphasis of the democratic period has been the emergence of a participatory system that is deployed to ensure that there is a culture of transparency, accountability and inclusivity. To illustrate this point, City Development Strategies have been mooted as a tool that embraces this change and provides prominence to deal with urban change (Cities Alliance, 2005). Approaches to embrace urban change have been captured throughout all of Johannesburg's city strategies. The need to ensure participation formed part of the iGoli 2010 strategy-making process is cited as an example (in Lipietz, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006) as the first attempt to bring together different voices in the city to ensure that multi-dimensional views are taken into account.

Central to managing change in Johannesburg has been the notion of urban transformation that was needed at the institutional level as well as broader urban geography (Murray, 2011). The importance of restructuring processes from the mid-1990s up to the present day has been an effort to ensure that the city has maintained its momentum in accommodating change. According to Erasmus (personal communication, 11 May 2016), prior to democracy, local government was structured to ensure that institutional management was limited to a departmental focus only. Evidence of this, for example, in the form of the Land Use and Transportation Structure Plans (LUTSPLANS), were developmental plans focusing on the spatial structure of the city only. There were no non-spatial plans undertaken by the city. These LUTSPLANS were only approved at departmental level and there was no co-ordinated approach to planning. There was very little inter-governmental or integrated planning. The democratic period meant that the City had to deal with a wide spectrum of changes and respond at a political level, and in an integrated manner.

As such, the City of Johannesburg used a research-based, intelligence gathering approach to understand change in the city. This is confirmed by Erasmus, Seedat, Fowler, Mushayanyama and Narsoo (personal communication, 2016) as each indicated the role that research has played in deconstructing national urban policy, understanding changes in local environment and the need to ensure that there is political coherence in decision-making. The process of urban transformation and dealing with change meant that a fundamentally different approach was needed and the City needed to be reconstituted to ensure that services could be rendered in an equitable manner (Williams, 2000). Even though the *iGoli 2002* plan provided the basis

for institutional transformation, the need to think about the future of the City and adapt to changes was an imperative recognised by the administration early on.

6.2.3 Remaining policy imprints

As city strategies have evolved, the path dependence of previous city strategies indicates that the broad agendas of pro-poor and pro-growth remain the defining policy imprints. There are a number of reasons why these policy agendas still remain in the *Joburg 2040* strategy. In order to understand the reasons behind the development of the city strategy, it is important to focus on the context of policy change. The literature review provides seven reasons why policy change is necessary.

For the purposes of this chapter, the two reasons that will be analysed are changes in the resource base and changes in policy solutions or service delivery strategies. In terms of changes in the resource base, the purpose of a CDS is to draw upon various discourses in order to articulate a developmental agenda for city that allows it to navigate a pathway to maximise use of its resources. Many cities and City Development Strategies for example, New York's PlanYC, Chicago's GoTo 2040 and Melbourne 2030 have adopted a sustainability agenda based on a conceptual foundation that defines sustainability as development that lasts, without compromising future demands, in order to shape the strategic choices that they promote (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) reaffirms this position by stating that the Tau administration needed to adopt a sustainability approach to understand the nature of the resource base in the city and allow for smarter strategic choices to be made. *Joburg 2040* is the first document that attempted to channel an understanding of the limitations of the city's resource base and provide a new, revised approach to reconsider sustainable solutions for the long-term (CoJ, 2011a).

This can be better explained by looking back at the 2006 GDS. It was the first city strategy that took into account the need for an environmental and conservation focus. It attempted to project concerns about the lack of a mitigation approach dealing with climate change (CoJ, 2006). *Joburg 2040* recognised this and that the tension between economic development and environmental protection had to be balanced in order understand the limitations of the resource base. Research was undertaken to understand to better Johannesburg's resource base in this regard. As such, *Joburg 2040* emphasised the concept of 'resilience' as a key thrust that sought to balance competing agendas, as stated above. The point here is that particular concepts and

new theories emerged as the city strategy evolved. To provide practical manifestations of this, *Joburg 2040* projected a shrinking resource base for the city in the future and the institution was tasked with developing policies that responded to mitigating the effects of climate change, re-thinking transportation models and the urban space economy, and so on. (CoJ, 2015; Mushayanyama, personal communication, 20 May 2016).

Changes in service delivery methods and approaches also allow for a change in policy and certain imprints remain in *Joburg 2040*. An example can be traced back to the *iGoli 2002* plan. This document emphasised the City's role as the sole service provider for basic services. *iGoli 2002* was written at a time when there was a need to ensure that the democratic government could deliver disparate capital expenditure in much-needed areas (Fowler, personal communication, 12 May 2016). The *Joburg 2040* strategy recognised that the institution needed to look at alternative solutions for service delivery as a result of economic and resource constraints. Through research, it was established that the City needed to consider a coproduction approach to delivering services with communities. This later gave rise to the Jozi@work programme. The impact of this meant that as the policies of government reflected a need for change, the City Development Strategy intended to provide a commitment to that change. Many of the remaining policy imprints that are captured in *Joburg 2040* are found in its development paradigm (CoJ, 2011a). This development paradigm is an enunciation of the tensions between the different policy agendas that have evolved over time.

6.2.4 Externalities, trends and patterns of developing CDSs in the City of Joburg

Urban policy-making in the City of Johannesburg has attempted to straddle national urban priorities and local policy emphases. In order to understand these synergies, it is important to understand the trajectory in light of the various influences incorporated in different CDSs. Both Erasmus and Seedat (personal communication, 2016) point out that spatial and development planning were the common practices before democracy. Strategic planning followed thereafter as a means to focus on a longer-term view of both spatial in non-spatial dynamics in the city. Some of the key economic and political reasons why the City of Johannesburg adopted strategic planning are highlighted above.

A comparative analysis of the various CDSs developed by the City of Johannesburg indicate that both positive and negative externalities, as well as regulatory decisions, advanced the CDS process. However, the influence of experts and academics was more dominant in articulating the City's vision. Narsoo and Mushayanyama (personal communication, 2016) emphasise the initial drafting of *Joburg 2040* as a closed process driven by internal experts employed by or contracted to the City. Erasmus (personal communication, 12 May 2016) also adds that the City's internal staff, advised by technical experts, undertook all other city strategies.

Parnell and Robinson's study highlights the concern that Johannesburg's CDS processes (up until the 2006 period) "illuminate the role of the World Bank's neoliberal approach to economic policy and financial governance" (2006, pg. 340). Lipietz (2008) offers a similar critique of the *Joburg 2030* strategy. Bond's (2000) critique of neo-liberal national urban policy is that it is "embarrassingly similar" to that of the apartheid era. Seedat (personal communication, 19 May 2016) believes that the City developed the *Human Development Strategy* in 2005, following this 'neoliberal critique'.

The Cities Alliance (2005) Guide *to Developing City Development Strategies* proposes a technical process and sets the parameters for successful CDS formulation. Its generic process is as follows: firstly, the process is initiated and the role of strategy is defined; thereafter an initial assessment is made in terms of the situational context based on data analysis; a visioning process follows; and key strategic thrusts are developed. An awareness building process precedes the implementation of a CDS. This generic process is proposed as a guideline to cities that intend developing a CDS without precedent. It offers itself as a process that should accompany other long-term and operational planning processes in cities. The City's experience differs from the Cities Alliance methodology. As Erasmus (personal communication, 12 May 2016) states, the City of Johannesburg's experience in developing its CDS was formed by appreciating both the positive and negative externalities facing the institution. It was developed on the basis of relating the institutional transformation to the technical process of developing the various CDSs.

Drafting *Joburg 2040* was not unproblematic. Seedat claims that this process was problematic as there was an over-analysis of the external environment which detracted from the substantive focus of the city strategy (personal communication, 19 May 2016). Despite this claim, the initial parameters and substantive focus of *Joburg 2040* were established through two important processes. The first process was a recognition that

the context in which the City operated changed significantly and that there was a need to reflect on these changing dynamics[9]. The second process was an appraisal of the implementation of the 2006 GDS and identification of the weaknesses and shortcomings of that strategy[10].

The significance of this process of developing *Joburg 2040* was that considerable effort was made in order to understand the trends and dynamics that were shaping the city. However, as a result of shortcomings in the technical process of developing *Joburg 2040*, the GDS outreach process only added credibility by developing a document through consultation.

6.3 Conclusion

This analysis demonstrated that 'history matters' because past decisions have influenced future behaviours. The unfolding awareness that Johannesburg needed to transform its local government system was influenced by changes occurring at the global, national and local levels. The emphasis on thinking about the future and managing dynamic tensions prevalent in the urban system was the primary motivation for Johannesburg's approach to developing long-term strategies. This analysis indicates that the relationship between the institutional processes and the development of CDSs have been connected through political and coordinated powers that were synchronised with existing policy and planning frameworks.

This chapter provided an insight into the urban paradox that confronts the City of Johannesburg. The need to alleviate poverty, reduce economic and spatial inequalities and improve quality of life is a legacy of the City's past. However, this is compounded by the need to ensure that sustainable practices even out the imperfections that remain engraved in the city's fabric. Therefore, the need to embed long-term thinking in the institution meant that a consolidation of differentiated planning processes needed to be replaced by the concepts of integration and strategic planning.

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[9] As per the interview with Erasmus and Narsoo (2016) the changing context refers to the financial crisis of 2008, the hosting of FIFA World Cup 2010, technological changes, political changes and global events such as the Arab Spring

[10] The reflection of performance is captured in the Executive Mayor's End of Term Report entitled *Sharing the Legacy* (2011).

Ongoing and radical transformation to reshape the local government system during the late 1990s prompted the City to redefine its developmental agenda. However, the friction between political processes and strategic planning highlights the speed and intensity of the different CDSs that the City of Joburg has produced over the past seventeen years. This chapter concludes that *Joburg 2040* is an amalgamation of the past process while infusing technocratic policy with some democracy-enhancing elements. The next chapter focuses on how engagement was able to generate a participatory climate to enable the City to recast its future developmental agenda.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: JOHANNESBURG - A CONTESTED SPACE FOR PARTICIPATION

7.1 Introduction

The literature review outlined the intellectual origins of participation and how it has been used in the South African context in terms of policy-making, integrated planning and City Development Strategies. Furthermore, the negotiations for a democratic Johannesburg in the post-apartheid period took place in the context of a dynamic and evolving urban political economy, weak overarching metropolitan structures of local government and the transitional arrangements that led to the unicity. The city of Johannesburg, as analysed in the previous chapter provides a difficult setting for participation to take place.

Despite the attempt to coproduce a CDS with citizens, this chapter argues that participation during the GDS outreach and subsequent processes have been undertaken as a political tool to gain legitimacy for decisions taken by the City. The remainder of the chapter argues that the implementation of *Joburg 2040*, its relationship to the IDP processes as well as some of the new participatory approaches introduced by the City of Johannesburg since 2011 represents a politically determined vision rather than a citizen focused one.

7.2 Can participation be successful in Johannesburg?

Johannesburg remains one of the most unequal cities in the world with a GINI coefficient of 0.65 (Global Insight, 2015). Emerging from a weakened and divided local government under apartheid, the rebirth of local government heralded new powers and functions that were not significantly different from those of apartheid (Mabin, 2002; Harrison et al, 2014; Harrison, 2015). Many of the functions of local government such as the provision of services, urban planning, transportation, social and economic development continued into the democratic period.

The financial crisis of 1997 that set in motion the need to rethink the institution, was an important milestone that set the tone for developing a long-term vision. The City of Johannesburg's evolving use of CDSs, discussed in the previous chapter, were framed by competing socio-political interests over time, characterised by an evolving institutional form. As Parnell and Robinson note, City Development Strategies "were

the result of a wide range of discursive inputs, electoral considerations, power relations within bureaucracies and wider political concerns" (2006, pg. 344), it is important to analyse the context in which the participatory approach emerges and what its role is in determining the development outcomes of the City.

As participation is contextual (De Coning, Wissink and Cloete, 2006), Johannesburg remains a city divided by persistent racialised identities, characterised by low levels of trust between different race groups and communities (GCRO QoL Surveys i-iv, 2009-2015). The previous chapter noted that efforts to represent the poor, marginalised and working class were undertaken through CDS processes that were not inclusive. Bremner, 2004 in Harrison (2015) critiqued the *Joburg 2030* strategy as an aspirational document that attempted to create a world-class city attractive to private investment in order to provide indirect benefits to the poor. As such, much of the earlier strategic focus of the City of Johannesburg indicated an apparent dissonance between a strategy that aspired to create a world-class urban environment on the basis that the interests of the urban poor would be "proactively absorbed" (Erasmus, 2016, personal communication quoting the 2006 GDS, CoJ, 2006, pg. 14). The issue of relationships between the City and its stakeholders remains a challenge.

Joburg 2040 attempted to address this challenge and provide direct attention to the needs of people, as well as to balance the requirements for development and growth in the city by correcting previous CDS approaches through the *Joburg 2040* outreach process. Interview participants noted that the Tau administration was stimulated by the GDS outreach process to become more innovative in the approaches to policy and strategy making through citizen engagement processes. However, as Harrison (2015) notes, the challenges that faced the administration in implementing the strategy were affected by the broader setting in which the City operated. This is also evidenced by the decline in customer satisfaction from the City's own Customer Satisfaction Survey which has seen the institution drop to its lowest position over the last decade (CoJ, 2015).

Reasons for this decline indicate that the trends of poor economic performance nationally, rising unemployment, perceptions of rising corruption and crime and the inability to distinguish between the three spheres of government have been cited (CoJ, 2015). The question of whether these conditions allow for successful participation is further compounded by Harrison's (2015) view that decline of confidence in state institutions and government leadership in the country has exacerbated this

inauspicious environment.

7.3 Polemics of power, politics and participation

The question of whose interests the public participation process serves is important. The literature review indicated that in the context of transforming South Africa's cities and towns, the need to ensure that representation from all levels of society was necessary to foster and sustain democratic practices (Boraine, et al, 2006; Pieterse, 2008). This raises other key questions. Whose interests does a City Development Strategy serve? Is it the City or the community at large?

The intention of the GDS outreach process was to reconceptualise participation to ensure that the citizen's expectations were matched with a responsive government able to address those expectations. As Everatt et al. (2010) critiqued participatory processes during IDPs as a method that empowered the bureaucracy more than the citizens, Pieterse (2002) questioned how participating instruments forge a naivety that camouflages the reality of urban politics. If participatory processes are about empowering communities to deliberately co-create their space, then it is important that the onus of the state to be able to accommodate such complexity amid contested political dynamics is created.

In order to understand whose interests the GDS outreach process served, it is important to analyse the spaces that were created for public consultation. According to Narsoo (personal communication, 21 April 2016), the nine-week process of participation sought to "capture the imagination of all who lived in the city." Over and above the weekly thematic sessions, sector specific sessions were held with interest groups in the city such as people with disabilities, organised women's groups, the corporate sector and academia. Despite the number of events organised by the City of Johannesburg, the concept of 'invited' spaces apply here. Winkler (2011, pg. 260) describes this as "spaces (that) are often regarded by state actors as their domain into which citizens are invited to participate in various stages of the policy-making process." The GDS outreach process is an example of participation through invited spaces. By its very nature, these invited spaces can be classified as spaces of selected inclusion - and thus exclusion - not necessarily conducive to a coproduction approach.

In order to demonstrate this, it is important to compare *Joburg 2040* with previous city strategy development processes. The only other visioning exercise in the City of

Johannesburg that incorporated a participatory approach was iGoli 2010. This was halted prematurely due to the local government elections, as described in previous chapters. The significance of this point is that neither of the other City Development Strategies incorporated a participatory approach of the scale and magnitude of *Joburg 2040*. Participatory approaches were relegated to the strategy being developed in 'closed spaces.' One of the intentions of the *Joburg 2040* outreach process was to broaden the potential and power of City administrators and officials to foster a pragmatic approach to participation (Erasmus, personal communication, 2016). One of the features of this participatory process is that it was not guided by any legislative requirement and it intended to be more than an administrative tool as implied by Mayor Tau's (2011) speech at the launch of the GDS.

What is clear from this process is that the GDS outreach process intended to do a number of things that were fulfilled. It was able to legitimise the policy-making process by going beyond legislative requirements and as a result, the policy directives that were to become *Joburg 2040* were supported politically. The participatory approach undertaken attempted to serve the interests of the people, not just the institution in general or a select few – but this was not the case. In order to not bypass any of the components required for successful participation, this process extended for over two months despite Barker's claims (personal communication, Johannesburg, 19 May 2016) that the process was "time consuming" and "rushed," it took place without being a proliferation of political rhetoric or technical compliance.

7.4 Revisiting the concept of outreach

The City of Johannesburg used the term 'outreach' to define its participatory programme for developing the *Joburg 2040* strategy. Outreach is defined as "An organization's involvement with or influence in the community, especially in the context of religion or social welfare" (www.oxforddictionaries.com) or as "the activity or process of bringing information or services to people" (www.merriam-webster.com). The question then, is, to what extent was the *Joburg 2040* participatory process important as a means to influence the urban development agenda. By implication, outreach suggests that it is a process and a set of actions that are the responsibility of the state as a 'planner' or 'informer' of development initiatives.

Everatt et al. (2010) in their study question the importance of public participation in the IDP process in Gauteng province and provide a critique of the impact of participation

as an exhibition of undertaking development through consultative policy-making. Many interview participants highlighted similar claims, but stressed the importance of the outreach process' intention to widen the focus of discussions by shifting it away from short-term operational issues to include long-term strategic objectives such as poverty reduction, inequality, climate change and governance matters. Officials from the City of Johannesburg also claim that the objective of the *Joburg 2040* outreach process was to move away from traditional 'wish list' approaches. Paradoxically though, the *Joburg 2040* document provides a *list* of 72 high-level strategic issues that emerged from various thematic sessions during the outreach process (CoJ, 2011 pgs. 107-108). It is stated in this document that the process to extract strategic issues ranged across analyses of thematic sessions, social media feedback, and traditional media responses and a complementary approach of using 'suggestion boxes' at local offices. However, the apparatus for undertaking participation during the GDS outreach process requires further investigation.

Moreover, an analysis of data from social media responses confirms that younger people were able to participate in this process. Almost 60% of all respondents were between age categories of 18 and 34 years of age. However, this does indicate that participation through social media was limited to those who had access to those platforms. Another claim made by City of Johannesburg officials interviewed was that this was the first time social media was used as a means of engagement. Despite this attempt, Erasmus (personal communication, 12 May 2016) argues that social media became a new platform for people expressing the discontent with City services. Officials from the City of Johannesburg also state that social media opened up an alternative dialogue channel. Through social media many unrelated processes were also brought to the fore.

The attempt to coproduce the CDS by adopting more modern solutions was a feature of the GDS outreach process. Considering Ostrom's (1996) basic premise that citizens can act as co-producers, where their relationship to public service providers' are akin to becoming co-planners and co-delivery agents, working alongside regular service providers, technology was used to broaden the reach of the policy-making process using social media as an enabler of coproduction. Experimenting with social media and receiving citizen's aspirations and concerns through technology was important. For City officials, it did bring out the realisation that there are different ways of communicating with residents.

The impact of participation through technological approaches requires greater investigation as the findings from the focus groups and IDP participant sessions indicated varied results. Whether or not the use of technology to develop the city strategy and leverage relationships with key influencers really worked, still needs to be measured. Andrew Barker, a developer who has participated in CoJ processes for over two decades (personal communication, 20 May 2016) claims that genuine relationship building is required to make participatory processes successful. The question of whether or not social media and technology can build successful relationships cannot be determined without a quantitative study and may be an opportunity for further academic enquiry.

7.5 Low participation, low influence and anomie

One of the political desires of the *Joburg 2040* strategy formulation process was that the City strategy becomes more accessible to all stakeholders affected by it (Tau, 2011). The *Joburg 2040* outreach process intended to accelerate awareness and knowledge of the city strategy through the public participation processes. However, evidence from the focus groups has suggested that awareness of *Joburg 2040* is low, whilst there is better awareness of the IDP document and associated processes. The most common finding from the focus groups was that the CoJ should rather focus on issues currently affecting the community instead of long-term strategies. Furthermore, evidence from the GCRO 2013 Quality of Life Survey Democratic Participation Index confirms that participation is low in the City of Johannesburg. Almost two thirds of respondents indicated low participation.

There are a number of suppositions that can be proposed from these findings. A common point raised in the youth focus group was that the City of Johannesburg constantly engages with the community through the IDP process, but does not provide feedback or allow communities to evaluate the outcomes of promises made during these participatory processes. This means that participatory processes do not build in reflexive approaches to capture the learnings and outcomes in order to enrich the strategic planning process. As these participants claimed, there is a gulf between what happens in practice and what the City promises through the rhetoric of participatory processes.

Another reason why there is a lack of awareness of the city strategy is because the *Joburg 2040* outreach process was a once off event. A dynamic or ongoing

participatory process not followed up. A lack of awareness means that the process to develop *Joburg 2040* was not people driven. Low levels of awareness also mean that the ability of communities to influence development will be equally low (Arnstein, 1969). This is heightened further in an unequal society. In support of this claim, the GCRO QoL (2013) survey findings report that over 50% of respondents felt that 'people like me cannot influence developments in my community.' The perceived lack of ability of people to influence change in their communities can lead to increased anomie. The breakdown of social relations resulting in anomie was also evident in the youth focus group, where participants cited a lack of interest, also characterised by levels of frustration expressed alongside a distrust in the political process. This study does not look at the underlying causes of anomie and its correlation with the participatory process; however, there are indications that the gap between expectations and the means provided by the state, can lead to increased anomie.

One of the main findings that emerged from the focus group sessions was the politicisation of participatory processes. As a participant from the youth focus group stated: "We withdraw our collective voice from these processes because the outcomes are always politically determined. We can remove politicians from the process, but the politics still remain!" Despite the literature extolling the values of participatory processes as a stimulant to create inclusiveness, consensus building and power-sharing and evidence from practice suggests that this is far from mainstream practice. What emerges is an obscuring of the local political process that uncritically becomes a mainstream process, where the state is able to coordinate its efforts to quantify political capital.

7.6 The disjuncture between *Joburg 2040* and the IDP

Chapter two argued that CDSs have been used by cities to inform long-term strategic planning, but are by no means are they the only tool for long-term planning and thinking in cities (Robinson, 2011; Rasoolimanesh et al, 2011). IDPs by their nature have been proposed as a tool that allows municipalities to develop appropriate and long-lasting solutions with the use of local expertise (Harrison, 2006). The legislated intention of the IDP process is that it would facilitate debate and negotiation between local government and its stakeholders through an institutionalised process of public participation (Mabin, 2005). The need for a long-term vision and mission is critical to facilitating debates, negotiations and decision-making in cities. In theory, this means

that there should be consistency between a long-term strategic vision and a five-year IDP.

As Colebatch (2002) indicated, the relationship between communities and political processes during participatory processes does not always produce the desired results, but its recognition in policy processes is a positive attribute. The GDS outreach process influenced the bureaucratic direction of the institution by articulating the limits of strategy making, i.e. recognising the relationship between short-term and long-term issues and the inputs of residents. It implied that as citizens and communities expressed their hopes and aspirations for the city, the institutional interplay amongst the different elements of the City's delivery agenda would not be compromised. The key point here is that the GDS outreach process recognised that envisioning the city of tomorrow is not static, despite the fact that participation did not occur on a level "playing field" (Colebatch, 2002, pg.36) in Johannesburg. However, a disjuncture between the IDP and GDS is apparent.

There are three reasons for a disjuncture between long-term and short-term planning. The first is a failure of the technical process of drafting these plans (Todes, 2014). The second is a lack of focus in terms of trade-offs that need to be made between short-term and long-term interventions. The third is as a result of the complexity of implementing IDPs (Harrison, 2002, Everatt et al, 2010). The Johannesburg experience is symptomatic of all three of the above-mentioned reasons.

Joburg 2040 was conceptualised on the basis that a strategy already existed. The need to review the City strategy meant that the IDP also needed to recast and be aligned to a new strategy. The interview with Seedat (19 May 2016) revealed that the 2006 period was the first time that Johannesburg was able to synchronise a GDS and IDP. The GDS of 2006 included 62 long-term goals and 181 long-term interventions. The IDP of 2006 had to respond to the 181 long-term interventions. Hence the review of *Joburg 2040* was based on a critical assessment of the 2006 GDS and that it lacked coherence by providing too many strategic directives for the long-term (CoJ, 2011a).

This was problematic as the review of the IDP was a technically driven process independent from the GDS formulation in 2011. According to officials from the City of Johannesburg, the IDP had to be approved by Council before *Joburg 2040* was launched. This had to be done in order to comply with relevant legislation. This meant that the five-year IDP could not be synchronised with *Joburg 2040*. The strategic

process flow in figure 12 below indicates the conventional approach to strategic planning in the City of Johannesburg.

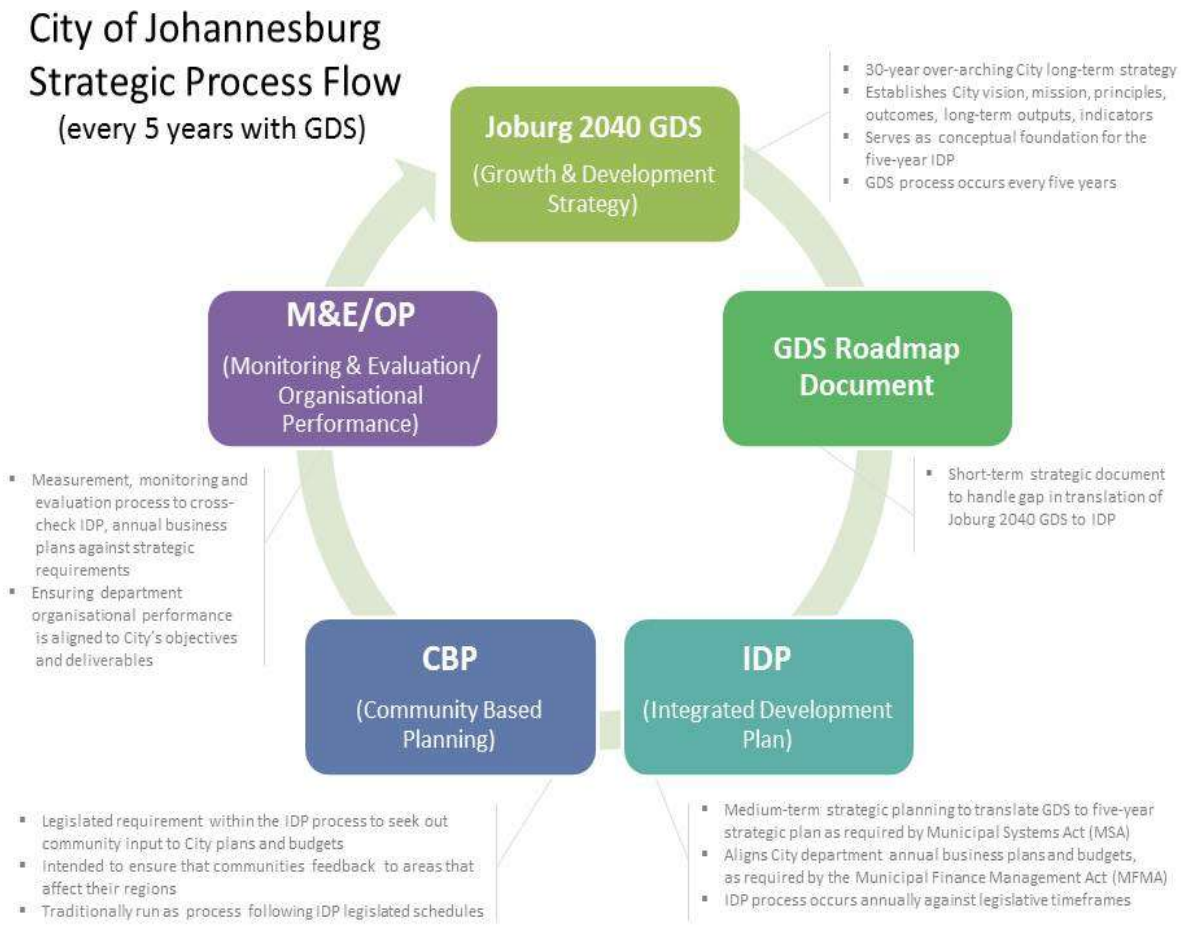

Figure 12: The City of Johannesburg's strategic planning process cycle flow (CoJ, 2013b)

The diagram above posits two unique processes. The first is the development of a 'GDS Roadmap Document' that intends to sequence the city strategy into manageable portions for implementation. The second is a 'community-based planning' approach proposes a shift away from a ward-based planning approach to the one that allocates capital and operational budgets derived from the needs of citizens (CoJ, 2013). However, despite these processes, the disjuncture between the IDP and GDS remain stark. As Mushayanyama (personal communication, Johannesburg, 2016) notes: "The IDP document can be considered to be freestanding. It is completely independent of the GDS, despite making constant references to the strategy."

The GDS Roadmap document came about as a result of the need to translate the strategy into medium term operational plans. The disjuncture as a result of the inability

to make programmatic choices and strategic trade-offs is captured in Erasmus's (personal communication, 2013, cited in CoJ, 2013b) statement that this process was not easy because:

> "We always thought that there should be some unpacking of the outputs as an additional chapter in the GDS… We soon realised that people don't know how to translate strategic directives into actions. So that resulted in what we've called the GDS Roadmap Process."

In a recent interview, Erasmus (personal communication, 11 May 2016) claims that the institution took over two years to understand and embed *Joburg 2040*. He further adds that that the time required to "implement the city strategy took a lot longer internally for it to be comprehended because of these changes."

The misalignment was corrected in the 2012/13 IDP as it was introduced in the GDS Roadmap as an implementation tool. Furthermore, the City adopted a 'cluster' planning approach for the first time as a direct means to integrate the city strategy with the medium-term plans (Fowler, personal communication, 2016, Johannesburg). Cluster planning was introduced to ensure that the city was able to ensure that integrated development takes place. The 'cluster' planning approach to implement *Joburg 2040* through the IDP was fraught with difficulty. According to City of Johannesburg officials interviewed, the cluster planning approach encountered difficulties because the City also developed a list of its 'Top Ten' political priorities for implementation. As a result, and as institutional restructuring occurred simultaneously, a cluster planning process was "imposed," the City also needed to implement its top 10 priorities that constituted the political priorities (Anonymous interview participant, personal communication, 2 June 2016).

The subsequent annual reviews of the IDP indicated a further disjuncture with *Joburg 2040*. New political priorities emerged that had to be mainstreamed through the IDP and its outreach process. As Fowler (personal communication, 12 May 2016) stated:

> Development takes time. Only now, after a few years we are focussing on getting it right. For example, Corridors of Freedom, smart streets, new economic strategies, and the capacity to do things in an integrated manner are now embedded in the institution. What this means is that in the first few years of implementation of the GDS, it took a lot longer to get things going.

The importance of this experience must be seen in the broader context of developmental local government. As the transition to create a new generation of municipalities culminated in a set of policies and legislation that promoted integrated planning (De Visser, 2009), this experience is indicative of the challenges of modernizing governance practices. The institutional configuration to realise the aspirations of *Joburg 2040* impelled decision makers in the institution to re-arrange the organization to respond to modern urban governance practices. However, as the restructuring of the institution took place, new political priorities and demands meant that the medium term IDP process suffered because of the complexity that it needed to respond to. This dissertation contends that it cannot be assumed that communities will benefit from processes of participatory planning, when constraints in governance and administration hamper service delivery.

7.7 Unfulfilled promises?

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa inspired the current system of local government, which has provided a strong footing for a participatory democracy in South African cities (Pieterse, 2005). In the context of developing policy, De Coning, Cloete and Wissink's (2006, pg. 46) model of "policy networks and communities" acknowledges that government alone cannot make decisions and that various stakeholders are central, so that as participants, they have the power to influence results (Arnstein, 1969, Ostrom, 1996). As public participation has become a necessity in policy-making, it is important to understand the connections between the state, people and the level of satisfaction they have with decisions taken by the City.

Colebatch's (2002, pg. 27) concern that people with "little standing in the world of authority can challenge the existing order and participate in the policy process" needs to be examined in the context of effective and efficient participation in the City of Johannesburg. If the strategy- making process is made stronger by the involvement of all stakeholders, then it is necessary to analyse the reasons as to why satisfaction with participation in the City of Johannesburg is low.

Some reasons for dissatisfaction can be drawn from an analysis of the focus group data. The first hinges on the articulation between the politics of participation and its substantive nature. Focus group participants indicated that public participation processes are "too politicised" and that the programs designed and presented are linked to political processes or party politics. The second reason relates to the structure

of participatory platforms. Focus group participants alluded to the capture of the process by ward committees and the affiliated ward committee members' ability to exert control over participatory processes. Participants claim that participatory processes led by the state fail, because communities are only invited after the content has already been drafted, and they are not invited contribute the drafting of the content.

Evidence from all three of the focus groups also indicates that consultative sessions have been dominated by 'unfulfilled promises.' This is also evident from the IDP observation session in Orange Farm on 20 April 2016 when communities raised their dissatisfaction with the process because of similar unfulfilled promises as a result of Council 'informing' communities what will be taking place in the future.

Whilst these reasons may be generalised, Barker (personal communication, 20 May 2016) claims that the GDS outreach process (as well as the 2016 Spatial Development Framework SDF) shifted away from basic information sharing sessions that intended to 'consult' and 'involve' citizens. According to the IAPP (2005, online source) 'consult' refers the process to "obtain feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions." The GDS outreach process was written into the process of developing *Joburg 2040* after the local government elections of 2011. According to former Executive Mayor Parks Tau, at the launch of *Joburg 2040:* "We received new ideas, fresh insights, valuable and constructive criticism prompting the update of the strategy" (Tau, 2011). As a consequence, the GDS outreach process was not meant to be a once-off event that attempted to fulfil the technical requirements of developing the strategy. However, no similar participatory process of this nature took place again.

Initial dissatisfaction, from the focus group sessions, with the City's approach to public participation is because conventional approaches were mainstreamed as being 'information sharing' sessions. The GDS outreach process attempted to broaden the spectrum of participation by widening the period of consultation and by involving a range of stakeholders to contribute to this process. What the GDS outreach process did not do was to ensure that there was 'collaboration' between the City and its citizens by creating partnerships for joint problem solving; nor was there any 'empowerment' by allowing stakeholders to take final decisions.

This dissertation also records the dysfunctional IDP consultation process by highlighting the inadequacy of the IDP as a means to deal with current challenges. This confirms the ANC policy discussion document on *Governance and Legislature*

(ANC, 2012) which affirms that poor communication with communities, lack of transparency, weak and ineffective ward committees have resulted in loss of trust in local government. The analysis in this chapter shows that participatory processes that do not build in reflective processes lead to a gulf between what happens in practice and what the City promises through participatory rhetoric. Consultation processes through traditional IDPs are ineffective, merely placating communities.

7.8 Is *Joburg 2040* an inclusive strategy?

In the literature review it was argued that urban policy exists to ameliorate the concerns between growth and poverty, environmental protection and economic growth and finally, it lays a basis for further attempts to regenerate and renew the city for new cycles of growth and development (Cities Alliance, 2014). The matrix diagram (Figure 13) provides four possible options to understand how *Joburg 2040* is located in terms of the level of complexity versus the degree of public ownership based on the analysis of findings.

Complexity refers to the context in which the city strategy is developed. In this case it refers to the urban political economy and the degree to which physical features contribute to patterns that determine the urban configuration. The political economy of cities focuses on how development is situated within prevailing political and economic processes and shapes different relationships, contestations of power and development interventions in cities (McCloughlin, 2014).

Public ownership refers to the degree to which the city strategy affords stakeholders the opportunity to influence decision-making processes. As Clarke (2013, pg. 10) notes, CDSs are "a platform for the people of democratic participation in debate and a mechanism to customise clear options for the future." A coproduced outcome (in this case the CDS) reflects greater levels of public ownership (Bovaird, 2007).

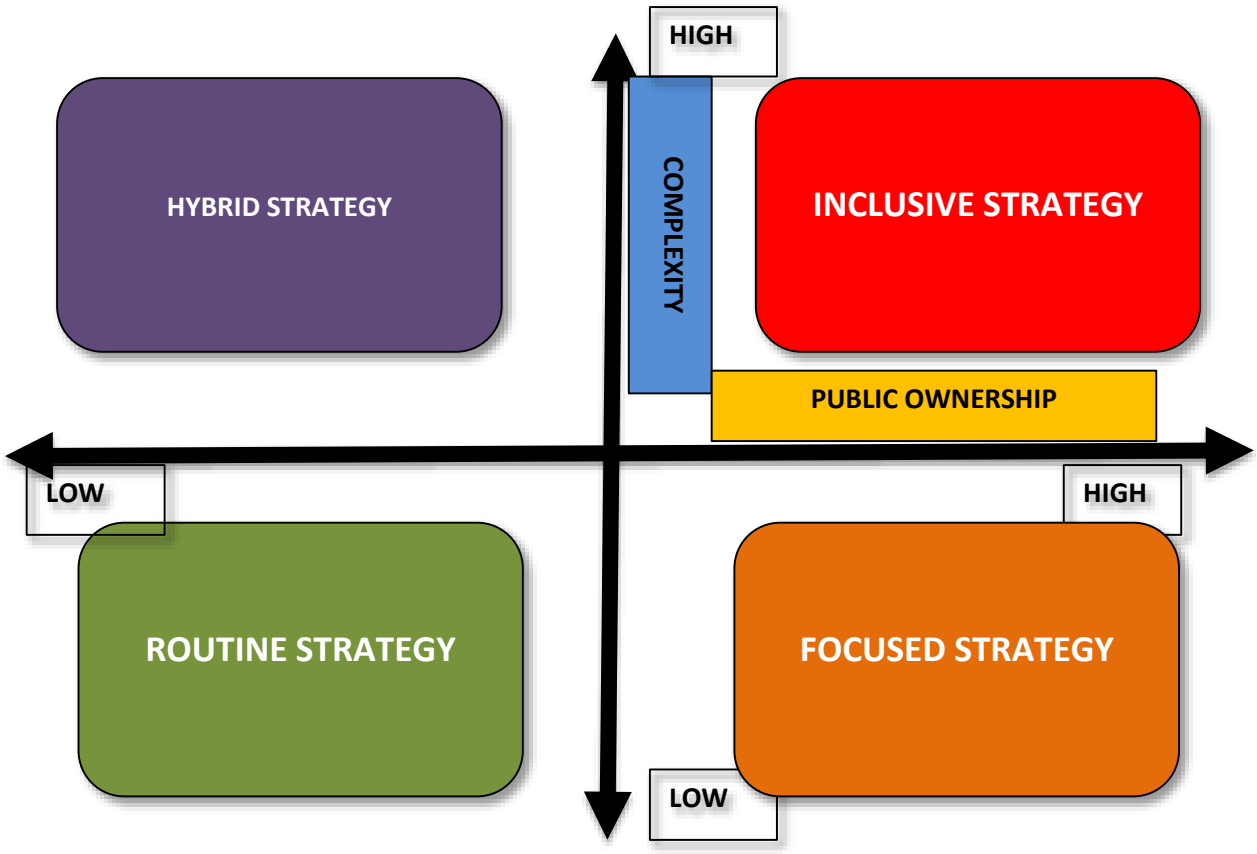

Figure 13: Matrix of city strategy options indicative of the level of public ownership and urban complexity (author's diagram)

Figure 13 indicates that a strategy that encompasses low levels of complexity and has low public ownership is a 'routine' strategy. It is routine because it encompasses simplistic issues usually generated through closed processes devoid of any genuine participatory processes. A 'focused' strategy indicates high levels of public ownership and low levels of complexity. It is focused because it is able to conform to the needs of the public in a less complex environment. A focused strategy would most likely be a short-term strategy focusing on operational issues generated and influenced by participation. By implication, an IDP should be a 'focussed' strategy.

An 'inclusive' strategy occurs in highly complex environments where there is a high degree of public ownership brought about through coproduction and successful influences from public participation processes. An inclusive strategy is likely to be an integrated strategy that is able to influence a collective strategic direction using participatory processes. Based on the matrix above, *Joburg 2040* GDS can be regarded as a 'hybrid'. As much as it intends to "focus and guide" urban development (Erasmus, personal communication, 11 May 2016), the choices made in the CDS rely

heavily on the city-specific conditions that predominate. As analysed above, and despite the merits of the *Joburg 2040* outreach process, the city strategy is not inclusive in a sense that it is able to strategically redirect resources to redress past imbalances by ensuring that people are empowered as part of the decision making process.

Paradoxically*, Joburg 2040* extols the values of it being an inclusive strategy and promises that "By 2040, the City will be recognised as a global leader for its pro-active approach to both collaboration and engagement – and the outcomes that result from the participative processes followed" (CoJ, 2011b, pg.121). Even the IDP (2014, pg.105) details the activities of a Mayoral Priority of creating an "Active and Engaged Citizenry" as an attempt to "foster closer, more effective and efficient working relationships with residents" and is based on a "simple principle and notion that every resident of the City is an important stakeholder and deserves to be heard and engaged with consistently on matters of public governance and service delivery." Moreover, the NDP (2012) also emphasises an inclusive approach and that active citizenry is central to its 'cycle of development' and emphasises the role of municipalities driving participatory processes by deliberative processes that allow for trade-offs to be made with communities.

This dissertation argues that *Joburg 2040* is not an inclusive strategy as it is a hybrid. It is important to refocus on the relationship between strategy and policy. This point is further elaborated as policies provide a specific set of guidelines that communicate what a society values in order to achieve a particular public objective (Laswell, 1950; Dye, 2005; De Coning, Cloete and Wisskink, 2006). Strategy deals with the allocation and deployment of resources to achieve particular goals (Porter, 1996). In many ways there is an overlap between policy and strategy in a way that is designed to sequence a set of actions. *Joburg 2040* is an elaboration of societal values guided by the post-apartheid context of ensuring equity, integration, sustainability and productivity and draws on ideas circulating globally such as the 'smart city' and 'resilience'. This is emphasized by the role that *Joburg 2040* attributes in that it does not prescribe actions to allocate and deploy resources. Rather, *Joburg 2040* claims that it is a:

> Prerequisite for medium-term, strategic, spatially-oriented plans for the infrastructure, housing and transportation sectors. Furthermore, this strategy does not describe institutional powers, functions and operational activities. On the contrary, it provides a set of defined strategic directions that frame the five-year IDP and other medium-term plans. In support of

> long-term delivery, the IDP will contain specific five-year operational activities, targets and financial budgets (CoJ, 2011, pg. 9).

Despite acknowledging the complex environment in which the City operates, *Joburg 2040* still recognises the City as a municipality and does not take into account the dynamics that occur beyond municipal boundaries in the context of the Gauteng City-Region. By implication, it means that *Joburg 2040* attempts to deal with a multi-disciplinary set of issues that are both locally and globally relevant, instead of developing a holistic approach that stops short of a predictive implementation framework (Harrison et al, 2016). It attempts to allow for proactive planning for future growth by combining multi-dimensional approaches to maximise impact for the long-term. The strategy nuances the complexities of the political economy to derive its strategic direction, but it does not harness the potential of community sufficiently to empower them to influence decisions the city strategy envisages.

As Van Donk (2013, pg.16) writes, “For communities of practice to emerge and flourish will require evidence-based and contextually suited knowledge in political judgement, moral vision and emotional sensitivity” in order to reframe this practice of coproducing development on either end of the development process. Initially conceptualised as a grassroots and activist-based attempt to develop urban policy, implementation of *Joburg 2040* has evolved to retrofit the immobility of the City’s bureaucratic framework.

The annual the IDP outreach process undertaken by the City signals a more sceptical take on this. From observation of two IDP sessions in April 2016, it is evident that community members’ dissatisfaction with the process reinforces current associations of power inherent in participatory processes. This observation with the view of Everatt et al (2010) highlights the role of the city extending this platform as a means to legitimate its own decisions. As Everatt et al. (2010) contend that ‘invited’ spaces limit participation, Johannesburg's inability to transfer decision making power to citizens highlights this finding. The inability to sustain appropriate modes and structures for participation across different processes has meant that the prevailing view of citizens as being passive recipients of the delivery process remains problematic. As such, the IDP remains a document solely produced by the institution and as a process, is burdened by outdated and oversimplified, generic participatory processes.

Joburg 2040 emphasises civic education as a means of enhancing citizen's capabilities to participate and become more empowered as active citizens. As the concept of active citizenry remains rooted in the development discourse in the City and its respective programmes and interventions, the City has not been able to create a platform that is able to foster learning through practice. The concept of active citizenry in Johannesburg confirms Van Donk's (2013) view that it has not become a politically empowered methodology to build capability. Rather, it still remains technical project using set structures to legitimize its own decisions.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter reaffirms that participation in the City of Johannesburg in urban policy making exercises is problematic. It is undertaken as a political tool to gain legitimacy for decisions taken by the City. According to this analysis, the participatory method used to develop *Joburg 2040* in 2011 was limited to the responsibility of the City as being a "planner" or "informer" of city development initiatives only. Even though the GDS outreach process was well-intentioned as a process of coproduction, it is an example of participation through invited spaces. It confirms the approach whereby state actors bring citizens within its domain to invite them to participate in various stages of the policy-making process.

Despite well-intentioned processes and platforms set out by the City of Johannesburg to broaden the spectrum of participation, the *Joburg 2040* outreach process reinforced the status quo (as per Chapter 6). As the *Joburg 2040* outreach process was a singular event, not followed up since, awareness of the city strategy is low. Importantly, the disjuncture between the IDP and GDS is indicative of the lack of synchronisation between short-term operational issues and the long-term strategic aspirations contained in the *Joburg 2040* strategy.

As much as *Joburg 2040* intends to focus and guide city development, the choices made in the CDS rely heavily on the city-specific conditions that predominate as evidenced in Chapter 6. As analysed above, and despite the merits of the *Joburg 2040* outreach process, the city strategy is not inclusive. Despite *Joburg 2040* being able to strategically redirect resources to redress past imbalances, it did not ensure that people were empowered as part of the decision making process.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION - BREAKING PATH DEPENDENCY – REVEALING NEW POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN THE CITY OF JOBURG

8.1 Introduction

The objective of this research was to understand if and how the *Joburg 2040* strategy influenced the City's developmental trajectory by identifying and analysing the reasons for the development of *Joburg 2040* and the City of Johannesburg's role in urban policy making. The primary research question of this dissertation asked: "*Has the Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy provided a new direction for urban policy making in South African cities?"* as the problem that was investigated by this study was whether long-term policy-making processes like *Joburg 2040* alter a city's development path or not.

On 3 August 2016, South Africans voted in the fourth democratic local government elections. On 22 August 2016 the Democratic Alliance-led (DA) minority coalition government displaced the African National Congress (ANC) which had served for 20 years in power. This chapter has been written approximately three months after local government elections and will provide an initial analysis of the new urban policy narrative in the City and a comparison between previous and current urban policy practices in the City of Johannesburg.

At the time of writing this conclusion, a revised *Joburg 2040* has been approved by the City's new political leadership and is due for external participation early in 2017. Accompanying the revised city strategy is the introduction of the new political leadership's '10-point plan' of Mayoral priorities and a new strategic framework to guide IDPs for the 2017/21 term of office.

Chapter 6 of this thesis indicated that 'History Matters' because the political and economic forces that have shaped the City have a bearing on its ability to plan and deliver on its mandate as largest metropolitan City in the country. Chapter 7 indicated that the sheer capacity of the City to reach citizens (and in so doing, contribute to a long-term agenda setting process) is problematic because of the City's 'high-inequality and poor local capacity' conditions, indicate that the *Joburg 2040* strategy is not as

'Inclusive' as it implies. This conclusion restates that city development strategies contextualised in a contested political environment are embedded in local politics.

8.2 Cities are drivers of political change

This section provides an analysis of the drivers of political change that have recently impacted South African cities and its ability to plan for the long term. In the era of globalisation, cities have become the subject of political transition across the world. An analysis of the endogenous forces (such as the repealing of apartheid) that warrant political change point to the fluidity and ability of cities to handle the pace of changes that occur, far better than rural areas. As the conditions for urban development have altered significantly since the end of apartheid, the growth patterns of large cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town continue to be dominated by political and economic influences (SACN, 2016). As the tendency to ensure that economic growth in major cities are promoted to drive the national economy, new opportunities to ensure that previously disadvantaged communities can be absorbed into the urban context has been a political imperative of the ANC government since its landmark Ready to Govern Document in 1992.

Furthermore, the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 and the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 are two pieces of economic legislation that have indirectly caused a "recovery in the rate of urbanization" (Turok, 2012, pg. 2) and industrialization as a result of metropolitan areas becoming even greater attractors of labour. On the flip side, the consequence of post-apartheid urbanization has exacerbated the developmental challenge in large cities as a result of swathes of people settling in poorly located areas that lack of services because of spatial inequality (Turok, 2012). As Johannesburg remains the primary destination of job-seekers and those seeking upward social mobility (Harrison, 2015), the daunting legacy of apartheid has not disappeared.

Consequently, then, if cities are symbols of the future, then local government can become the gateway to broader political changes that might occur in the future. Nepaul and Musker (2014, "Big City Life: SA's changing political landscape"[11]) warn that "the power of the urban mass can overwhelm even a democratic majority, dispersed in far-

[11] https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2014-10-23-big-city-life-sas-changing-political-landscape/#.WMUG6hhh2CR, accessed: 21 January 2017

flung and isolated rural areas. The moral of the story is that holding a country's cities is crucial to holding stable power." The decline in ANC support in the City of Johannesburg from 59% in 2011 to 44% in 2016 bear testament to this changing local urban political dynamic, as voters' demands for better urban management and their frustration at bureaucratic indifference are some of the reasons that resulted in a minority-led coalition government.

8.3 CDSs formulated in Johannesburg are politically significant

As city problems develop incrementally over time, the purpose of a city development strategy is to provide a dynamic view on the interacting components affecting urban development in order to alleviate urban problems (Cities Alliance, 2005; Rasoolimanesh et al, 2011). Furthermore, as cities are political mechanisms of democracy and participation, city development strategies as defined in World Bank (2000) and Cities Alliance (2006) documents point to the nature of them being an expression of citizen expectations and not just a local authority's set of goals and objectives only. Implicitly stated in this definition, is that city development strategies are about what is in the interests of citizens and that the decisions that affect their livelihoods ought to be recognised.

In the Johannesburg context, have been undertaken by focusing on a diversity of issues that confront the post-apartheid city (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). As described in the literature chapter, CDSs have been undertaken as an attempt to reform policy at the urban level by ensuring that cities are more integrated, sustainable and liveable (McLennan, 2008; Lipietz, 2008).

In the Johannesburg context, the literature review and subsequent chapters indicated that various city development strategies evolved through understanding that a 'one size fits all' approach is unlikely to work given the divided and contested nature of the city. *Joburg 2040* emphasises that the urban political dynamic (as implied in its development paradigm - CoJ, 2011 *Joburg 2040* Chapter 2) is impacted by social and economic change, *Joburg 2040* acknowledges that the city is a space of intensified political action. By implication, this suggests that a diverse and more modern approach to participation is needed. The interpenetration of political practice at the city scale reveals a crisis where the prevailing systems of power and hegemonic discourses are bound by a consensual view that segregation and fragmentation of the city must be

challenged (Harrison et al, 2014). This approach suggests that urban development policy must be embedded within a political framework that is able to stimulate strategic action to address challenges of urban fragmentation, segregation and inequality.

Pieterse (2005) notes that the South African urban political landscape is caught in a strange contradiction as there is an undeniable gap between policy intent and implementation. Therefore, as city development strategies attempt to provide a synoptic view of changes taking place at the urban level (Rasoolimanesh et al, 2012), political change in cities open up a new perspective on how specific policy ideas and arguments can demonstrate the importance of localising city priorities in a changing urban context.

Despite McLennan's (2008) claim that at the urban scale, the delivery of services is political as a result of its implication of driving development through institutionalising power through the state, the recent political changes in the City of Johannesburg indicate a complex relationship between the politics of interaction and the management of public resources. A reflexive take on this suggests that delivery is not politically neutral and that the exercise of political and economic authority have been more influential in negotiating policy through mechanisms such as the city development strategy as an example. Therefore, the political relevance of city strategies during the previous ANC regime fall within this understanding.

8.4 CDSs like *Joburg 2040* are embedded in local politics

Political dynamics embedded at the local level shaped the discursive parameters of debate that legitimized the need to transform the urban context. Lipietz (2008) argued that a nuanced understanding of local politics is required to address the complex issues facing cities. Pieterse's (2005) relational model of urban politics focused on the relationship between the political and public domains in the urban context. This analysis draws on three important issues in the Johannesburg context. The governance in the City of Johannesburg has generated widespread interest across the country. It became a model that influenced the restructuring of local government in South Africa (Fowler, personal communication, 12 May 2016). Understandably, the relationship between the regional and local political structures allowed for a diffusion of political and public matters. The second issue attested to the importance of Johannesburg in the evolving local government context meant that it became the 'litmus test' for the ruling ANC government's capacity to govern. Thirdly, as political

change occurred in the City of Johannesburg, the political nature of long-term planning and its politically infused agenda is indicative of the contested nature of the city.

Embedding the CDS in local and regional politics was a feature of the previous ANC-led administration as it developed its previous CDSs. Even though the *iGoli 2002* plan was successful in terms of achieving efficiency and stability in the City, the policy narrative was unevenly contested at a political level (Seedat, personal communication, 19 May 2016). The political nexus was eventually taken forward in the iGoli 2010 visioning process as it sought to integrate the disparate political voices in the city. The importance here is that at the political level and in a highly contested political terrain, the notion of bringing together disparate political views did not easily create a renewed discourse on urban policy making in the City.

Over time, the need to embed planning in the political environment drew more attention. For example, the *Joburg 2030* plan received far more political support from the ruling party then the iGoli 2010 plan. As the 2006 GDS and *Joburg 2040* GDS were being developed, there were simultaneous political processes to synchronise the planning of the institution with ANC regional and provincial politics (Seedat, personal communication, 20 May 2016; Erasmus, personal communication, 19 May 2016). Erasmus (personal communication, 19 May 2016), states that during the early years of institutional transformation, restructuring of the bureaucracy took place within a polarised and contested urban landscape in the City of Johannesburg. Much of the criticism of this period (see Bond, 2005) also stemmed from the ideological stance that the future of the City of Johannesburg would be shaped by a neoliberal and corporatized agenda interfacing with party politics (Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Lipietz, 2008). On the other hand, however, the drive towards a unicity and singular tax base embraced conceptions of the ruling party's appreciation that the economic and political balance needed to transform the City required a social agenda agreed through negotiations.

In 2011, the *Joburg 2040* paradigm of balancing competing claims in the City became the political strategy for the ANC administration. The subsequent delivery processes that warranted new modes of the delivery through programmatic choices, budget allocation and stakeholder relationships were factored into the IDP. The current DA political strategy that seeks to minimise the role of the state to ensure more effective and efficient service delivery emphasises a delivery approach through linking macro-economic policy aimed at facilitating growth. This delivery system points to an

optimism of ensuring that the role of metropolitan local government is able to facilitate what McLennan (2008, pg. 9) calls an "efficient delivery approach" that would "enable markets to thrive, standard of living to increase, states to respond to needs appropriately and people to have a broader range of choices about services." This suggests a redirection and reorientation of the bureaucracy away from the previous inclusive model aimed at achieving social justice, to a delivery strategy that is now aimed at market-driven pragmatism.

8.5 CDSs affirm a paradox of democratic governance

As a means to coproduce City Development Strategies, and as new political parties occupy office, participatory traditions are used to generate a new policy narrative that is needed to inform new development agenda. However, as stated in chapter 3, CDS processes have been vulnerable to political changes as they are reviewed and replaced as political terms change (Lipietz, 2008). The purpose of the city strategies is to ensure that separate urban segments such as the economy, society, environmental and cultural issues are brought together in an integrated manner (Robinson, 2011). Much of the criticism of City Development Strategies stem from these documents implicitly adopting neo-liberal stances at the expense of negotiating the urban future across different urban divides in cities (Pieterse, 2008). This implies that CDS development is linked to a dominant political ideology that exists at the time of formulation for approval and implementation.

The IUDF contends that South Africa's cities still remain dominated by the legacy of segregation, poverty and exclusion (COGTA, 2016). As the literature review chapter revealed, national as well as local government have developed a number of policies and strategies over the last two decades, as a technical rubric to ensure that the pathology of urban problems is managed and dealt with. As City Development Strategies became a routine part of the strategic planning process in Johannesburg, it is important to appreciate how development was managed and controlled by the City during those political terms of office. One of the important vehicles of the strategic planning process has been the use of participation that intends to influence certain policy ideals articulated across the numerous strategies (Cities Alliance, 2005). As mentioned in Chapter 7, participation in the City of Johannesburg takes place in a contested context and participation as a process has been limited to indicate that it is only a 'means' (Winker, 2011) to broaden the policy formulation process.

One of the features of the Tau administration was the introduction of coproducing development and in doing so attempting to chart a new direction for urban policy-making in the City. Johannesburg's experience indicates that the tension between political visioning and institutional capacity to deliver meant that change would be required to improve local governance arrangements to effect a locally generated vision in the context of unequal power relations. City of Joburg officials interviewed claim that the *Joburg 2040* participatory process was sufficient to produce the City Strategy in 2011 to advance the necessary change needed (Seedat, personal communication, Johannesburg, 20 May 2016; Erasmus, personal communication, Johannesburg, 19 May 2016). This confirms the notion that previous city strategy making processes were closed processes shaped by city officials and *championed* by elected representatives only (cited in Robinson and Parnell, 2006; Lipietz, 2008, Winker, 2011).

8.6 Towards a re-vision or 'double vision' – a comparative analysis

The former ruling party, the African National Congress, has always been a key actor in the development of CDS processes in Johannesburg. In the earlier formulations of CDSs in Johannesburg, the party-political configuration straddled competing ideological tensions of ensuring a pro-poor focus, whilst at the same time growing the economic heartland of the country through shared growth. However, over more than a decade after embedding the CDS as a policy framework for the City, these contradictory ideological strands are more evident in the new DA coalition-led council of Johannesburg. Whilst the concerns of pro-poor imperatives remain, the tendency towards promoting a market-driven pragmatist approach to development has increased its political prominence in the City. Over and above this stance, emerges a new strategic agenda, mirroring that of the controversial *Joburg 2030* plan of 2003. This neo-liberal ambition now implicitly posed as the new potential vision for the City of Johannesburg as introduced by Executive Mayor Herman Mashaba in his inaugural address stated that "if Johannesburg works, South Africa works" (Mashaba, 2016)

Whilst Johannesburg's role in revolutionising local government in South Africa is often emphasised (Murray, 2011; Harrison et al., 2014), the city's symbolic role as a microcosm of the nation weighs more heavily in the present period. The new proposed "vision" attempts to re-emphasise the view of the City's ability to influence the national discourse. However, a drastic revision of the controversial "World Class African City" vision will do little to re-emphasise this symbolic ideal. Despite the political

considerations of the post-August 2016 local government election, a liberal political stance that attempts to ensure that the role of government is minimized cannot ameliorate the debilitating conditions of underdevelopment without associating it to local concerns. Even though the development of *Joburg 2040,* by convening a participatory process to bring about the disparate urban constituencies was a salient feature in 2011, the coalition-led system of government has created conditions of decision making uncertainty.

To emphasize this, and as demonstrated in this dissertation, the forces at play shaping the various policy permutations in post-apartheid Johannesburg reflected in several attempts at infusing CDS and IDP processes through participatory democracy, were unsuccessful. More critically though, this current period of re-envisioning the City's future lacks an understanding of the political and economic forces at play in the City. Thus, the character of city development strategies in periods of political transitions mean that the function of long-term thinking becomes estranged. The effects on short to medium term planning and participation remain to be seen, as the bargaining of a new socio-economic agenda through an opposing ideologically-configured coalition government is new-fangled. The table below provides a comparison of strategic issues between the ANC-led administration (2011-2016) and the DA administration.

Strategic Intent	**ANC 2011-2016 (*Joburg 2040*)**	**DA 2016 - present**
Development orientation	Guide growth into brownfield areas/ Compact City and corridor development – dealing with spatial legacy of apartheid	Market driven pragmatism – fast track services in deprived areas and inner city regeneration; compact city supported on the basis of the approved Spatial Development Framework
Strategic orientation	Long-term Outcomes based approach linked to National Development Plan philosophy	Short-term target- driven approach accompanied by a revised strategic framework for the IDP
Approach to planning	Integrated, holistic view on planning (both short and long term)	Sectoral focus and priority-based approach

Development approach	Community seen as drivers of development – coproduction approach to development; private sector and civil society seen as co-producers of development	Private sector-led approach to urban development; role of communities not yet defined or changed
Governance	Consensus based approach with singular governing party mandate	Dominant coalition-driven agenda
Response to local government obligations	Broaden the scope of local government by reforming contemporary approaches to service provision	Stripping back to the constitutional mandate of local government and reorientation of the bureaucracy to simplify service provision
Decision making processes	Complex and embedded in a 'cluster' model linked to *Joburg 2040* Outcomes and national government	Complex and embedded in a 'cluster' model linked to *Joburg 2040* Outcomes (subject to change)
Approach to participation	Coproduced outcomes generated through ongoing dialogue at both policy and programmatic level.	Yet to be determined, but the legislative prescripts of participation remains in place.

Table 4: Comparison of strategic issues between the ANC administration (2011-2016) and the present DA-led administration

To demonstrate these changes practically, an analysis of the City's 'World Class African City' tag line is presented here. Even though this dissertation does not interrogate the concept of the World-Class African City tag line, it acknowledges that the inherent tension of intersecting 'world-class' and 'African' has remained a point of "unresolved ideological and discursive tension" in the City for over fifteen years (Sihlongonyane, 2016, pg. 1608).This does not mean that the world-class African city tag line was purely a reflection of the former ANCs appreciation of the city's dominant characteristics, rather it embraced an affirmation of the political intent of a city with an African identity or as Sihlongonyane (2016, pg. 1612) calls "an African city in diversity."

This new attempt at envisioning the city of Johannesburg within the parameters of Johannesburg as a microcosm of South Africa (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; Beall et

al., 2002) provides more of an indication of the national and geopolitical forces at play rather than the localized nature of the city's identity. Therefore, if administering the City of Johannesburg was regarded as a test of the first democratic government's competence at leadership, then the new coalition led multi-party approach provides a new *'post'* post-apartheid political dynamic in the City where decision making through multi-party consensus outweighs the ideals of participatory democracy.

8.7 Summary of research findings

In conclusion, *Joburg 2040* epitomises an interplay between economic and political conflicts taking place at the urban scale. The municipality's leading role in negotiating for developmental local government paved the way for long term planning at the local government sphere. The city strategy development process and the formulation of *Joburg 2040* indicates that Johannesburg is past-dependent as opposed to path dependent. CDSs prior to *Joburg 2040* were developed as technical documents prioritising the needs of the municipal institution over citizens.

Joburg 2040 emphasised a new political imperative of coproducing a long-term view of the City. The GDS outreach process was a political tool that was able to establish credibility of a new incoming leadership. The outreach process became a participatory process that created new channels of communication and dialogue in the City. Critically though, the GDS outreach process was a value-add only as a document already existed and participation was used to build the credibility of the document.

Strategy reviews tended to re-orientate the strategic focus of the institution because they are linked to political terms of office. Successive CDSs are cognisant of the difficulty of realising the imperative of urban transformation in the City. Therefore, *Joburg 2040* is not an inclusive strategy. It is a hybrid straddling between a policy and a strategy with limited public ownership, despite being competent at dealing with complex urban matters affecting the city. Participation only yielded short-term responses to the everyday operations of the City and, *Joburg 2040* awareness is low because it is a complex document. The strategy needed to be simplified for public consumption. Participatory processes in CoJ remain problematic as there is a decline in satisfaction with participatory processes in Joburg.

A positive outcome of coproducing *Joburg 2040*, with its legacy being the outreach process, meant that it was successful in inspiring new policy interventions that aimed at driving a people-focussed approach to development. This case study also indicated that strategy formation is a process of negotiation and a collective process, but it also

indicated an emergent process fostering learning. However, despite the merits of the latest CDS, strategy implementation did not encourage or facilitate an active process of urban transformation.

8.8 Areas of future research

This dissertation does not provide recommendations for improving CDS-making processes but offers five areas pertinent to this study could be of relevance to future research or further investigation. Whilst the research findings provide a set of conclusions relevant to this study, the five research themes or topics below emerge as an extension of the primary scope of this study.

1. **The path dependence of City Development Strategies – why CDSs evolve over time?**

One of the findings of this study highlighted that the City of Joburg's planning processes are past-dependent as opposed to path dependent and that policy choices emerge out of the City's dependence on its past. Whilst the literature on the path dependence of city strategies is limited, this dissertation argued that 'history matters' because past actions have a bearing on future planning. As such, a problem that requires investigation is the evolution of CDSs in the context of path dependency, particularly in a South African context where national urban policy has evolved substantially during the democratic period.

2. **Integrated Development Planning and long term planning – a contradiction in terms?**

The disjuncture between the CDS and IDP is evident in the City's experience of attempting to implement *Joburg 2040* after it was approved. As the nature of IDPs seek incrementally to become the building blocks of a longer term urban vision, their inability to respond to strategic issues remains a perpetual challenge. As this study has provided an exposition of how CDSs in Johannesburg have evolved, further studies are required to understand how IDPs can be improved in content, process and strategically linked to CDSs. The efficacy of IDPs in large cities also warrant further investigation, as the demands of local government have graduated beyond basic service delivery provision and further evidenced across GCRO's Quality of Life Surveys I-IV (2009-2016).

3. Social media as an enabler for coproducing policy in South African cities.

The *Joburg 2040* outreach process in Johannesburg experimented with the use of social media to broaden the participatory process across new, technologically-driven platforms. Whilst this dissertation does not evaluate the outcomes of social media or coproduction as an enabler of participation, a study that delves into the use of social media for generating policy through technology is required. Furthermore, the policy options and outcomes generated through social media-enabled participation as opposed to regular participation also requires investigation.

4. Balancing political change with strategic continuity – new opportunities for governing cities

The recent political changes in the City of Johannesburg and its implications on planning for the future have relevance here. Whilst this dissertation was concluded at the start of the new DA-led political dispensation, a detailed study on the role of political change with its implications on strategic continuity is required. More specifically, a research question "How do city development strategies vary with political change?" needs to be asked. As CDSs by their very nature tend to focus on uncertainty, complexity and unpredictability in cites, a study on how decisions undertaken by a new political regime impact long-term planning could provide greater perspective on the current *post* post-apartheid period.

5. City Development Strategies need to be localised in responding to the needs of people

During the fieldwork and data gathering process, an interview participant claimed that *Joburg 2040* and CDSs in general are "complex documents" and "difficult for ordinary people to understand." Furthermore, this dissertation found that awareness of the both *Joburg 2040* and IDP is dismally low with focus group members unanimously agreeing that the City should focus on short-term and high impact projects that respond to what citizens require the most. A study on the dynamic of CDSs providing pragmatic and implementable solutions that move away from the aspirational nature of such documents is required. This study could also be complementary in developing CDS, especially in cities that utilise participatory processes like the *Joburg 2040* outreach process.

8.9 Final conclusion

This dissertation has argued that the urban political economy has a firm bearing on elucidating policy directives in the City of Johannesburg. The experience of formulating City Development Strategies in the City of Joburg from the period 1999 to 2011 bears testament to this statement. This dissertation concludes that *Joburg 2040* attempted to emphasise a political imperative of a new leadership that was willing to listen and engage with citizens by coproducing a long term vision for the City. Nonetheless, despite this attempt, participation during the *Joburg 2040* GDS outreach process did not bring about increased awareness of the city strategy as it was only significant in influencing policy making during the *Joburg 2040* process.

This dissertation has analysed the reasons for the development of *Joburg 2040* and the factors, causalities and externalities that informed the *Joburg 2040* process. Developing CDSs such as *Joburg 2040* are technically-driven exercises, undertaken primarily to inform IDP processes. The choices made in *Joburg 2040* rely heavily on the city-specific conditions that predominate, even though *Joburg 2040* incorporated a radical, new public consultation process to legitimise the City's new vision. Despite the finding that *Joburg 2040* is not an inclusive strategy, emanating from the GDS outreach process, it is argued that the *Joburg 2040* process attempted to provide hopefulness to the political nature of long term planning as it was a mechanism that provided the incoming political administration with an opportunity to indicate the merits of a democratic local government.

Joburg 2040 acknowledges that the City is a space of intensified political action. The recent political changes in the City reveal the possibility of opening up new perspectives on policy making. However, it remains to be seen how specific policy ideas and arguments in a changing political context can demonstrate the importance of localising city priorities, and in doing so, alter a city's development path.

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ANNEXURES

Interview Guide

This research aims to:

I. Understand if and how the strategy has influenced the City's developmental trajectory
II. Identify and analyse the reasons for the development of *Joburg 2040* and the City of Johannesburg's role in urban policy making;
III. Understand the rationale, causalities and factors that led to the City of Johannesburg's *Joburg 2040* Strategy that was approved in 2011;
IV. Focus on the participatory approach that was undertaken to develop urban policy making;
V. To provide recommendations on how best to recast the strategy into its next iteration

In order to understand the influencing factors that have informed *Joburg 2040* and its approach to altering the development path of the City, the primary research question of this thesis asks:

Has the Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy provided a new direction for urban policy making in South African cities?

There are five supplementary questions that are:

1. What factors led to the development of the *Joburg 2040* over time?
2. How if at all were previous city strategies used to develop *Joburg 2040*?
3. What was the purpose of participation during the *Joburg 2040* policy-making process?
4. To what extent did it influence urban policy making in the metropolitan area?
5. Do strategies such as *Joburg 2040* have an impact on development processes and programmes in the City at large over this period since it was adopted?

Interview guidelines

Conceptual focus areas to be interrogated:



Guiding Questions
Introductory questions:
Focus on conceptual definitions:

- How does the participant define and understand policy?
- How does the participant define and understand strategy?
- Can they cite examples that indicate relationships?
- Can they define urban policy?
- How does local government promote policy development and why is there a need for policy development in cities?

Leading questions:
Focus on City of Johannesburg:

- What is the importance of Joburg in SA?
- What has the political environment been like in Joburg?
- Why is it more than just the economy?

Focus on CDS development in the City of Johannesburg:

- How do they understand a CDS?
- How many CDS's have been developed in Joburg since democracy?
- Why were they undertaken?
- What informed them?
- How were they drafted and what methodologies were used?
- What informed CDS reviews in the City of Joburg?

Focus on Joburg 2040:

- What factors prompted the development of Joburg 2040?
- What methodology/ies were used to draft the strategy?
- What makes Joburg 2040 different from other strategies – look for both substantive and procedural responses
- How did the institution implement Joburg 2040?
- What programmes and projects were informed by Joburg 2040?

Focus on participation and Joburg 2040:

- How do they define participation?
- How does COJ undertake participation?
- Have previous CDS's used participation in its development?
- How was the Joburg 2040 outreach process concepetualised and where did it derive its mandate?
- What was it all about?
- How did it unfold?
- Was it successful or not? (and how so?)
- What was the significance of the Outreach process?
- Did it make any tangible impact on the CDS process and after?
- Has the Outreach Process been followed up?

Concluding questions:

- Is Joburg 2040 a policy or strategy?
- Did Joburg 2040 make any tangible impact on the City's development path?
- Can participation work to development long-term strategies?

Interview Questions – Jan Erasmus

1. How would you define strategy and how would you define policy in the local government context?
2. What is the relationship between policy and strategy in your opinion?
3. What prompted the City of Joburg to use City Development Strategies as a means to articulate its long-term vision?
4. What necessitated the development of iGoli 2002 in 1999?
5. How were previous CDS's developed in the City - reflect on Joburg 2030 and GDS 2006?
6. How have city strategies evolved over time in the City up till and before Joburg 2040?
7. What was your role in the development of these strategies?
8. Why was there a need to undertake Joburg 2040?
9. What factors necessitated the need for Joburg 2040?
10. What makes Joburg 2040 different from previous CDS's in Joburg?
11. The Outreach process was regarded by the City as the first of its kind in strategy development making. What was the GDS Outreach process all about?
12. How was it conceptualised and how did it all unfold?
13. How do you define participation?
14. What was the significance of the Joburg 2040-outreach process?
15. How has the City implemented Joburg 2040? What are the 'high-impact' and 'business unusual' programmes that it promises?
16. How can participation contribute to CDS development in cities?
17. What were some of the main lessons learnt as CDS's evolved in Joburg?
18. Since implementation, what have been some of the major successes and failures that emanated from Joburg 2040?
19. To what extent has Joburg 2040 been used to influence policy making in the City?
20. Based on your earlier definitions, would you define Joburg 2040 as a policy or a strategy?

Interview Questions – Blake-Mosley Lefatola

1. Were you involved in developing urban policy in your career and what were they?
2. How would you define strategy and how would you define policy in the local government context?
3. What is the relationship between policy and strategy in your opinion?
4. What was your role in the development of these strategies?
5. How have city strategies evolved over time in the City up till and before Joburg 2040?
6. What was your contribution to the Outreach process how did it all unfold?
7. How do you define participation?
8. What was the significance of the Joburg 2040-outreach process?
9. How has the City implemented Joburg 2040? What are the 'high-impact' and 'business unusual' programmes that it promises?
10. How was Jozi@Work conceptualised and did it emanate from Joburg 2040?
11. How has Jozi@Work influenced policy making in the City post Joburg 2040?
12. How has the political environment shaped and influenced policy making?
13. How can participation contribute to CDS development in cities?
14. To what extent has Joburg 2040 been used to influence policy making in the City?
15. Based on your earlier definitions, would you define Joburg 2040 as a policy or a strategy?

Interview Questions – Rashid Seedat

1. How would you define strategy and how would you define policy in the local government context?
2. What is the relationship between policy and strategy in your opinion?
3. What prompted the City of Joburg to use City Development Strategies as a means to articulate its long-term vision?
4. What necessitated the development of iGoli 2002 in 1999?
5. How were previous CDS's developed in the City - reflect on Joburg 2030 and GDS 2006?
6. How have city strategies evolved over time in the City up till and before Joburg 2040?
7. What was your role in the development of these strategies?
8. Why was there a need to undertake Joburg 2040?
9. What factors necessitated the need for Joburg 2040?
10. What makes Joburg 2040 different from previous CDS's in Joburg?
11. The Outreach process was regarded by the City as the first of its kind in strategy development making. What was the GDS Outreach process all about?
12. How was it conceptualised and how did it all unfold?
13. How do you define participation?
14. What was the significance of the Joburg 2040-outreach process?
15. How can participation contribute to CDS development in cities?
16. What were some of the main lessons learnt as CDS's evolved in Joburg?
17. To what extent has CDS's like the previous ones you were involved in been used to influence policy making in the City?
18. Based on your earlier definitions, would you define Joburg 2040 as a policy or a strategy?

Interview Questions – Tinashe Mushayanyama

1. How would you define strategy and how would you define policy in the local government context?
2. What is the relationship between policy and strategy in your opinion?
3. What was your role in the development of Joburg 2040?
4. Why was there a need to undertake Joburg 2040?
5. What factors necessitated the need for Joburg 2040?
6. The Outreach process was regarded by the City as the first of its kind in strategy development making. What was the GDS Outreach process all about?
7. How was it conceptualised and how did it all unfold?
8. What was the significance of the Joburg 2040-outreach process?
9. How do you define participation?
10. What has been trend regarding participation that you have noticed based on the City's Customer Satisfaction Survey?
11. How can participation contribute to CDS development in cities?
12. How can participation can be improved in the City of Joburg? What remedies can be applied?
13. What were some of the main lessons learnt as CDS's evolved in Joburg?
14. Based on your earlier definitions, would you define Joburg 2040 as a policy or a strategy?

Interview Questions – Trevor Fowler

1. How would you articulate the importance of Joburg in the South African context – from Apartheid to democracy?
2. What was your role in the negotiations during the transformation of Johannesburg (and local government in general) from the early-1990s?

3. How would you define strategy and how would you define policy in the local government context?
4. Why was there a need to undertake Joburg 2040?
5. What factors necessitated the need for Joburg 2040?
6. The Outreach process was regarded by the City as the first of its kind in strategy development making. What was the GDS Outreach process all about?
7. How was it conceptualised and how did it all unfold?
8. What was the significance of the Joburg 2040-outreach process?
9. How do you define participation?
10. How can participation contribute to long-term planning in cities?
11. How can participation can be improved in the City of Joburg? What remedies can be applied?
12. Since implementation, what have been some of the major successes that emanated from Joburg 2040?
13. Since implementation, what have been some of the major failures that emanated from Joburg 2040?
14. What were some of the main lessons learnt as CDS's evolved in Joburg?

Interview Guidelines: Andrew Barker

1. Describe what do you do and who do you represent?
2. How have you interacted with COJ over the years?
3. How many sessions have you participated in?
4. What has been the nature of your participation?
5. Did you participate during the Joburg 2040 Outreach process?
6. What did you contribute?
7. What were your thoughts about the process?
8. What are your thoughts about participation in general?
9. Do you think COJ takes participation seriously?
10. Do you think that participation does influence policy and strategy making in the City?
11. How can COJ improve participation in the City?

Participant Observer Sessions

IDP Outreach Session – Lenasia 13 April 2016 (16H00 advertised) 18H00

Criteria	**Observations**
Representativeness of COJ	Senior politicians and administrators represented the City of Johannesburg. They were members from the ruling party (ANC) as well as ward committee members present.
Stakeholder identification	Ordinary members of the public were present. There were members of different political parties present namely the ANC, DA and EFF. Residents associations and other organised bodies were also in attendance

Order of proceedings	The process commenced with a standard presentation from the senior political leader representing the City of Johannesburg. The presentation consisted of a reflection of the City's performance since the 2011 Joburg GDS. It expressed the City's aspirations for the next term of office and articulated the legislative requirements of the participation intended to achieve.
Accessibility	The session was held at the public venue owned by the City of Johannesburg. It took place at approximately 18:00 hours and started two hours later than advertised. The process was delayed due to buses arriving late from the regional informal settlements in the area.
Adequacy of process	Information was exchanged from the presentations made by political representatives and members of the public raising the issues and concerns affecting them followed this. A standard presentation was crafted beforehand that spelt out the City's plans for the 2016-2021 term of office. The purpose of this presentation was to inform members of the community of the IDP process and to inform them of the projects planned for the five-year period in this particular.
Communication method and general observation	Hand-outs, PowerPoint presentation – all communication was conducted in English. Frustration expressed by residents indicating the plans presented are nothing new and that they have been presented before. Participants began leaving the session early due to poor responses from Chairperson and COJ representatives.

IDP Outreach Session - Orange Farm 20 April 2016 (10H00 advertised) 11H00

Criteria	**Observations**
Representativeness of COJ	Senior politicians and administrators represented the City of Johannesburg. They were members from the

	ruling party (ANC) as well as ward committee members present.
Stakeholder identification	Ordinary members of the public were present. There were members of different political parties present namely the ANC, DA and EFF. Residents associations and other organised bodies were also in attendance
Order of proceedings	The process commenced with a standard presentation from the senior political leader representing the City of Johannesburg. The presentation consisted of a reflection of the City's performance since the 2011 Joburg GDS. It expressed the City's aspirations for the next office and articulated the legislative requirements of the participation intended to achieve.
Accessibility	The session was held at the public venue owned by the city of Johannesburg. It took place at approximately 11:00 hours and started an hour later than advertised. The process was delayed due opposition parties meeting independently (issues not known to researcher)
Adequacy of process	Information was exchanged from the presentations made by political representatives and members of the public raising the issues and concerns affecting them followed this. A standard presentation was crafted beforehand that spelt out the City's plans for the 2016-2021 term of office. The purpose of this presentation was to inform members of the community of the IDP process and to inform them of the projects planned for the five-year period in this particular.
Communication method	Handouts, PowerPoint presentation – Communication took place in English, Zulu and Xhosa Q&A process dominated by opposition political parties expressing frustration with COJ officials not taking participation seriously.

a world class African city

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE TO ASCERTAIN RESIDENT'S UNDERLYING PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

CONSENT PROCESS

Consent forms will be completed in advance by all focus group participants. Below is a summary of the information in the consent form that focus group organizers and facilitators of the BMR will use to obtain the informed consent of participants.

****

Thank you for agreeing to participate. We are very interested to hear your valuable opinion as resident of the City of Johannesburg on the quality of life.

- The purpose of this study is to learn how citizens view the CoJ and its role in providing a good 'quality of life'.
- The information provided will be treated confidentially, and we will not associate your name with anything you say in the focus group.
- We would like to record the focus groups so that we can ensure that all thoughts, opinions and ideas are captured accurately. No names will be attached to the focus groups and the sign-in sheet and recordings will be archived and destroyed after being used for research purposes.
- You may refuse to participate in any discussion or withdraw anytime.
- We understand how important it is that information is kept confidential. We will ask participants to respect each other's privacy.
- If you have any questions during or after the discussions, you can contact the BMR, or the Project team leaders whose names and phone numbers are listed on this form.
- Please check the boxes on page 2 and sign to confirm your participation in this focus group.

****

INTRODUCTION

Welcome

The facilitator will introduce him/herself and the group and likewise circulate the sign-in sheet requiring some demographic information (age, gender and years at this address).

Facilitators will clarify the following:

- Who we are and what we're trying to do?
- What will be done with the collected information?
- Why we asked you to participate?

Explanation of the process

Ask the group if anyone has participated in a focus group before. Explain that focus groups are being used more and more often in social research.

About focus groups

- We learn from you (positive and negative).
- Not trying to achieve consensus, but value individual inputs while gathering information.

- No virtue in long lists: we're looking for priorities.

Logistics
- Focus group will last about one hour to ninety minutes.
- Feel free to move around.
- Location of convenience room? Exit?
- Help yourself to refreshments.

Ground Rules

Ask the group to suggest some ground rules in support of constructive discussions. After they brainstorm some, make sure the following are on the list:
- Everyone should participate.
- Information provided in the focus group must be kept confidential.
- Stay with the group and please don't have side conversations.
- Turn off cell phones to silent.
- Have fun.

[Switch on recording device]

Ask the group if there are any final questions before we get started, and address these questions.

INTRODUCTION
- Ask a non-intrusive question for example where you reside, what you do and where are you from originally?

Discussion begins, make sure to give people time to think before answering the questions and don't move too quickly between issues or topics. Use probes to make sure that all issues are addressed, but move on when you feel you are starting to hear repetitive responses.

DISCUSSIONS

9. **Introduction statement**: Quality Of Life: Everyone wants it, but what is it?

Showcard: CoJ Vision

"Johannesburg – a World Class African City of the Future – a vibrant, equitable African city, strengthened through its diversity; a city that provides real quality of life; a city that provides sustainability for all its citizens; a resilient and adaptive society."

Probes:

(i) *Taking note of the CoJ vision statement and given your own expectations and experience as a resident of the CoJ, what do you understand under 'quality of life' and what quality of life are you currently experiencing?*

(ii) Have you noticed any initiatives or projects which the CoJ have implemented or plan to implement to improve citizens' current and future quality of life?

Now expose participants to the (i) Joburg 2040 Growth & Development Strategy (GDS) and (ii) Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and state the envisaged 'outcome' as indicated below:

Showcard: *Outcome 1: Improved quality of life and development-driven resilience for all*

The City envisages a future that presents significantly improved human and social development realities, through targeted focus on poverty reduction, food security, development initiatives that enable self-sustainability, improved health and life expectancy, and real social inclusivity. By 2040, the City aims to achieve substantially enhanced quality of life for all, with this outcome supported by the establishment of development-driven resilience. In responding to the above discussions, participants

will be guided by the facilitator to reflect on the following past and present outputs/performances of the CoJ to impact (via interventions and human and social development programmes) on the quality of life of CoJ residents:

(i) ***A city characterised by social inclusivity and enhanced social cohesion***
[***Potential dialogue topics***: Trust in CoJ to deliver on its promises (with specific reference to self-sustainability, and social inclusivity as stated in outcome 1); awareness of CoJ initiatives to bring diverse communities closer to planning and decision-making; trust in communities to collaborate/work together (collectivism) despite individual/cultural differences; opportunities/platforms available for collective inputs; social infrastructure and support provided by CoJ; recreation - restaurants, theatres, cinemas, sports and leisure, etc.]

(ii) ***Reduced poverty and dependency***
[***Potential dialogue topics*:** Poverty, inequality and unemployment: support for individuals and communities to become self-sufficient; opportunities for self-sustainability; empowering communities to be less dependent; assistance to the poor to build capacity (access to the city and increase prosperity); instruments used to tackle individual hunger (i.e. food vouchers, food parcels, backyard gardens and programmes); access of vulnerable groups (new households, internal and circular migrants, those in hostels, informal settlements and historical ghettoes, the unemployed youth, refugees and others) to urban services; enabling the poor to access basic livelihoods (i.e. helping them to secure social grants, facilitating skills development and basic employment opportunities, and supporting 'self-help' projects, start-up micro-enterprises and community-based co-operatives); ensuring the affordability of municipal services, public transport and social facilities, through progressive tariff structures, creative cross-subsidisation and targeted social packages; accommodating the poor, by working to ensure that they can find and retain decent lowest-cost rental housing opportunities – without needing to resort to a life lived in informal settlements and Inner City slums; the assimilation of the poor, ensuring they are not relegated to the margins of the city, but can instead find residency in mixed-income residential spaces]

(iii) ***Food security that is both improved and safeguarded***
[***Potential dialogue topics*:** Promoting and providing access to safe, affordable food citywide; targeted support to the extremely food insecure; development of a commercially viable and productive urban agriculture sector in Johannesburg, supporting localised food production. This is vital for targeting food security for those communities that are most vulnerable, who face severe food insecurity on a regular basis. This is also critical for promoting more sustainable household supply to the city. A large proportion of the high and low agricultural potential land will be cultivated. This output emerges in the context of wider national debates and discussions – such as the regional collaboration discussions currently underway, focused on optimising natural resource realities through regional food supply arrangements that allow food production suitable to resource constraints and availability – within a view of regional capabilities; assist growers in accessing basic supplies, finance and farming advice.]

(iv) ***Increased literacy, skills and lifelong learning among all levels of our citizens***
[***Potential dialogue topics*:** Early Childhood Development, Adult Basic Education and support to schools and libraries; unemployment]

(v) ***Substantially reduced HIV/AIDS prevalence and non-communicable diseases – and a society characterised by healthy living for all***
[***Potential dialogue topics*:** HIV/Aids; reduction of major communicable disease and health risks; access to information and knowledge relating to healthy living]

(vi) ***A safe and secure city***
[***Potential dialogue topics*:** Collaborative and community-based policing through sustained collective community consultation, education and engagement; safety of vulnerable residents such as women, children, people with disabilities and those living in informal settlements; community safety (i.e. crime; traffic safety; hazards such as fire, weather-related, and environmental factors; crowding and conditions of deprivation; family systems; and community networks); trusted and accountable policing (collaborative and community-based policing approach to safety); respect for the rule of law; trust in service providers; capacity of community members to come together to develop responses to community safety]

When reconfiguring the above output/performance areas, the following main categories will be used as leading indicators to determine residents' perceptions regarding the local living conditions or the quality of life experienced in the CoJ:

1. *Political and social environment* (political stability, crime, law enforcement, etc.).
2. *Economic environment* (currency exchange regulations, banking services).
3. *Socio-cultural environment* (media availability and censorship, limitations on personal freedom).
4. *Medical and health considerations* (medical supplies and services, infectious diseases, sewage, waste disposal, air pollution, etc.).
5. *Schools and education* (standards and availability of schools).
6. *Public services and transportation* (electricity, water, public transportation, traffic congestion, etc.).
7. *Recreation* (restaurants, theatres, cinemas, sports and leisure, etc.).
8. *Consumer goods* (availability of food/daily consumption items, cars, etc.).
9. *Housing* (rental housing, household appliances, furniture, maintenance services).
10. *Natural environment* (climate, record of natural disasters).

Although most categories outlined above already include the six output/performance areas of the CoJ as listed above, they are much broader and include other elements which may, or may not, be regarded by participants as key elements to define (or reflect on) the quality of life in the CoJ. For inclusiveness, these elements were added and will become part of the dialogue and final reporting only if these elements are intuitively added to the discussions by the participants. As bear minimum, the facilitator will ensure constructive discussions regarding the key (six) output/performance areas discussed earlier.

<u>Concluding dialogue</u>:

What is the single most important challenge that the CoJ should address to improve your (or communities') quality of life?

CONCLUSION

That concludes our focus group. Thank you so much for coming and sharing your feelings, thoughts and opinions with us.

Materials and supplies for focus groups

- Sign-in sheet
- Consent form
- Acknowledgement of cash received
- Name tags
- Paper and pencils for each participant
- Focus Group Discussion Guide for Facilitator
- Recording device
- Batteries for recording device
- Notebook for note-taking
- Refreshments