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Khoza, Surprise

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An Investigation into the Power Interface between Politicians and Planners in the City of Johannesburg.

Surprise Khoza

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and built Environment, of The University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg 2012

DECLARATION

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

S. Khoza

……

(Signature of Candidate)

29 of February 2012

ABSTRACT

The fundamental purpose of this research is to investigate the power interface between politicians and planners the City of Johannesburg. The background of the research arises from John Forester's (1989) book entitled ***Planning in the Face of Power***. This book has been used as a tool or guiding source for this research study. The aim is to test some of Forester's arguments and to determine if they are applicable in the City of Johannesburg. Forester's book on ***Planning in the Face of Power*** addresses how planners interface with power and inequality in planning practice. Forester identifies four modes of power which affect planners and planning practice. These are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation. The main purpose in doing this research is to investigate the power interface between politicians and planners, because planning is performed in the social context of our daily actions so, planning becomes the politics of our daily life. However, this study does not view the circuit of planners and politicians as bipolar with opposing parties or centres of power that fight against each other. Rather, it views the actions of both planners and politicians as a discourse. The normative stance is that this discourse is a platform for planners and politicians to work together to serve the needs of the society.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

List of diagrams viii

List of tables ix

Glossary iix

Chapter One: An Investigation into the Power interface between Politicians and Planners in the city Johannesburg 1

1.1 Background Statement of the Study……1

1.2 Problem Statement……..2

1.3 Research Question of the Study……4

1.4 Justification of the Study……5

1.5 Research Methods of the Study……6

1.6Organisation of Chapters.....10

Chapter Two: Theories of Power and its Dynamics 12

2.1 Definition of power……..12

2.2 The Conceptualization of Forester's four modes of power.....16

2.2.1 Agenda Setting.....17

2.2.2 Decision Making.....22

2.2.3 Needs Shaping.....27

2.2.4 Misinformation.....29

2.3 Conclusion ……34

Chapter Three: Different Dynamic Sources of Power and Planning 36

3.1 Introduction.....36

3.2 The Relations of Power and Knowledge.....36

2.3 Power and Strategy.....41

2.3.3 Power and Resources.....44

2.3.4 Power by Structure/Order.....45

2.3.5 Power in Planning.....47

2.3.6 Relationship between Rationality and Power.....49

2.4 Power for Planners.....53

2.5 Power for Politicians.....55

2.6 Conclusion.....57

Chapter Four: The political power structure of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality 59

4.1 Introduction.....59

4.2 The Institutional and governance model of the City of Johannesburg.....60

4.3 The Political Arm of the Executive Committee.....42

4.4 Legislature Arm of the Council.....65

4.5 Development Planning Structure.....68

4.6 Conclusion.....70

Chapter Five: The Power Dynamics between Politicians and Planners within the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality 71

5.1 Introduction.....71

5.2 The Presentation of the Findings of the Study.....71

5.2.1 An Observations within the Section 79 Committee meetings.....71

5.2.2 The Critical Responses from the Politicians and Planners Interviews.....77
5.2.2.1 Agenda setting within the City of Johannesburg.....77
5.2.2.2 Decision Making within the City of Johannesburg.....79
5.2.2.3 Needs Shaping within the City of Johannesburg.....81
5.2.2.4 Misinformation within the City of Johannesburg.....82
5.3.1 Critical Discussion of the Findings.....84
5.3.2Politicians as a Threat to Planners.....87
5.3.3 Challenges and Difficulties within Planning Practices.....88
5.4 Conclusion.....89

Chapter Six: Planning Interventions for Politicians and Planners Interaction in the City of Johannesburg 92

6.1 Introduction.....92
6.2 Theoretical Recommendations and Planning Suggestions.....92
6.3 Planning theory as an Intervention tool for Planners.....98
6.4 Conclusions.....102

Reference.....105

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Diagram:

1 Old political structure of the COJ……..60

2 New political structure of the COJ……..65

LIST OF TABLES

Table:

1The political and planning sides……..……..8

2 Forms of misinformation.....31

GLOSSARY:

ANC- African National Congress

ARP- Alexandra Development Project

BRT- Bus Rapid Transport

CIDs - City Improvements Districts

COJ- City of Johannesburg

CSU- Central Strategy Unit

DP- Development Planning

DPF- Development Planning and Facilitation

DPUM- Development Planning and Urban Management

FIFA- Federation International Football Association

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy

GIS-Geographic Information System

IDP- Integrated Development Plan

IDZs - Industrial Development Zones

MMC- Member of the Mayoral Committee

PR- Proportional Representation

RDP -Reconstruction and Development Programme

SDF- Spatial Development Framework

Chapter One: An Investigation into the Power Interface between Politicians and Planners in the City of Johannesburg.

1.1 Background Statement of the Study

The purpose of this research is to investigate the power interface between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg. The motivation of the research arises from John Forester's (1989) book called ***Planning in the Face of Power***. This book has been used as a tool or guiding source for this research study. The whole idea is to test some of Forester's arguments if they are applicable in the City of Johannesburg. Forester's book addresses different issues that are faced by planners in the practice of planning which are power and inequality. He identifies four modes of power which affect planners and planning practice and the manner in which planners use this power. These are: Agenda Setting, Control of Decision Making, Needs Shaping and Misinformation (see table.2).

In broad terms, an agenda setting in planning practice is a way of listing different issues whereby the people need to pay attention in influencing development in certain ways. Decision making is viewed as the way to choose or identify an alternative from many alternatives which fits the agenda that is recognised and set within an organization. The choice of an alternative assists planners as the decision makers to take proper decisions. Hence needs shaping can be considered as the way or strategy which planners can use in shaping their own interests which are fundamental to them. Likewise misinformation is very dynamic because it comes in different forms. Misinformation in planning practice is done through the manipulation of knowledge or language with the intention to confuse, abuse, manipulate or disturb others. It can also happen when planners present wrong data or incorrect calculation within the organisation. Most importantly, misinformation can happen intentionally with the aim off achieving certain objectives that serve sectional interests.

The dynamics of these four modes of power contextualise the structuring and shaping of planning practice because they always affect how planners work or function in their planning environments. Accordingly, Forester emphasizes that if planners want to overcome the challenging dynamics of power and inequality, they have to think in a political and rational manner when theorizing issues in the practical world of planning. His argument is

based on the different arenas of public decision making, public administration and management. The book points to a way of thinking about and understanding the practical and inevitably political work of planning roles in improving public institutions in terms of providing an efficient and effective service delivery which is more democratic within society. It assumes that in planning practice, planners and politicians act as products of power. Since "it is an inescapable aspect of every human relationship, and it influences everything from our sexual relations to the jobs we hold, the cars we drive, the television we watch, the hopes we pursue"(Toffler, 1990: 3).

Forester's book reflects schematically at the work done by real people in real situations. It also explores the realities about "the vulnerabilities of democracy, about power and professional responsibility, about political action and ideology, inequality, domination and resistance, illegitimate authority and democratizing practices" (Forester, 1989: xi). Furthermore, the book provides critical solutions for addressing problems in complex political situations. It also offers planning strategies for planners to tackle or confront distortions in communication, to challenge the assertion of power in language in a world of severe inequalities (Forester, 1989: xi). Forester provides useful advice by saying that, "to be rational, effective and ethical, planners must anticipate and counteract pressures that stifle public voice, that manipulate democratic processes of consensus-building, and that ignore the many so that a few may prosper" (Forester, 1989: 137). He also accentuates that "planning should work towards a political democratization of daily communication" (Forester, 1989: 21).

1.2 Problem Statement

Although Forester's text 'Planning in the Face of Power' is a key theoretical reading and his ideas are widely used by planning students and practitioners, Forester's arguments have not been tested in the City of Johannesburg. It is imperative to examine how power functions between the planners and politicians through agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation, and whether Forester's tools are applicable in this local context.

Likewise, the City of Johannesburg is one of the big cities in the landscape of South Africa whereby planners and politicians act as the key engine for the distribution of scarce resources within the City. Therefore, an investigation of power interface between officials and politicians will help to comprehend the power dynamics which these two actors display and contribute within the real world of planning practice. Moreover, this will also provide us with an insight of how the resources are distributed within the context of local government of Johannesburg and which mechanism of power dynamics. Although, as Foucault (1969; 1975; 1994a; 1994b) argues, "power is omnipresent in all spheres of society, the various forms and levels of power and the dynamics of power relations are specifically active (and often highly visible) in public and political institutions such as local governments".

This statement further reminds us about Foucault's thoughts that power is everywhere whether we like it or not we cannot escape from it (Foucault in Flyvbjerg, 2001). This argument boils down to a certain incident which happened in the City of Johannesburg about the renaming of streets as a way of reflecting the new democratic South Africa and also for honouring those who passed away. Most broadly, the Joburg Street Naming Policy (2001: 6) document states that: "The use of a name which relates to people either living, or those alive during living memory shall not be used when naming or renaming streets, cemeteries and open spaces". However, this brought confusion within the City on the renaming of two streets in Newtown whereby the names that were used are for people who were or are still alive. The Bezuidenhout Street was changed to Miriam Makeba Street before she passed away and Sydenham Street to Noria Mabasa Street who is still alive. As Ndaba Dlamini (2004: 1) notes "After debate, the mayoral committee decided to take into account the submissions to include the names of living persons despite a ruling that no living person should be included". From this respect, this provides a scenario that planners within the City of Johannesburg seem to be planning in the face of political power because the decision which was taken by the mayoral committee undermined the planning profession and it also seemed to be an unfair decision because the policy is written on the Joburg Street Naming Policy document. In this respect, the decision displays the politicians power dynamics within the planning practice in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

From this perspective, the question arose in how power works where planners and politicians function in their daily basis of interactions in the City of Johannesburg. The issue of power or the dominant of power between politicians or planners has not been documented or discussed in most of the government documents and newsletters. This portrays that the notion of power is still a challenging factor in terms of theorising planning practices and processes in the City. In a traditional sense, when politicians and planners experience a bad relationship, the people on the ground or community are the ones subjected to consequences because the negative outcomes that are produced affect people both direct and indirect. This study hopes to challenge and/or encourage the future studies and theorists to focus more on the power relationships between planners and politicians within the context of planning environments within the City of Johannesburg.

1.3 Research Question of the Study

The main question for this research is outlined as follows: What is the power interface between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg in relation to John Forester's arguments? A number of sub-questions accompany this main question:

- What are John Forester's arguments?
- Where and/or what is the interface between politicians and planners in Forester's book *Planning* ***in the Face of Power***?
- What are the observed problems and strengths in Forester's case study?
- Why do such challenges and strengths exist between politicians and planners according to Forester?
- What is the power interface between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg?
- Where and what are the problems and strengths between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg?
- What is the nature of the 'voice' that planners have in political circuits?
- What planning interventions can mitigate the problems and strengths that exist between politicians and planners?

1.4 Justification of the Study

This report intends to “offer an opportunity to observe at close range the daily dynamics of power,” (Coleman, 2010: 141) which are wielded by planners and politicians in the political planning practice. It also aims to narrate the story about the power relationship between the planners and politicians through interpreting the acts of agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation. This research is undertaken at the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality which is situated in Braamfontein, adjacent to Hillbrow. This municipality is the one of six Metropolitan Municipalities that were established in the year 2000. The primary purpose of its establishment was aimed at systemically maintaining and focusing on the political affairs of the local government of some of the South African cities (Mid-term report 2006: 5). Most importantly, it is very crucial to indicate that the City of Johannesburg is undergoing rapid population growth each year. This city has had a radical change in socio-economics, politics, environmental dynamic and other aspects of human development since 1994.Its Mid-term report (2008: 6) states "In future, Johannesburg will continue to lead as South Africa's primary business city, a dynamic centre of production, innovation, trade, finance and services. This balanced economic growth will be shared in a way that enables all residents to gain access to the ladder of prosperity."

From a spatial and political perspective, the city of Johannesburg is a socio-economic landscape divided according to the class, race, culture, religion and so forth. For instance, “the poor mostly live in the southern suburbs or on the peripheries of the far north, and the middle class live largely in the suburbs of the central and north. Around 20% of the city population lives in abject poverty in informal settlements that lack proper roads, electricity, or any other kind of municipal service” (Mid-term report 2008: 15). This division reflects the spatial fragmentation which can be seen as the legacy created by the apartheid system. In political perspective, the role of the planning system during the apartheid regime was used as the tool or driving force for “maintaining, or reproducing social control, oppression, inequalities and injustices” (Yiftachel, 1999: 268) which have worsened problems of poverty within the landscape of South Africa.

The Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is the key engine which drives the city of Johannesburg. In this arena, it is where different spatial development policies such as Integrated Development Planning (IDP), Spatial Development Framework (SDF), spatial planning, policy documents, etc. are formulated, designed, manipulated, monitored and implemented. In a fundamental sense, Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality is the crucial place for this study because it is where politicians and planners interact with each other in their daily basis about the political affairs of this prominent City. Another reason for choosing Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is that it is situated very close to where I'm staying. The interior and exterior design of this building is very friendly especially for the wheelchair users since I am one of them. So, accessibility is vital to my work.

This study does not see or interpret the circuit of planners and politicians as opposing parties or power fight against each other. It views both planners and politicians as a discourse which is intended to work together to serve the needs of the society without compromising any form of power or power struggle. From this account, talk, arguments, status, power, conflict and knowledge always matter in the everyday practice (Forester, 1987: 27). This research study is very crucial to me as a planner with disability who seeks to understand and know about the challenges, difficulties and struggles that are faced by planners in planning practice. It is very important again to know how the planners can survive and/or overcome the obstacles or political pressure in the realities of the practical world. It is possible to argue that the political issues that are embedded in the real political planning world confront planners of all kinds every day and everywhere. More importantly, in planning practice power relations are manifested in expectations about roles, about behaviour, about language and about values (Forester, 1989: 9).

1.5 Research Methods of the Study

In order to answer the research question, this study has made use of the Library; Analysis of document sources; Observations; Interviews and the Internet for collecting data and also to an investigation of the working environment where the city planners operate.

1.5.1 Library Documentary Analysis and Internet Research

Sources such as books, journals, archives and other sources in the library have been reviewed to facilitate my research. This research study has only focused on books and journals that have discussed the notion of power. Some of the authors on power that have been scrutinized are Alvin Toffler, John Allen, Steven Lukes, Michel Foucault, John French and Bertram Raven. These scholars approach power from different disciplines such as social science, political science and planning science. Most broadly, these authors above put across crucial points because they interpret the concept of power within their different disciplines and discourses.

Documents such as governmental policies (e.g. Mid-term report 2000, 2005 and 2008, IDP documents, DPUM-Business Plan documents, Local Government: Municipal System Act documents, City of Johannesburg newspapers and newsletter, etc.) as well as newspapers and newsletter have been scrutinized. These have assisted me to understand the function of the government and its political archaeology or structure within the departments in the City of Johannesburg. These documents were also crucial in contextualising the research topic in the political planning world. The internet was also used as an additional tool to access information such as journals which focus on the concepts of power and planning, government websites and other sources of information.

1.5.2 Observation

Field observation was used as a data collection method. Observation is a very crucial method because it has allowed me to “observe peoples’ behaviors and interactions directly, or watch for the results of behaviors or interactions” (Byrne, 2001: 14).Observation is a useful method especially when the respondents are unwilling or unable to provide correct or relevant information through interview. Field observation has been done at the different offices both on the political and planning sides (see table 1 below).

The political side	The planning side
Mayor's office (Administrator) 2 participants	Central Strategy Unit 3 participants
Speaker's office (Administrator) 2 participants	Development Planning and Urban Management 3 participants
Section 79 Committee (Ward Councillors) 10 participants	Development Planning 4 participants
Member of Mayoral Committee (Political Head of DPUM) 1 participant	Geographical Information Systems 2 participants

Table: 1 **The political and Planning sides**

On the political side, the mayor's office, speaker's office and the Section 79 Committee meetings were observed. On the planning side, the planning units such as Central Strategy Unit (CSU), Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM), Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF), Development Planning (DP) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) were subjected to observation. The fully political structure of the City of Johannesburg is presented schematically in chapter four on this research paper.

Further observation was made at the Section 79 committee meetings. Two meetings were attended on the 13th of July 2010 and on 17th September 2010. Both meetings were mainly on the feedback and evaluation of reports about the City of Johannesburg. Most importantly, the meeting of Section 79 committee is only for politicians (ward councillors) and planners (officials). For me, being at those two meetings was a great opportunity to see the planners and politicians interact in one space. The political structure of Section 79 committee is fully explained in chapter four. An empirical observation that was conducted here was very direct and overt as the chairperson of Section 79 committee was always introduced me to all meetings that have been attended to the members within the boardroom. This was because no one from the public domain is allowed to attend this meeting. So, they gave me permission to do those observations.

In broad terms, observation as a method was used to scrutinize and to understand the power dynamics which are exerted by politicians and planners within their planning environment in the City of Johannesburg. It also allowed me to understand their political interactions and to interpret the real world of planning practice. Since we are aware that planning is about politics and power, it is mainly a function in a political environment which is concerned with the distribution of scarce resources within the society. Therefore, it is very imperative to comprehend the power dynamics which are in embedded within the politicians and planners in the planning practice.

1.5.3 Interviews

Byrne (2001: 1) states that "Interviewing is a technique that is primarily used to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for people's attitudes, preferences or behaviour". Interviewing as a data collection method allows the participant to confirm or clarify information given on the newspapers or public sources (e.g. newsletters, books, internet, etc.) regarding their current situation, feelings and knowledge of their work environments or experiences. It has also played a vital role in gathering rich or first-hand information.

Twelve planners both junior and senior were interviewed face-to- face and a group interviews were done. These planners were from various departments including Central Strategy Unit (CSU), Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF) and Development Planning (DP).The crucial reason for interviewing these planners was because they work directly with politicians especially ward councillors in the City. Eleven politicians from the opposition (e.g. Democratic Party (DP), Congress of the People (COPE), Freedom Front (FF), Inkata Freedom Party (IFP), etc.) and ruling party African National Party (ANC) were interviewed. These politicians interact directly with planners in their daily working situations. These Ten politicians are the ward councillors who are also members of the Section 79 Committee.

As demonstrated in Forester's monumental work, is not possible to avoid politicians and planners when theorizing planning practice. Accordingly, one of the fundamental reasons for interviewing these groups of planners and politicians is that they are seen as the main instrumental vehicle for shaping the practical world of planning practice within the City of

Johannesburg. These people can also be understood as the driving force for decision-making, needs shaping and agenda setting and misinformation in the City of Johannesburg. In addition, four administrators from the various departments and offices within Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality building were also been interviewed. The main reason for interviewing administrators from various departments (e.g. CSU, DPUM, Speaker's and Mayor's offices) was to scrutinize the political model that governs the local government municipality of the city.

1.6 Organisation of Chapters

This research study comprises five chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to this study. It mainly serves as a general overview of the structure and the framework of this report. This chapter starts by highlighting Forester's four modes of power which are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation. It also highlights key issues such as the topic, background, problem, main question and sub-questions and methodology of the study. Chapter two serves as the literature review of this report. It aims to critically define and theorize the broader dynamic impacts of the concept of power within different discourses. It further aims to critically analyse Forester's four modes power reviewing and engaging different theorists of power who are Alvin Toffler, John Allen, Steven Lukes, Michel Foucault, John French and Bertram Raven.

Chapter three discusses different dynamic sources of power such as: the link between power and knowledge; power and strategy; power and resources; power by structure/order and power. It explores different dynamic sources of power in line with Forester's four modes of power. This chapter ends by spelling out the various dynamic of powers which are embedded in politicians and planers in the spatial realm. Chapter four provides an overview of the political power structure which governs the City of Johannesburg. It aims to discuss the political Arm of the Executive Committee and the Legislative Arm of the Council and it further explores the political relationship between these arms and the planning departments which are Central Strategy Unit (CSU), Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM), Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF), Development Planning (DP) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS).

This chapter helps us to comprehend the political dynamics of this City in terms of how it controls and manages its political affairs within the South African political landscape. It will also help us to comprehend the dynamics of agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation in the City of Johannesburg. Chapter five serves as a critical platform which provides findings of the study. This chapter also unpacks and critically analyses the findings of the research study.

The last chapter which is chapter six encompasses recommendations and conclusions. This chapter intends to answer the main research question of the study which is: What is the interface between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg in relation to John Forester's arguments?

Chapter Two: Theories of Power and its Dynamics

"The fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the sense that Energy is the fundamental concept in physics… The laws of social dynamics are laws which can only be stated in terms in of power" (Russell, 1938: 10).

2.1 Definitions of power

In order to explore the dynamics of power between politicians and planners in the City of Johannesburg, it is important to deal with the definitions of power first. The various definitions of power are very dynamic and complex. Steven Lukes (1986: 67) noted: "As pervasive as power is, it is as difficult to define, and some contend that overarching definitions of power inevitably fail". This chapter starts with an overview of the definitions of power. This is followed by the discussion of Forester's four modes of power which are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation. In broad terms, the various definitions of power are very important and to discuss them firstly will allow us to comprehend, interpret and conceptualize the concept power in a broader comportment.

From a normative argument, the definitions of power are varied from scholar to scholar. This is due to its complexity and critical dynamism within our societal structure of life. Definitions of power are always being conceptualised within the different critical issues or aspects of human behaviour such as institutions, groups, dyads, society, etc (Hinkin and Schriesheim, 2007: 222). From a political perspective, the term "power has been examined from a wide variety of perspectives, including political, military, social, organization and more recently in managerial" (Hinkin and Schriesheim, 2007: 222). Power is often defined in terms of the practices of the individual's actions of coercion, dominance, control and interests, influence and these practices are seen as part of the potential elements of power which are exerted in the human social science. In this regards, the definitions of power become complex and broad. This results in different interpretation and degrees understanding from individual to individual. For this reason, the logical structures of the contextualization of power have gained a strong substantial insights and critical attention in the human social relations and science (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959: 136).

The German sociologist, Max Weber defined power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance"

(Weber, 1947: 152). Along similar lines, Richard Marc Emerson (1962: 32) suggests that “the power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A”. Indeed for Bertrand Russell, “power is the ability to produce intended effects" (Russell, 1938: 24). Also Wrong (1995: 2) understands the notion of power as “the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others". Furthermore, Weber and Emerson suggest that power can be used as the social or political factor to pressurise or oppress others in order to act on the way you want. Here, the amount of pressure or oppression that you are capable to exercise or apply to other persons can make you achieve what want you are intended. It also indicates that violence or coercive power can be applied as the solution to achieve intended effects on others. Hence for the application of power within this situation is non-negotiable.

The definitions of power above reflect the concept of power as the influential tool to change or control someone’s behaviour within the decision making also in the given areas. The definitions suggest that power can produce influence that can control and shape the distribution of resources within the society. From this account, influence itself can be understood as the exertion of power. As John Turner defines the concept of “power as the capacity to influence and [he] argues that it is based upon the influence and the agent’s control of resources desired or valued by the target. Power is the potential to influence and influence is the exercise of power” (Turner, 2005: 21). Most crucially, Robbins further expand Turner’s perception of power as he notes that “Power refers to a capacity that A has to influence the behaviour of B so that B acts in accordance with A wishes" (Robbins, 1998 : 396). The elements outlines here are some of the traditional views of power in our society. Mintzberg reckons that power is relational between one or more actors. Hence, Mintzberg (1983) criticizes Robbins definition and describes it as narrow because power in relation to changing someone’s behaviour is a result of power effecting outcomes.

Other scholars like Manuel Castells (2009: 49) define power as influence with a “relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor (s) in ways that favour the empowered actor's will, interests, and values.” French and Raven elaborate on Castells’ perception that “the phenomena of power and influence involve a dyadic relation between two agents which may be viewed from two points of

view: (a) What determines the behaviour of the agent who exerts power? (b) What determines the reactions of the recipient of this behaviour?" (French and Raven, 1959: 150). While these views begin in to see power operating a two way dimension, they are still limited since they focus on actors and notion of the sphere of influence is ignored.

For instance, power can be viewed as a socio-political phenomenon to control and govern people's behaviour or actions in a given environmental setting or space within the social structure. Power can be exerted in the form of authority (e.g. chiefs), laws (e.g. police, government, etc.). For example, planning legislation such as the White Paper which is seen as the national law or the Land Use Bill which binds every person who want to use land any type of development on it. The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management was introduced to control and to regulate the use of land in South Africa and is the planning legislation which was designed to replace various planning Acts such as the Physical Planning Acts and the Development Facilitation Act. The White Paper is the system which aim to tackle different issues such as: "The development of policies which will result in the best use and sustainable management of land; Improvement and strengthening planning, management, monitoring and evaluation; Strengthening institutions and coordinating mechanisms; Creation of mechanisms to facilitate satisfaction of the needs and objectives of communities and people at local level" (White Paper, 2001).

There are other nuanced conceptions of power. Kristof Van Assche (2004: 37) provides us with a useful point by saying that, "power is inextricably part of discourses, as it is spread through discourses and helps discourses to spread and multiply. Power is part of the grid we apply to the external world to enable us to talk about it, to objectify it, control it, exert power over it. Power is in the general concept of the grid, in its design, its application; only part of this is consciously manipulated". Most importantly, the phenomenon intended effects of power are very broad because power itself is so dynamic and is everywhere within the different avenues of the social interactions of our life.

Alvin Toffler for example, defines power as the "reciprocal of desire" or simply the ability to make people act the way you want them to. Toffler suggests that, "power, which to a large extent defines us as individuals and as nations, is itself being redefined" (Toffler, 1990: 12). The notion of power here is viewed as a discourse which is driven by reciprocal mutual

desires of individuals to achieve anything you want at any time or place. Most crucially, Stephen Coleman (2010) reminds us that if we want to use power there are two things that we should taking into an account which are strategy and intention. According to Coleman conjectural thinking, the aspects such as strategy and intention are the major requirement in the exertion of power.

Amanda Cahill (2008: 301) also relates the important dynamism of power when he points out that "power is not some static capacity, but constantly shifts across time and space" which means there is no one who own power or exert it forever due to its complex dynamic. Power always depends on the specific context to be exerted. Most broadly, context is not static as it is always changing from time to time and this affects the power within that context to keep on changing. For example, apartheid planning was about the manipulation of power on land through the application of planning injustices. Planning was considered as the instrumental tool abusing, separating or dividing people according to their races, religions, status and so forth. The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001: 4) further elaborate about the mechanism of planning system during the apartheid regime at this fashion: "Apartheid planning was integrally linked to blueprint - or `master' - planning as the dominant planning approach. This approach had as its focus the manipulation of the physical environment to implement the plan - an inherently inflexible, static physical representation of a desired future - in this case one of `orderly', racially separate and unequal development. The approach was comprehensive in nature, striving to predetermine the use of all land parcels in order to achieve the desired end state of separate development. This desired end state became an inflexible representation of the future which necessitated complete and absolute control on the part of planning authorities".

Likewise post-apartheid planning could be seen as an era for dealing with the negative effects and challenges on the land which were created by the apartheid planning system. Some of these negative impacts which were left by this regime are the distortion, fragmentation of settlement patterns and unequal access to economic and social resources. The post-apartheid planning aims to respond and revamp the negative planning which was caused by the apartheid planning system. Nowadays, planning is considered as a strategic

tool which aims to create a liveable environment where everyone can easily get to access different opportunities such as resources and basic services which offered by the municipality. From this perspective, planning agenda which was used as discourse to divide or separate people during the apartheid era has dramatically changed because now planning is used as tool to integrate different people into one space despite their different cultures, status, professions, religions, poor or rich, etc.

In a real sense, the consequence of changes or dynamics of power is that it always has a negative impact to the power-holder and on the other hand, it has positive impact to the power seekers. As Keltner (2000: 116) notes, "power is not static, but interacts with contextual factors, culture, and individual difference variables of those who hold power and those who seek change". In a nutshell, one may postulate that the exertion of power and its function "varies significantly according to social context" (Keltner, 2000: 114).

All the viewpoints that have been discussed above on the definitions of power portray very strongly about the notion of power as unavoidable phenomenon factor when theorizing or practicing anything in the world of politics because it is seen and understood "as ethereal, multidimensional (political, economic, physical, emotional, erotic) and ineluctable" phenomenon discourse (Coleman, 2010: 135). Coleman emphasize politically (2010: 129), "the grammar of power is best understood in terms of its nuanced modality-, such as dominating, manipulating, coercing, seducing, [controlling, oppressing] and acting out". In this view, one can argue that the substantive dynamic of "power is an inescapable feature of human social life and structure" because all the social interactions depend on power as are driven by actions and interests within the society (Turner, 2005: 6). This discussion of the definitions of power play a vital role at this study as they enable one to understand the critical meaning of Forester's arguments of power which are seen as a huge challenge in the real world of planning practice.

2.2 The Conceptualization of Forester's four modes of power

In Forester's four modes of power, power functions as institutional power, collective attitude, theoretical optimization or political equilibrium as it concern about the implications of power which are constituted on the world of planning realities or practices

which are faced by the planners. Forester's principal concern is about agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation is the way planners function or exercise for informing or misinforming the citizens in the political world of planning practice. Forester conceptualizes these four modes of power in the participatory planning setting where different participants are involved or excluded within planning processes. Forester views these four modes of power as the political issues which become a driving force for the exercise of power in practical world of planning. According to Forester, these modes of power always depend on how power functions in the given setting area. These four modes are outlined as follows:

2.2.1 Agenda Setting

John Kingdon defines the agenda as "a list of subjects or problems to which government officials and people outside of government closely associated with those officials are paying some serious attention to at any given time" (Kingdon, 1984: 4). He accentuates that "the agenda-setting process narrows this set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention" (Kingdon, 1984: 3). One could interpret agenda setting as a political process, conflictive and competitive on different or specific issues to become a central attention for political decision makers because sometimes it is difficult to choose from many alternatives as they seem all to be appealing or applicable within that given environment at that time. Agenda setting can be contingent on "competing entries on policy agenda; ability to influence groups to action; positions & views of key policymakers; preferences of interest group and preferences of decision maker" (Albrecht, 2003: 137).These aspects outlined here are some of the key drivers in the setting of political agenda.

Most importantly, "a process must become a political issue and gain a place on the political agenda. An issue is on the political agenda when it has become a subject of discussion among a fairly broad cross-section of a community of place or of interest" (Bryson and Crosby, 1992: 48).For example, when South Africa finally became a democracy in 1994, there were many issues which became the fundamental agendas of the country which were left by the legacy of the apartheid system.

As Chris Landsberg (Landsberg, 2005: 4) writes: “In 1994, the democratic government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a policy framework with the key objective of meeting the basic needs of especially poor and destitute South Africans and building the economy”. Some of the issues on the agenda were embedded in the basic amenities such as the backlog in the provision formal houses, inefficiencies in infrastructure, communal and commercial facilities, etc. especial within the ‘black township’ areas which previously were marginalised and excluded by the spatial planning or apartheid policies. As an integrated, “coherent socio-economic policy vision, the RDP sought to mobilize people and the country’s resources towards the eradication of the apartheid’s legacy. A range of Acts, policies and programmes were developed at both national and provincial levels. A new housing policy was formulated arising from inputs from ‘massed base’ political groupings, the business community, the building industry, financial institutions and development organizations” (Landsberg, 2005: 4).

Similarly following the adoption of the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in 1997 which was introduced to address various issues which were identified by the City of Johannesburg. Likewise Councillor Ros Greef (2011: 01) a former Member of the Mayoral Committee and the political head for Development Planning and Urban Management were manifested some of the agenda which faced by the City when she writes : “There is a strong positive feeling about the future of the inner-city because of our success and this is also reflected in a number of concurrent recent initiatives such as the Inner City Property Scheme, the growth of Urban Development Zones and the roll-out of the new broadband network to create a truly digital city”. She further accentuates that “This Department took the lead in the turnaround process and many of the City’s flagship projects such as the redevelopment of Newtown, the constitution of the Nelson Mandela Bridge, the Constitution Hill Precinct and the regeneration of Braamfontein would not have been possible without our planning and interventions” (Greef, 2011: 01). The whole principal notion of these initiatives and projects was to boldly confront a number of challenges which faced by the City of Johannesburg.

Likewise in 1999 when Thabo Mbeki became the president, he identified presidential projects, which led to the significant transformation of Soweto, the Alexandra Development

Project and Cosmo City are some of the other successive city agendas which were designed to intervene some of the social, political and environmental manifestations faced by the City of Johannesburg. For instance, the Alexandra Development Project (ARP) was initiated as the strategic spatial planning policy which merely focuses on gearing up service delivery within the landscape of the Alexandra Township. The ARP was aiming to confront different issues which are socio-economic and political factors such as lack of proper houses, crime, water, health, rubbish collection, communal facilities and infrastructure as whole. Further, the ARP also aimed to improve Alexandra Township to become a liveable location and also a tourism destination area.

Forester conceptualizes agenda setting as the exercise of power in the given complex of political environments, as he explains "a more subtle and less explicit exercise of power occurs in the setting of agendas: the influence over which citizens find out what and when, about which projects, which options, and about what they might be able to do as a result" (Forester, 1989: 31). For Forester, the power which is exerted in the setting of agenda always shapes the actions and also controls the behaviour of the participants in the planning process. As noted "shaping who finds out what and when often shapes action (and inaction)" (Meltsner 1976, Benveniste 1977, Kemp 1980, Rabinowitz 1969, Needleman and Needleman 1974, Marris and Rein 1974 in Forester, 1989: 31). Furthermore, Forester views agenda setting as the power for domination of interests, influences or perceptions over the participants by powerful figures. Agenda setting can also act as the strategy for excluding others in a given political environments by those who are in high position. This understanding of power reminds one immediately about legitimate power.

Most importantly, in the government setting specifically in the planning practice those who exercise this type of power for setting agendas are particularly politicians. In most cases, politicians are given this positional power by the political mandate of the government. The power which refers by Forester in agenda setting is the power which is exercised by politicians for gaining their political dominance or interests over the planners and citizens' interests. For example, the ruling party African National Congress (ANC) has given its politicians (ward councillors) a positional power which they exercise over the planners and citizens within the municipality of the City of Johannesburg. Another political example, is the

Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM) department which is the umbrella of all planning departments within the city, headed by the executive politician who is also part of the Member of Mayoral Committee (MMC).

Forester's agenda setting can link with Foucault's pastoral power since it merely concerns governing the actions and behaviour of individuals in a given area. Foucault in his conceptualization of pastoral power indicates a systemically political stance of the domination of pastor on his flock in the given environmental setting which is a church. As Foucault points out, "[t]he pastor must really take charge of and observe daily life in order to form a never-ending knowledge of the behaviour and conduct of the members of the flock he supervises" (Foucault in Golder, 2007: 169). Foucault further observes pastor as the "art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men" (Foucault in Golder, 2007: 171). For Foucault, the pastoring is the prominent figure who has a power to control 'spiritual directions' for his flock. In a Christian perspective, a pastor can be seen and understood as the shepherd of his flock to the salvation. Foucault also observes that the pastoral power is concerned about the way the truth and obedience shape his flock. Most importantly, one may argue that the pastoral power is the way or strategy to regulate the souls and physical actions of the people or his followers that are willing to see the salvation or the kingdom of God. For Foucault, "the institutionalized Christian pastorate underlies the development of governmentalities in the modern West" (Foucault in Golder, 2007: 159). Furthermore, has a legitimate power and right to influence his flock through the cultural values and norms of the church to obey him.

From a political perspective, agenda setting in the church setting is merely an exercise by the pastor of a the form of power which acts as the spiritual power to govern, control, guide and manipulate the flock's actions and behaviours. Therefore, the flock becomes very reliant on him because they have a strong belief in him to be a powerful leader, guider, or a supervisor for their eternal life. Pastoral power is also associated with legitimate power as it is driven from position which has been given by the church setting. This is the power which has been given to the pastor through the consensus from the church congress or members to stand and lead them on their behalf. Pastoral power is also driven by spiritual faith because it is concern about the spiritual belief of an individual.

In a nutshell, there are varieties of contributing factors which make different issues to be part of agenda or focus of attention within the governmental setting. Some of the political issues are driven by: "An event or crisis; Information/evidence from evaluations and existing programs reveal that a situation (because of severity, magnitude, number of people affected, etc.) requires attention and; Collective action of interest groups, protests, lobby, and social movements around a particular topic"(Albrecht, 2003: 134). All these aspects mentioned here are in the heart of the citizens because these aspects affect their lives both directly and indirectly. As such, their active participation in the agenda setting is highly recommended and imperative as it will enable them to influence their societal interests to those who exercise power in agenda setting. For example, the service delivery protests which took place in 2009 until now (2011) from different areas within the City of Johannesburg were based on by many socio-political issues or reasons.

Some of the primary reasons are dissatisfaction with the delivery of basic municipal services such as poor running water, electricity and toilets, especially in the informal settlements. Other issues which contribute to the service delivery protests are high rate of unemployment, high levels of poverty, poor infrastructure, and the lack of houses. Crucially, some of these service delivery protests are driven by the catastrophe of the political promises which were proposed during the election period for the new local government. Therefore, the political promises by the politicians create problems, frustrations and also social instabilities towards the society when they have not been delivered properly for what they (society) were promised (Landsberg, 2005).

An agenda can link with expert power because it requires certain knowledge for critical decision or selection on which models of implementation and evaluation and knowledge for strategic thinking and foresight on political issues which affect the lives of the citizens. Most crucial, the setting of agenda always relies on those who hold expertise information or who have huge amount of knowledge of that specific field. Agenda setting depends and is also driven by "the knowledge or advice derived from researchers, advisors and analysts that offer alternatives or solutions that may or may not be considered or used by decision makers. This requires potential knowledge or information" (Albrecht, 2003: 130).

From a theoretical planning perspective, Forester provides a useful normative argumentation about the agenda setting within the political world of planning when he writes “Anticipating the agenda setting attempts of established interests, planners can counter such dominating influence through a variety of informal, information brokering roles, keenly attuned to the timing of the planning process, its stages and procedures, and the interests and perceptions of the participants all along the way. In addition, planners may work to include or seek ties to those traditionally excluded, and encourage attention to alternatives which dominant interests might otherwise suppress” (Forester, 1989: 31). This normative political statement definitely shows us that in planning practice the needs of the society are shaped and controlled by the dominance of individual political interests. This dominant of interests become a virtual strategy of exerting power over others. It is the power which can decide on whose interests or action can be applied or employed in shaping the needs of the society. In terms of politics that are vested within the world of planning practice, planners are highly advised to anticipate it in their planning situations so that they can able to act against it in a professional integrity.

2.2.2 Decision Making

The exercise of power is central to decision making in the planning system. Harris (1980: 163) defines decision making as “the study of identifying and choosing alternatives based on the values and preferences of the decision maker. Making a decision implies that there are alternative choices to be considered, and in such a case we want not only to identify as many of these alternatives as possible but to choose the one that best fits with our goals, objectives, desires, values, and so on”. Forester’s main concern about the notion of decision making is the way power is exercise over others. As he explains “one has the ability to inform or misinform citizens effectively by virtue of the ability to prevail in decision making” (Forester, 1989: 28). Forester conceptualizes power through decision making as the mechanism to exclude and to dominant the participants in the decision making process. When one misinforms the citizens in the decision making situations, that particular person is preventing or blocking the citizens from gaining proper information. This can be viewed as the political strategy of excluding others within the decision making process.

As we have seen on the discussion above that decision making is mainly concerned with different issues such as identifying the problem, generating alternative solutions, selecting solution and, implementing and evaluating the solution. All these issues mentioned here require a greater amount of knowledge to come with the decision which will have a positive outcome within the organization/society. Decision making process can also link with expert power because to reach consensus within the decision making (professional) context it always needs the competence of the different actors or specialists as they will apply their expertise such as skills, experience and knowledge relating to different aspects (criteria) of the problem or solution in a given area to making informed decisions (Fülöp, 2009: 1). Most crucially, Forester reminds us politically that "planners can respond to decision focused power by anticipating political pressures and mobilizing countervailing support" (Forester, 1989: 39).

Another Forester principal concern about the notion of decision making is on the actions or behaviours of all the participants in the decision making situation. According to János Fülöp (2009: 2) "decision making is said to be a psychological construct. This means that although we can never "see" a decision, we can infer from observable behaviour that a decision has been made. Therefore we conclude that a psychological event that we call "decision making" has occurred. It is a construction that imputes commitment to action. That is, based on observable actions, we assume that people have made a commitment to effect the action".

From a political perspective, the operation of power in the decision making within the organization is that it can pique debate especially where some decisions are unclear to another party or such decisions were not be implemented efficiently according to the mandate of an organization. In point of fact, the importance of power is mainly to control the human behaviours or actions to enable to flow the making of decisions. In theoretical contemplation, power in decision making also allows for consideration of a wider range of influences on a normative argument or political debate. In most cases, "decision making processes serve an important communication function as well as a useful political function" (Kingdon, 1984: 3). In decision making "power operates as a mental structure" as it fundamentally concern about the implications of collective attitude or state of mind. On this

point, decision making can also be linked with the notion of governmentality as it concerns about the governing or controlling the actions and behaviours of people within the given situation or setting of governmental area.

Foucault coins this concept governmentality as the stepping stone to investigate or study the problem of political power which is exercised by the state over its people. Foucault's principal concern is to see and study the way the political government exercises its power over its people. The notion of governmentality can be understood and seen as the "certain ways of thinking and acting" (Collier, 2009: 78) of power which is exercised by the government in the given environmental setting. For Foucault, the power which is embedded in governmentality is viewed as the "biopolitical government as an extension of control over biological life" (Collier, 2009: 79). Foucault clearly points his view of the notion of governmentality in this fashion: "What I would like to show you, and will try to show you, is how the emergence of the state as a fundamental political issue can in fact be situated within a more general history of governmentality, or, if you like, in the field of practices of power. I am well aware that there are those who say that in talking about power all we do is develop an internal and circular ontology of power, but I say: Is it not precisely those who talk of the state, of its history, development, and claims, who elaborate on an entity through history and who develop the ontology of this thing that would be the state? What if the state was nothing more than a way of governing? What if the state was nothing more than a type of governmentality?" (Foucault, 1998: 174).

From the political account, governmentality is a form of "thinking about the nature of the practice of government" (Gordon in Collier, 2009: 84) in the way it governs or controls the different modes of actions, mental behaviours or thinking of its people through the exercise of power and knowledge in the political form of rationality. In this light governmentality in Foucault political position can be understood as the form of the political practice of power performed by the government to regulate its people through the use of different policies and laws that abide all the human behaviours within the society. For political example, the exercise of power by the government over its people can be seen as the way of maintaining peace and order within the societal settings. However, in some of the countries peace or order is only achieved by applying other forms of coercive power such as punishment, abuse

threat or physical harm to the citizens. These forms of power outlined here are seen as some of the governmental strategies that are in embedded in many countries around the world. Crucially, in many countries violence is the major problem thus why some of the governments apply these coercive forms to run their countries.

One may further stipulate that the making of decisions by the government on the planning policies or governmental policies and laws can be viewed as an exercise of power on its people. In most cases, the policies and laws of the country are structured, formulated, decided and controlled by political figures or those who are in power to control and maintain the political stability of the country. In reality, all decisions that are made today within the country become the guiding source of the present and tomorrow for the whole society. For example, in 1997 the Gauteng local government introduced the City Improvements Districts (CIDs) system. The CIDs system was intentionally formulated for revamping and restructuring different precincts such as Newton, Constitution Hill, ARP, Soweto, BRT Stations and it was also aimed at renaming streets and buildings to create new democratic South Africa. Most crucially, the main idea of the CIDs system was to established new architectural planning platform which was to accommodate all within the society.

All this was to make the City of Johannesburg to be liveable, to create different economic platforms which was going to attract the investors. CIDs program aims to make the City an economic hub of Africa and a competitive world class City. The adoption of CIDs system within the City of Johannesburg further reminds us about South African government when it introduced Industrial Development Zones (IDZs) as the strategy to identify and design areas which were to be suitable for development of industrial and manufacturing zones. The main idea of the formulation of IDZs by the Minister of Trade and Industry was to attract and encourage both local and foreign investors to and invest their capitals within the zones. The Minister strongly believes that the notion of IDZs will highly strengthen the economy of South Africa as it will promote strong economic competitiveness' and also make the country to become global economic hub.

Most importantly, Foucault theorizes the notion of "governmentality as conduct, or, more precisely, as 'the conduct of conduct' and thus as a term which ranges from 'governing self' to 'governing others' (Lemke, 2000: 7). Moreover, Foucault further linked and equated the

concept of governmentality to the political idea which he coined “technologies of the self and technologies of domination” (Lemke, 2000: 5). In this regards, governmentality can be comprehended as the form of political rationality of power which operates in a given setting by the state. The notion of governmentality can also link with legitimate power. Most basically, legitimate power is the power which is designed to run organisations, governments, etc. This type of power is structured through different positions within the given setting structure. For practical example, the Department of Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM) is headed by the politician (MMC) and within the department there are executive directors who are given this position to oversee and monitor other planning departments within the City of Johannesburg.

The notion of governmentality by Foucault was to investigate how these different positions such as president and his/her political cabinets exercise their political power within the governmental setting of their countries. One may further argue that governmentality as the way of thinking and acting is strongly linked or associated with what is happening between the participants within the decision making process. Decision making requires different ways of critical thinking and action to enable to reach democratic consensus within the given area.

From this political account, one may conclude this section by stating that decision making can be considered as the principle strategy of selection or exclusion of people or ideas within the organization. In reality, all decisions are about problems and all decisions persuade by figures that are in power. Ironically, in the government setting the make of all the key decisions are propose and control by the elected politicians. Most importantly, decision making in a democratically context is always dependent on the greater amount of, information or professional knowledge which is presented to reach the level of consensus within the organizational setting.As noted by Baker *et al* in their 2001 study, “efficient decision-making involves a series of steps that require the input of information at different stages of the process, as well as a process for feedback” (Baker, 2001: 69).

2.2.3 Needs Shaping

Forester writes “still more insidious and difficult to measure exercise of power (e.g., the efficacy of advertising) exists in the ability of major institutions and actors to shape the felt needs and self-conceptions of citizens” (Forester, 1989: 39). He further provides us with the useful example that “they must acquiesce in the face of big government and big business, that socialism for poor and middle-income persons is perverse, but that it is fine for the wealthy controlling investment, that individual market consumption will provide for the satisfaction of all needs, and that collective action is not a public responsibility but a nuisance” (Forester, 1989: 39). Forester’s exertion of power through needs shaping is more concerned with how power shapes the perceived needs of the citizens. In his conception of power, Forester perceives power as being exercised by those who are in powerful position or who amassed a greater amount of resources for shaping the needs of the citizens. In a governmental setting, needs shaping can be seen as the political ideology which both politicians and citizens are contesting for shaping it. Consequentially, the needs of the society are always shaped by the political interests of the individual. It aims to favour others who aim to gain personal or political interests. For example, the Central Strategy Unit (CSU) which is a planning department within the City of Johannesburg under takes the research to identify the social problems and the needs which are faced by the city dwellers.

Likewise after the CSU has gathered and assessed all relevant information with regards to the needs of the society, they compile their findings or information as the form of planning recommendations which they submit it to the Mayoral Committee to be approved. In doing so, the CSU’s planning recommendations become the driving force for the politicians because they (politicians) use them to structure and shape some of the fundamental City priorities which they set as their political mandate of their five years long-term. CSU is also responsible for formulating strategies and policies (e.g. Integrated Development Planning (IDP), Spatial Development Framework (SDF), City Business-Plans, etc.) which will become the planning solutions in relating to the planning and social problems which were identified during their research. The CSU also develop long- and short-term plans for shaping and providing a proper direction for channelling the resources and furthermore, to use land for the socio-economic growth and revitalization of various precincts within the City of

Johannesburg. In this regards, planners are seen as an instrumental tool or an engine that identify and shape the needs which are always in line with the societal needs. They also play a huge pivotal role in helping the politicians to make decisions concerning social, economic, and environmental problems which faced by the society.

In most cases, this political perception shapes the actions on which the planners base their function. For the argument sake this is an unavoidable ideology if planners want to reach sustainable democratic planning which can accommodate everyone within the society. Forester further reminds us that "planners who anticipate the attempts of established interests to shape the perceived needs of citizens may not only work against the rhetoric influencing such perceptions, but they may also encourage, or ally themselves with, progressive local organizing efforts at the neighbourhood (or larger) level. In the face of these varieties of established power, no single type of planning action should be expected to be a *sufficient* response; but each type of action may be *necessary* if planning practitioners are to be responsive to, and indeed empower, citizens hoping to participate effectively regarding the issues shaping their lives" (Forester, 1989: 36). For practical example, in the case of needs shaping within the City of Johannesburg, one could ask him/herself this question: Whose interest was taken into account when deciding to the host 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup?. This question is highly political as it challenges every citizen especial for those who still live under a roof of poverty and unemployment. Likewise, there are people who benefited a lot from the Soccer World Cup, while some huge number of people did not benefit from it. In reality those who benefited were those who were already possession of huge amount of resources such money, physical infrastructure (e.g. hotels, lounges, game reserves, etc.) human resources (Landsberg, 2005).

In broad terms, this question mentioned above is driven by the huge amount which has been used to build big and expensive world stadiums while many people on the ground do not have proper houses and other social basic resources. This situation really reminds us about Flyvbjerg's findings from the project that he was exploring in Aalborg town where he concluded that the needs of the society were shaped and driven by politics and also by those who amass a huge amount of resources (money) which are politicians, administrators and the private sectors as the way to strengthen their powers (Flyvbjerg, 2002). This

definitely shows that the citizens are sometimes excluded and marginalised in terms of shaping their own needs that will be appealing and sustainable to them.

In summary, Forester conceptualizes these three modes of power (see Table.2) that were discussed above which are agenda setting, decision making and needs shaping at this fashion. From a political point of view, Forester indicates cogently about the way these modes of power are exercised that "can work to thwart efforts of both planners and informed citizens seeking to participate in a democratic planning process" (Forester, 1989: 32). This statement is highly political because it clearly demonstrates the way planners can be marginalized and misused in the political setting of planning practice. It also shows how the citizens can be misrepresented, manipulated and excluded in the planning process. Most broadly, there is a high degree of possibilities for the citizens to be ignored by the people whom they put their trust by elected them to represent them in the political world of power. This definitely tells us that the misuse or abusive of power by politicians always alienate them from the society especially from those who have voted them to go and represent them to the political world of power.

2.2.4 Misinformation

As illustrated schematically in Table.2, Forester presents the way on which these three modes of power function within the citizens and planners in a given complex of political environment. This table demonstrates that power is wielded in the form of domination rather collectively. It also indicates that power can act as an instrumental language for confusing and obfuscating meetings and planning policies. Moreover, it also indicates that those who have more power have a strong potential for fragmenting or distorting communication, knowledge and information within the planning practice and process. The way the power is exercise through these three modes of power, Forester correlates them with misinformation. He argues that these modes of power (agenda setting, decision making and needs shaping) "can create the types of misinformation that not only subvert informed and responsible citizen participation, but weaken planner-citizen working relationships" (Forester, 1989: 42). However, Lukes (1974) reminds us that "systematic misinformation will be rooted in the political-economic structures that define who has initiative and who reacts, who has expertise or invokes authority and who is mystified or defers, who appeals to trust

and who chooses to trust or be sceptical, who defines agendas of need and investment and who is thus defined" (Lukes in Forester 1982: 59).

Likewise, misinformation is regarded as the problem which distorts and shapes the actions of the people whom planners work or function. It also distorts communication which constrains decision making that weaken democratic planning during the planning process. Accordingly, Forester accentuates thoroughly that, "misinformation is a barrier to informed public participation, so might an analyst of these barriers help citizens and planners alike to identity, anticipate and overcome such obstacles to a democratic planning process" (Forester, 1989: 47). Furthermore, he also emphasizes that "by misinforming citizens, power works through management of comprehension, or obfuscating; of trust, or false assurance; of consent, or manipulated agreement; and of knowledge or misrepresentation" (Forester, 1989: 45). Broadly speaking, in a governmental setting, misinformation is very dangerous and expensive because it can paralyze the flow of information and economy of the country. Misinformation can also cause uncertain and mistrust situation between the planners and politicians. All these practical issues mentioned above planners are advised to anticipate them in a complex political world.

Most primarily, in planning processes and/or practice is that various systematic sources of misinformation is highly political because they can be used as the power strategy to manipulate or to shape the processes of decision making, needs shaping and agenda setting. Consequentially, this can stimulates political argument or conflict because crucial stakeholders such as the citizens can be excluded in the democratic planning processes as they cannot participate actively.

The exercise of power obstructing informed citizen action through:	**The management of affected person:**		
	Comprehension (confusion)	**Trust (false assurance)**	**Knowledge (misrepresentation)**
Decisions	resolutions passed with deliberate ambiguity; confusing rhetoric, e.g., regarding the "truly needy"	"symbolic" decisions (false promises)	Decisions which misrepresent to the public actual possibilities (e.g., the effectiveness of insufficiently tested medications)
Agenda setting	obfuscating issues through jargon or quantity of "information"	Marshalling respectable personages to gain trust (independent of substance)	Before decisions are made, misrepresenting cot, benefits, risks, true options the planning process
Needs shaping	Diagnosis, problem definition, or solution definition	Ritualistic appeals to "openness," "the public interest," and "responsiveness," the encouragement of dependency upon benign apolitical others.	Ideological or deceptive presentation of needs, requirements, or sources of satisfaction (false advertising, "analysis for hire")

Table: 2 **Forms of misinformation** (Forester; 1989: 38)

Moreover, planners can also misrepresent passively the interests and the needs of the society as they will experience political pressure. Forester further points out that "each dimension of misinformation (obfuscation, false assurance, pretension to legitimacy, or misrepresentation of facts)" (Forester, 1989: 40) has the strong negative effects on shaping the flow of power in agenda setting, decision making and needs shaping within the political complex of planning practice. Table.2 presents different barriers and dynamics that contribute or formulate by these three modes of power (decision making, needs shaping and agenda setting) through the substantial management of misinformation. Forester also

reminds us with his crucial point when he points that “each misinforming obstacle in table. 2 is a barrier to the informed participation of the public supposedly served by planners, so does an analysis of those obstacles provide a step toward the practical identification, anticipation, and overcoming of such systematic barriers to a democratic planning process” (Forester, 1989: 37). For example, when planners provide incorrect data figures or information to the society there is a strong possible possibility for confusing or marginalising the people. In doing that, misinformation can cause unrest and disbelieve within the participation situation. Misinformation is very costly because it delays the organisation from proceeding with its plans, while it fixing the damage caused by the misinformation. Most crucially, there is a high degree for planners to lose trust from the society especial if they have presented wrong information to them.

One practical question to ask, can planners themselves become a source of misinformation? According to Forester, planners sometimes can act as the source of misinformation because “planners often work within pressing time constraints. They may have inadequate information available to them, and they face organizational and political incentives to legitimate existing” (Forester, 1989: 42-3). Some of crucial factors that produce by these planners within the planning environment are the “misrepresentation of facts, the improper appeal to expertise or precedent, the misleading statement of intentions or good will, or the obfuscation of significant issues by distracting attention to other matters” (Forester, 1989: 43).

The above discussion, indicate cogently that planning could be distorted through the manipulation of information in terms of priorities etc. as a result of misinformation. Ultimately, then the community especially the poor are the most vulnerable target for the result of misinformation. Most crucially, misinformation can also lead to damage of properties and to corruption. Misinformation can act as fundamental omnipotence for undermining other people’s professions, integrity, ethics, culture and positions within the political world of planning practice. It also contributes to confusion, obfuscation, misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the policy documents to the politicians and planners which can lead to a negative effects or consequences to the human development in the society.

As we are aware, the that planning practice function within the political environments as it concerned and deals with the social politics for restructuring and distribution of the resources within the society. From this perspective, one may argue that the planning function through a certain discourse within a certain time and place. For Foucault, discourse refers to very specific "patterns of language that tell us something about the person speaking the language, the culture that that person is part of, the network of social institutions that the person caught up in, and even frequently the most basic assumptions that the person holds" (Foucault in Whisnant, 1999: 173). He further accentuate that discourse produces knowledge and truth. So, this definitely tells us that there is a high degree of possibilities that those who are extremely knowledgeable and skilled have the huge ability to manipulate their knowledge to misinform others within the institution or organisation to enable to achieve their personal interests or hided agenda. In a nutshell, misinformation does not only cause disorder, instability or mistrust between the members within the organisation, misinformation further cripple the economy that given environment. Instead of the organisation moving forward it has to fix the damage caused by the misinformation that it was provided with.

In summary, this part shows that some the forms of misinformation are caused by human error while other forms are intentional. Most basically, misinformation which is caused intentional can be seen as the way of wielding power over others. For example, a planner can manipulate his/her professional knowledge as the way of holding information. In general term, holding of information could be viewed and understood as the way for exerting power indirectly since we are aware that information is knowledge and knowledge is power. The last point which this report wants to emphasize on regards to misinformation is that both politicians and planners are seen as the source of threat because they have the ability to "inform and misinform citizens very selectively" (Forester, 1989: 23). Forester further emphasizes strongly that "each mode of power (decision centred, agenda setting, felt needs shaping) and each dimension of misinformation (obfuscation, false assurance, pretension to legitimacy, or misrepresentation of facts) may present distinct obstacles to progressive planning practice, and each of these obstacles calls for a distinct response" (Forester, 1989: 45). Forester four modes of power act as the political of communication between planning officers and politicians. The exercise power of power through agenda

setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation "is portrayed as being an entity against which planners work" (Forester, 1989: 43).

2.3 Conclusion

The conceptualization of power by the different authors through the interpretation of Forester's modes of power which are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation provide a useful comprehensive understanding of the concept power. In a crucial critical thought, these theories of power also demonstrate that power is everywhere which means any individual person has a potential ability to practice her/his power for stimulating and shaping the argument in agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation within planning practices. The central argument here is that, "power is not something that one person can own or possess. Instead, it exists in a situation between people and is subject to change because power is available to anyone due to the range of attributes through which it can be attained" (Hertel, 2006 in Hinkin and Schriesheim, 2007: 228).

One can conclude this chapter by this normative argument that whose power is represented in the planning practices and processes is very crucial into the process of reaching the democratic outcomes. The exercise of power always has huge impact in planning practice because it can act as the tool to decide in terms of whose political strategy or interests can be applied to reach a certain consensus or outcomes which can be effective or less effective to the people within the society. In fundamental level, power does not always produce positive outcomes and power is neither 'good nor bad' this always depends on how it operates and who is operating it. From a planning perspective, those who control the huge amount of power in planning practice have a "means to say and implement what matters-not a matter of convenience, efficiency, or professional competency" (Turner, 1987: 21). In a 'substantively democratic planning' the implementation that can produce positive outcomes of the planning programs always depends on the substantive involvement of power and knowledge that planners contribute in the construction and implementation of those programs. Furthermore, it is very important to state that in planning practice the way power is exercised always shapes and determines how or which programs get constructed and implemented as stated earlier on. Most importantly, when planners are able to learn

their planning situations they can able to understand and aware about the power and politics which affects them within planning situations.

Chapter Three: Different Dynamic Sources of Power and Planning

3.1 Introduction

The core objective of this chapter is to discuss the different conceptions of power in relation to the dynamics of knowledge, structure/order, strategy, and resources in planning and in the politics of planning practice. The conceptualization of different sources of power in relation to knowledge, structure/order, strategy, resources and planning are to be discussed by scrutinizing different works of various scholars such as Francis Bacon, Michel Foucault, Alvin Toffler, Amanda Cahill, John Allen, French and Raven, Bent Flyvbjerg, Forester and Edgar Pieterse. The chapter seeks to build on these theories of power to gain insights into the discussion of the critical aspects of Forester's four modes of power which are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation. The chapter aims to critically discuss and spell out the nature/dimension of power which affects planners and politicians in their general environmental setting.

3.2 The Relations of Power and Knowledge

This section start by discussing the notion of knowledge before discussing different conceptions of power such as structure/order, strategy, resources and planning. These conceptions have the strong potential to depend on knowledge for the sake of their function and maintenance. Bacon (1597) and Foucault (1980) have equated power and knowledge. They both argue that the elements of power and knowledge have the ability to produce each other which means that power is knowledge and knowledge is power (McHoul & Grace, 1993; Smart, 1985; Fillingham, 1993 in de Villiers, 2009: 17). Foucault's political perspective of knowledge is precisely reflected as follows: "We should admit that power produces knowledge…that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault in Turner, 1987: 2).

In this argument, one may argue that power is the maintenance of knowledge, and knowledge is also the maintenance of power. For example, those who have much

knowledge (e.g. professional planners, political or technical knowledge) in planning practice have the power to influence and to shape any decisions because where there is democratic planning, knowledge become a driving factor for bringing proper and strategic information within the planning environments. Even Toffler's conception of knowledge demonstrates that it can be linked to power. He perceives "knowledge as highest-quality of power and also the most important ingredient of force and wealth" (Toffler, 1990: 15 & 16). He further emphasizes that both violence and wealth depend on knowledge to function well within the society. For him, knowledge is embedded in science and technology. Toffler includes computers, complex electronics, etc. in his conception of knowledge as power. In broad terms, Toffler reminds us that "it [knowledge] can be used to punish, reward, persuade, and even transform. It can transform enemy to ally. Best of all, with the right knowledge one can circumvent nasty situations in the first place, so as to avoid wasting force or wealth altogether" (Toffler, 1990: 17). From this perspective, the advanced knowledge you display or produce the more power you gain and this can put yourself in the position to control, conquer, or decide whatever you want to decide.

Likewise the professional knowledge which is displayed by planners for setting an agenda always become the driving tool for shaping and guiding the decision makers in planning practice. A planners' knowledge plays an important role because they use it for doing research and seeking to identify the potential needs which are relevant and important for the society. In a nutshell, one may argue that the professional knowledge which is produced by planners in the preparation and formulation of spatial planning or policy documents (e.g. Integrated Development Plan (IDP), Spatial Development Framework (SDF), City Improvements Districts (CIDs), etc.) is seen as the strategy of shaping the needs of the society, because those planning documents are use and applied by the politicians as the political mechanism for solving the social problems which became an agenda and also for fostering effective quality service delivery which will have strong impact to the lives of the society.

For Toffler, Knowledge is a substitute for violence, wealth, labour, energy, space, and time. He argues that, "knowledge is the crux of tomorrow's world-wide struggle for power. As knowledge continues to grow in importance, a redistribution of power takes place to rock

the very foundation of the world economy. The old 'smoke stack system' is being replaced by an entirely new system of wealth creation" (Toffler, 1990: 20-21). In today's' world, the huge rate of unemployment has been driven by knowledge which had substituted muscle in the economical world. Most basically, many people do not have sufficient knowledge which makes them to be unemployable. Toffler reminds us very strongly that "any effective strategy for reducing joblessness in a super-symbolic economy must depend less on the allocation of wealth and more on the allocation of knowledge" (Toffler, 1990: 24). From this stand point, one can see that nowadays knowledge has become the 'pre-eminent leg of power'. Toffler accentuates that "knowledge is becoming the ultimate substitute, replacing the more traditional forms of power" (Toffler, 1990: 15).

Knowledge has also contributed to global political economy and to the way different countries govern themselves. In short, knowledge has become a key driver for the maintenance of good governance which demonstrates that knowledge can produce democracy. The use of knowledge by different countries can act as the substantive instrument for monitoring and improving the growth of democracy. Consequently, knowledge can also be used as a tool to influence and/or challenge the arrangements of power of the country. In most cases, the knowledge which is displayed within the process of decision making regarding the economic policy of the country plays a vital role because it always bring positive impact to the lives of the society as it will enhance the economic sustainability.

Knowledge can become a huge threat especially to the leaders or people in high positions who have insufficient knowledge to run their countries or organizations. The way the economy and politics function or perform within the countries always depends on how knowledge is exercised and used. Knowledge has become a depended factor for the numerous countries in general. In a traditional perspective, knowledge has brought a deep level of political or economic change to the function of the governments globally but it must be noted that knowledge is not nor a "panacea for the world's problems" (Baum, 1999: 219). As Bent Flyvbjerg noted "knowledge can be so important that people in powerful positions find it worth their while to repress. [However] I had also seen examples of knowledge being so weak that this repression actually succeeded. I had seen knowledge

being marginalized by power and power producing the knowledge that served the latter" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 354). Therefore, the notion of power and knowledge seem not to be separated and overlapped to each other in spatial realm (Foucault, 1983).

Knowledge can further link to expert power. For McShane and Glinow (2005 in Karkoulian and Osman, 2006: 2) expert power is defined "as the capacity to influence others by possessing knowledge or skills that they value. The more important the information the fewer the alternative sources for getting it, the greater the power". Expert power is based on a person's strength of superior skills and knowledge which he/she attributes to another person within a given space. For instance, "when you have knowledge and skills that enable you to understand a situation, suggest solutions, use solid judgment, and generally outperform others, people will probably listen to you. When you demonstrate expertise, people tend to trust you and respect what you say. As a subject matter expert, your ideas will have more value, and others will look to you for leadership in that area" (Hinkin and Schriesheim, 1990: 227). For instance in practice, planners are seen as the crucial actors by politicians because they rely on planners' professional and technical knowledge and skills which planners produced or display to achieve the political agendas, goals and vision for politicians to deliver quality services which will be appealed and sustainable within the society.

Planners are key drivers for shaping and directing the resources of the countries as they formulate different strategies, plans and policies to maintain the needs of the society. Crucially, a certain deputy director of planning also proclaims that politicians always believe and trust in planners who display their professional knowledge and skills which they (politicians) can able to achieve their political gain or goals. He further emphasizes that, politicians always trust planners which show them trust, truth and a proper strategic planning direction all the time (Interview: 17/09/2010). This further reminds one about Foucault when he emphasizes that "knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true" (Foucault, 1983: 18). This highlights that within the planning practice, the politicians who are in charge in the making of decision do so based on the knowledge and skills that are produced by planners' trust, and the trust which will display the truth at the end.

In most cases, when you have specialised knowledge and skill that someone else requires, you tend to have much expert power. This type of power can be used to threaten, to leave, or to mobilise or even encourage others to go on strike for better salary or promotion within the company. Here, they can apply their expertise as the way or power to demand and force the employer to provide what they want or else they will leave the organisation and the society will suffer from this consequence. This is also applicable to any organisations or company whereby those who are highly knowledgeable, expertise or specialists threaten to leave their duties. Most basically, at work places the employers or bosses wield legitimate power and the employees exercise expert power because they are knowledgeable about the place where they function so, they can be viewed as solution makers or problem solvers. This type of expert power is embedded on the specialists within the companies. Expert power doesn't require positional, referential, or coercion power to maintain it, it only requires reputational rational thinking and decisiveness. In doing that, expert power will expand or go beyond that. For example, the planning documents which are prepared and produced require expertise only as the documents require professional quality information which planners would be acquire by undergoing research for identifying the problem and the proper solution.

For expert power, Allen's conception of power through mobilization can also link with expert power. This is mainly about power which is embedded in networks of social interactions. For Allen, a conceptualization of power as mobilization is very political because it importantly focuses on how resources are mobilized through the various networks to strengthen those who do not have within the society. Allen also surmises that "power through mobilization encompasses that of collective action" (Allen in Cahill, 2008: 297). Even Amanda Cahill emphasizes that "the idea of power through mobilization in the participatory development" is very crucial to the marginalized people because it can link them "into the appropriate networks of power, as they can influence formal decision-making processes" (Cahill, 2008: 297-298). So here, expert power becomes a driving factor in mobilizing people to get different resources through different networks. Knowledge can act as the strategy to decide how or when the resources should be distributed within the society and in which mechanism of networks. For instance, spatial planning documents such as Integrate Planning Document (SDF) and Spatial Document Framework (SDF) are some of

the planning strategies which are used by planners for shaping the direction of the distribution of the resources within the society.

In concluding this part on knowledge and power one can argue that "those who "prove capable of managing and effectively using knowledge will lead the nations of the world" (Toffler, 1990: 117). They will also gain strong power to control global economy; those who do not have knowledge will depend on those who have. One can agree that "knowledge is the most democratic source of power" (Toffler, 1990: 23). From a political viewpoint, one may argue that Forester's four modes of power which are agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation always depend and are shaped by the knowledge which is presented on the table. In a democratic context, these four modes are always driven and influenced by those who have high amount of knowledge and skills to reach good outcomes within the society. Furthermore, those who highly knowledgeable than others can also use or apply it in a negative way such as to misinform or misrepresent the citizens, or to manipulate or abuse the public resources in the form of corruption.

2.3 Power and Strategy

On an extension of knowledge, power can be used as the instrumental tool to create substantive "strategies and manipulations of the state and other stakeholders as forces in devising and impacting planning outcomes" (Yiftachel, 2001: 32). In planning, power acts as the strategy for stimulating arguments and/or to create consensus which can reach certain goals and outcomes. As Fainstein stated that, "goals are not simply there to be "discovered" in the form of preferences, but neither are they redeveloped ad hoc in each interchange" (Fainstein, 2005: 12). Different strategies are very crucial in planning practice because they contribute in the construction and implementation of planning programs and also in the creation of policy documents. For instance, "the City of Johannesburg has developed a "wide range of policies and strategies that should inform the formulation of an economic policy and strategy framework and these include (amongst others); the Johannesburg Growth and Development Strategy; the 2006-2011 Integrated Development Plan; the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework, Johannesburg Growth Management Strategy and the Joburg 2030" (www.joburg.org.za -2011/10/02).

Strategy as power here can be applied to select or exclude any information which suits or does not suit those who are more powerful in the planning world. It can also act as the strategy to include or exclude individuals in the decision making processes within the political agenda. In decision making, power can also be applied by planners and politicians as the strategy to choose the constructive choices among the alternatives which will be desirable and value for the certain political issues in a given area. For example, Flyvbjerg's work in Aalborg city demonstrates that the decision which was made by the politicians was mainly driven by the choices which were chosen among the other alternatives which were displayed on the table (Flyvbjerg, 2002). Hence the failure of the Aalborg project was caused by the politicians' choices as they apply their political power to choose what they felt to more value and desirable for them.

The exertion of power does not only produce an instrumental strategy or simply "involve processes of domination and resistance, but also seduction, persuasion, manipulation, coercion, authority and co-option" (Cahill, 2008: 9). The dimensional theoretical impacts of power have strong ability which can also "lead to bullies, rival gangs, enforced cooperation, hierarchy, ruling elites, ruling classes, and wars among rival nation-states" (Cahill, 2008: 14).

These above statements definitely remind us about the coercive power. Coercion is the power which is vested in domination, violence, threat, abuse or manipulation. It is the power of dictators, despots and bullies. As Yiftachel (2001: 5) notes in Israel during the 1950s and 1960s, planning was used as the political "strategy for oppressing subordinate various groups". Yiftachel further proclaims that the Israel government utilized planning "to segregate, dispossess, marginalize and disempowered minorities and peripheral groups" within the landscape of Israel. An argument here, is that the Israel government was exerting coercive power through planning by forcing and allocating its citizens the way it likes. Most broadly, coercive power is associated with something negative as it always rewards punishment to the compliance. As noted that "demonstrations of harm are often used to illustrate what will happen if compliance is not gained" (French and Raven, 1959: 158). Kreitner and Kinicki (2004) further argue that coercive power is present wherever there is a threat of punishment. For French and Raven "the strength of coercive power depends on the magnitude of the negative valence of the threatened punishment multiplied

by the perceived probability that A can avoid the punishment by conformity, i.e., the probability of punishment for nonconformity minus the probability of punishment for conformity" (French and Raven, 1959: 157). So, this tells us that "the more negative the sanctions a person can bring to bear on others, the stronger is her or his coercive power" (McShane and Glinow, 2005 in Karkoulian and Osman, 2006: 2).

Coercive power can be linked with violence as it applies punishment and this often results in either physically or psychologically harm. For Toffler, violence is viewed as the one of the sources of power which can be exercised in different forms or dimensions such as force, domination, manipulation, coercion and control. For practical example, in the given social setting, the politicians, soldiers and police are the major actors whose responsibility is to control or force the order or disorder of violence within the country (Toffler, 1990: 15). In different countries this form of power is mostly vested in the hands of the government. In a nutshell, violence can act as a strategy to punish, torture, abuse or transform human society. For Toffler, violence is rated as the low-quality of power, because here, the exertion of power is non-negotiable and no knowledge is required to practice this type of power. The reciprocal desire of power through violence is pain because here, one could be forced to do anything you want through the processes of pain. Therefore, the only reward that you get is pain in the form of punishment. Most crucial is that coercion can result in physical harm and psychological suffering or disturbance. As we have seen above that coercion can be viewed as the ultimate power of all governments so, it can also link with the notion of governmentality**.**

Strategy can act as power to support political ideologies which can channel the distribution of resources within the society. As mentioned earlier, the way power is exercise in our lives can also become an instrumental tool for making decisions which will be applied for the formulation and implementation of policies of the country. For example, in 1996 the South African government adopted a new macroeconomic policy framework, called the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR). The central focus of GEAR strategy to develop a "competitive, fast-growing economy through tight fiscal and monetary discipline, significantly increased foreign and domestic investment, further steps to open the economy to international competition and a reprioritizing of public expenditures "(Harsch, 2001: 12).

It is the policy strategy which recognizes the need for "redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor"(GEAR, 1996: 18) as it (GEAR) mainly "places the main emphasis on achieving this through high economic growth, to generate more jobs and higher incomes "(Harsch, 2001: 12). Significantly, strategy as power has a strong potential to influence decision making, agenda setting, needs shaping and control of misinformation in the planning practice. Basically, when these forms of power are not performed or taken in a democratic participatory manner, in most cases, the people on the ground become vulnerable (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 359). Therefore, this negative procedure becomes threat into the lives of the society.

2.3.3 Power and Resources

The exertion of power in planning practice can be viewed as an instrumental mechanism that can be applied into the distribution of materialistic resources (e.g. wealth, education, knowledge, etc.) within the society. Power can be used to decide in terms of who gains or losses these resources and why, where, how, in which mechanism of power. In traditionally, exertion of power within the society is concerned with the mobilization of resources in our daily lives. Power can be seen as the decision maker or agenda setter for the distribution of resources within the society. The way power is exercised in our lives is that it always “changes reality, it creates effects that can be seen, felt and measured” (Donham, 1990: 14). Those who amass resources can use them as power to oppress, manipulate, coercive, legitimate, reward or marginalize others to achieve what they want. From this account, “resources can be mobilized to strengthen an individual’s or group’s power” (Allen in Cahill, 2008: 296).

The control and use of resources by planners over others is seen as the domination of power. The way resources are used/applied in the daily structure of our life gives a sense of accumulation of power by certain groups or individual that enables them to control others who will be desperate to get share of these resources. Consequently, “power is not found in the resources, but in the use of those resources” (Allen in Cahill, 2008: 302). Here, it is very possible for powerful individuals to exercise misinformation as power to prevent others in getting resources within the society. Furthermore, planners in planning practices use agenda setting as the way to channel or mobilize the resources through the formulation of

spatial planning documents such IDP, Economic Development Growth, Business Plans, Planning Policies, etc.

In terms of power in things, Allen views the notion of power as driven by "certain resources such as finance or formal institutions" (Allen in Cahill, 2008: 296) and these resources are associated with rewards as you have to do something before you achieve them. In this light, those who amass large amount of these rewards have a strong potential to exercise power over to those who do not have them and this can be in the form of punishment, promise, coercive or influence or do this you will get that. As noted, "for people to become empowered to pursue their own well-being, they require increased access to resources such as money or positions in institutions perceived to hold power" (Hunt and Kasynathan; Kilby, Mayoux, in Cahill, 2008: 296). In particular, one may argue that the exercise of power through things can be understood as the way or source of control and domination over others especial to those who are vulnerable to the lack of resources which can be viewed as rewards.

2.3.4 Power by Structure/Order

Power is an instrumental strategy which acts as a phenomenon for categorizing people in group order which can be called 'power by order'. By ordering people in group, power gains more momentum to be exerted such as control, dominance, or manipulation of others within the group. Power by structure or order can be associated with legitimate power. Legitimate power can be viewed as "an agreement among organizational members that people in certain roles can request certain behaviors of others. The bounds of this legitimacy are defined partly by the formal nature of the position involved and partly by informal norms and traditions" (Karkoulian and Osman, 2006: 1). Legitimacy is the power which is driven by power from position, norms and values in an environmental setting such as culture, society, group or organisation. In this regards, legitimate power is a crucial phenomenon which is often accepted within the organisation or society as the part of social values and norms. It is the power which governs or controls the behaviour of the people or members in that given setting of different environments. Legitimate power can be further understood as "the valence in a region, which is induced by some internalized norm or value. It is stemmed from internalized values in one which indicates that another has a

legitimate right to influence one who is obligated to accept this influence. The main basis for this power is the cultural values that one individual has over another" (French and Raven, 1959: 155).

In most broadly, legitimate power is invested in different roles or positions within the group structure or organisational settings. This type of power is associated with an authority and it is driven by the position that you have been given for a certain period of time to be wielded within a given environmental setting. For example, the two diagrams (see Diagram.1 and 2) which are documented on chapter four in this research study portray the political power structure which governs the local government of the City of Johannesburg. Legitimate power can sometimes be renewed or changed (as documented on Diagram.1 and 2) when it has expired this always cause by the political elections or the deployment of certain people to other departments. The disadvantage of this power is that people on the ground often respect or obey the position not the people who hold this legitimate power. For instance, "If you lose the title or position, legitimate power can instantly disappear – since others were influenced by the position, not by you. Also, your scope of power is limited to situations that others believe you have a right to control" (Hinkin and Schriesheim, 1990: 222). In most cases, when the person in power lost his/her position those who used to obey him/her often forget or disrespect him/her. Most crucially, this type of power, however, can be unpredictable and unstable.

Power as a structure is also portrayed on the way planning policies and strategies are structured to reach a certain key goals by the planners within the planning practice. For practical example, when the African National Congress (ANC) gained power from the apartheid regime in 1996, they launched the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) portrays the structure which was aiming for restructuring and revamping the socio-economic of the citizens of South Africa. The RDP was structured to address various issues such as "imbalances in living conditions, institutional reform, educational and cultural programmes, employment generation and human resources development" (Harsch, 2001: 12). On the RDP documents there two issues which are stressed as the key spatial goals: 1) "the creation of employment, and 2) the alleviation of poverty, low wages and extreme inequalities in wages and wealth generated by the apartheid system...[to] ensure that every

South African has a decent living standard and economic security" (RDP, 1994: 20). From this perspective, the RDP structure "treats social and economic problems as interrelated, but offers a clear order of importance. Meeting basic needs is described as the first priority" (Wehner, 2000: 184).

One can conclude that power always depends on group structures and context to enable it to be exerted or function as discussed earlier on the previous sections on this report. Power is context-dependent, here for instance, a teacher has power in the class room yard but when she/ he move out from the school yard she/he becomes powerless. And the teacher has power that can only be enacted to the school children within the school yard only. Another crucial example is the statement which provided by French and Raven which state: "A husband may have a broad range of power over his wife, but a narrow range of power over his employer" (French and Raven, 1959: 158). Evidently, context does matter for the functionality of power; however, without context and specific people power will lose its responsibility and intention or its control.

This account shows that every power is limited and it is also designed for certain purpose to be exerted in specific context to the specific group of people. Foucault notes that power is always 'exercised with intention' and structure which makes it to be inescapable in human developmental structures. The general argument to be made is that power can be understood as a key imperative driver for creating both order and disorder in our society.

2.3.5 Power in Planning

"Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere…… power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (Foucault in Flyvbjerg, 2001: 117).

It is very imperative to state that "the realization about the multi-faceted nature of planning is not new. The use and abuse of power by and for planning has been documented in many foundational studies" (see: Meyerson and Banfield, 1995; Hall, 1978; Harvey, 1973; Marcuse, 1978; Marcuse, 1978; Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Power fundamentally, shapes and challenges planning theory and practice. Power helps us to interpret and understand ourselves and it also helps to create an environmental milieu of our daily life. As noted, "power is everywhere and nowhere: it is in mass production, in financial/flows, in lifestyle, in the school, in television, in images, in messages, in technologies [and] our identity is no longer defined by what we do but what we are" (Touraine in Booher & Innes, 2002: 221). Power also contributes on our acting and thinking process as we have seen on the notion of governmentality, because power produces knowledge and knowledge produces power. Power makes ourselves to be knowledgeable about it or other things. This reminds us that "if you are not knowledgeable about the former, you cannot be effective" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 355).

Flyvbjerg's work entitled ***Bringing Power to Planning Research*** (2002) provides a useful insight about the important role of power in planning practice. Flyvbjerg's work shows the way power was misused, exploited, misrepresented and misinterpreted by the people who are in the powerful position. Accordingly, Flyvbjerg's findings from the project that he was exploring in Aalborg city revealed that the decision-making and political agenda setting were unbalanced, unfair and manipulated by the powerful certain individuals for political interests or gain. The findings also reveal that the social needs of the society were misrepresented and directed by the misinformation which was presented on the table by those have huge amount of the resources (money).

The conflict of power interests within the planning processes between the powerful groups that were involved in the planning of Aalborg project which were planners, politicians, administrators and the private sectors have driven the project into distorted badly situation. In planning perspective, Flyvbjerg demonstrates that the planning process of Aalborg project was undemocratic and, lack transparency and accountability because the interest groups or people who were likely to be affected by the planning development that was proposed by the politicians were not involved in the decision making processes.

This Aalborg project resulted in a bad situation because planners, politicians, administrators wanted to exert their power and each group also wanted its idea to be implemented. If this is the case so, one can ask "who holds the power?" (Yiftachel, 2001: 1). Flyvbjerg on his

Aalborg case study found that there was a hidden exercise of power which resulted "from the choice or decision of an individual subject" (Cardoso, 2005: 14).

He also found that the power that was enacted at the Aalborg project was driven by selfish accumulations and interests of an individual to benefit for hided resources. Flyvbjerg's work reveals that public participation, consultations and the substantive involvement of the relevant actors or players in planning process is very crucial. However, without doing this, negative goals or outcomes will be achieved.

2.3.6 Relationship between Rationality and Power

Flyvbjerg also investigates the relationship between rationality and power during his explorations in Aalborg town. He develops ten prepositions of rationality and power which he uses to conceptualize the exercise of power in Aalborg project. Flyvbjerg was very enthusiastic to study "how rationality and power shape[d] planning in the Aalborg town [project]" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 355). In terms of his findings, Flyvbjerg concludes that "while power produces rationality and rationality produces power, their relationship is asymmetrical. Power has a clear tendency to dominate rationality in the dynamic and overlapping relationship between the two" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 360). He further concludes that "power has rationality that rationality does not know. Rationality, on the other hand, does not have power that power does not know. Therefore, the result is an unequal relationship between the two" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 361).

In summary, Flyvbjerg outlined suggestions which can be useful in avoiding conflict, misuse and exploitation of power in decision making in the real democratic sphere. Firstly, he "suggested that city government should take an active role in identifying participants and in facilitating their involvement with councils with the purpose of ensuring that discussions and decisions would be as democratic and have as wide [a] support as possible" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 364). Secondly, Flyvbjerg "suggested that planning councils should be active in the decision making process from beginning to the end" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 364). Thirdly, city policies must be opened and justifiable on the public domain. In this regard, Flyvbjerg explains that public dialogue approach must be established to reach for target groups / community as whole. Lastly, Flyvbjerg also stresses that "the dialogue approach is the

vehicle by means of which research can best hope to inform the planning process. [As] this mode of communication is crucial for practicing phronetic research in a democratic society" (Flyvbjerg, 2002: 363).

One may also conclude that the monumental work of Flyvbjerg reveals that planners have the power to mobilize people's attention on some issues of planning or agenda setting and decision making process. By doing this, the people become the witnesses of that particular planning process. Furthermore, Flyvbjerg emphasizes that public dialogue approach is very useful on reaching many people in the democratic sphere. Most crucially, it is essential to mention that in planning practice the "planners help to shape the flow of power, to mobilize it and to focus it. They are a part of it but not in control" (Booher and Inner, 2002: 223).

Another useful example is ***Planning in the Face of Power*** (1998) by John Forester. Forester shows us about the struggle of planners in the face of the people who holds the power than them. These people are politicians, administrators and the private sector. These groups are always in the forefront in planning practice, is not possible to avoid them. Forester points out that "if planners ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness. Alternatively, if planners understand how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analysis and empower citizen and community action" (Forester, 1998: 27). Booher and Innes provide comprehensive example about the struggle of the United States planners in the face of power as follows:

> "*Planners in the United States seem always to be complaining because they feel powerless. They cannot make political leaders act on their analyses. They often have to work for agencies or clients they do not agree with, and they sometimes feel they have to choose between their integrity and livelihood. They want to do comprehensive planning in the public interest, but more often they work piecemeal on whatever their agency does- housing, community development, or transportation. They are frustrated by the lack of opportunity to link these together and the inability to get at the sources of the problems instead of merely the symptoms".*
>
> (Booher and Innes, 2002: 222)

This statement definitely shows that the planners cannot avoid or escape from the people who are on the powerful position or politicians in the planning practices. It also shows that the planners are less important and vulnerable 'in the face of power'.

The way the power so dynamic, some of the powerful figures can exert it as the driving force for corruption and/or also the mechanism to oppress, exclude and marginalize other people within the society. Lord Acton stated that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" (Kreitner and Kinicki, 1998: 322) and this can be observed and witnessed in today's society. For practical example, Flyvbjerg's (2002) interpretation of power revealed that some of the policies that were implemented on the Aalborg project were undemocratic and corrupted. In the case of corruption, Forester further emphasizes that "whether or not power corrupts, the lack of power surely frustrates. Planners know this only too well. They often feel overwhelmed by the exercise of private power or by politics" (Forester, 1989: 27). As we aware that power is so dynamic and it also "comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1998: 98) so, "power functions in the form of a circulating chain outlining a complex strategically situation in a particular society where individuals are vehicles of power, not point of application" (Cardoso, 2005: 14).

"Cities are densities of stories, passion, hurts, revenge, aspiration, avoidance, deflection and complicity" (Pieterse, 2008: 3).

Edgar Pieterse in his book called ***City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development*** (2008) demonstrates how power is used to locate people in the urban space. The key concern of this book is to accommodate different urban actors or parties on the landscape of the cities which seem to be a major problem to the most cities in the developing world. These city actors that refer by this book are politicians, administrators, planners, stakeholders, rich and poor people, and so forth. All these parties need to be accommodated in the one space which is seen as the major problem to the urban planning process. The allocation of these parties always depends on the way power is used and distributed in the cities or on the case of "who holds the power" (Yiftachel, 2001: 1).

As we have mentioned earlier on that power corrupts. Basically, power can act as the instrumental mechanism to skew the distribution of public resources. It can be used to

abuse, exclude, marginalize others and cause sufferings which could create poverty within the society. The exertion of power can also act as the strategy to locate people at the edges or bad environment within the landscape of the city. In doing this, these people will always struggle to get or access to a basic services which offered by the municipalities within the cities. For practical example, during the apartheid era in South Africa power was exercise through planning practice as still documented by the spatial structure or an organization of the locations of the citizens of this country according ethnic groups, race, status, religion, etc. (Pieterse, 2008: 13) within the landscape of the City of Johannesburg. In broadly, the strategic planning legacy which left by the apartheid system has a strong message in terms of how power was politically organised and exerted by power-holders within the City. The location of 'black Townships' such as Soweto, Alexandra, etc. portray this legacy and still now poor are located into the south while rich to the north. However, this creates strong tension between the rich and the poor within the City of Johannesburg.

In a nutshell, the way power is used and enacted within the City of Johannesburg especial in categorizing or allocating of people according to their social structures such as ethnicity, class, religions, education, status or positions reflect strong political architectural segregation. In conceptual perspective, the way the cities are structured within the countries "It [always] raises questions of who owns the city, not in the sense of direct individual control of an asset but in the collective sense of each group's ability to access employment and culture, to live in a decent home and suitable living environment, to obtain a satisfying education, to maintain personal security, and to participate in urban governance" (Touraine, 1997, 133).

As we have seen in our discussion 'power is everywhere' in our life, and no one can escape it. Accordingly, the information that have discussed definitely show that there is an interface between power and planning. The crossing point or interface between these two issues has a huge impact in the planning practice. It is also unavoidable matter when exert planning in the political world. As Said reminds us that, "who holds the power and who dominates who" (Said, 1983: 221). This is the crucial statement in planning practice world.

2.4 Power for Planners

Planners have a strong potential to exercise power in different ways within the political world of planning. From theoretical perspective, planners are the major actors who are anticipated to negotiate the interests of the society and also to shape the dominant of power that will produce the positive outcomes within the society and also to their planning situations or practices. The role of planners is to understand and view "the world of planning practice from the perspective of negotiating power and interests" (Turner, 1987: 18). From the planning viewpoint, planners are the power representative for the people especial the society [citizens] whom they are voiceless or excluded in the decision making process that will affect their lives in general. In the political variant interactions of power in planning practice, the voice of planners is very crucial as they can represent the voice of the community as the whole. Planners "can influence the conditions which make citizens able (or unable) to participate, act, and organize effectively regarding issues affecting their collective lives" (Forester, 1989: 27). From this account, planners are seen as the key drivers for social fabrication of change in the human development or transformation within the society.

Planners can exercise power through different forms of knowledge. For example, the use of technical knowledge by planners in agenda setting, decision making or needs shaping always demonstrate that "power lie in technical information: knowing where the data is' and this is the attitude of the technician"(Forester, 1989: 29). Planners use their professional knowledge to produce spatial planning recommendations, which are send for political planning consideration to the elected politicians. Planners also take "their knowledge and represent it in strategic spatial planning documents. This is a form of power as it influences both decisions of stakeholders using these documents which are approved by Council through councillors' political powers. Power is indirectly exerted through the representation of knowledge as the knowledge ultimately becomes the truth" (Amdam, 2004: 13). Forester also reminds us that "planners shape not only documents but participation as well: who is contacted, who is able to participate in informal design review meetings, who seek to persuade whom of which options for project development. Planners do so not only by

shaping which facts certain citizens may have, but by shaping the trust and expectations of those citizens as well" (Forester, 1989: 27-8).

Planners in planning practice exert power through the use of their professional knowledge to conceptualize policy problems, generate policy alternatives, policy recommendations and to stimulate critical thinking and policy argumentations. However, all these can be seen as the strategy to exert power by planners within the planning environment. Furthermore, planners also provide effective professional advice to the decision makers. As Louis Albrechts explains, "a few advisers from planners became the engine to start the dialogue in this arena and to keep it going in a certain direction. Such a dialogue requires a certain degree of understanding about the underlying values, goals, spatial concepts of the project and how to turn them into workable instruments" (Albrechts, 1999: 588). In reality, "planners often have had little influence upon the implementation of the plans that they produced" (Forester, 1989: 28). In planning practice, planners can also be viewed as the "advisers, mediators, organizers (or disorganizers) of public attention: organizing attention to options for action, to particular costs and benefits, to particular arguments for and against proposals" (Forester 1980-1981, 1981a in Forester, 1989: 41). Planners also have the ability to exert power through agenda setting, this happen in the process of formulating the policy recommendation documents for the politicians.

Even Charles Hoch provides us with the useful argumentation about the power which planners exercise in planning practice when he writes: "Planners rely on the protocol of the professional planner to cope with the politics of planning. However, this protocol promises more than it delivers as a source of moral authority, and delivers more than it promises as a source of political power. The protocol simultaneously resolves and reproduces the liberal paradox between freedom and justice" (Hoch, 2006: 28). One may conclude this part that planners' power can be linked with expert power because it always depends on professional knowledge or information which is seen as the source of power. Planners' skills and knowledge are very useful and applicable in shaping and influencing of the political agenda setting or political decision making and also in the construction of spatial strategic planning policies or recommendation spatial planning documents which can be used by politicians to channel or direct the distribution of the resources within the society. For example, Central

Strategy Unit (CSU) is a planning department is mainly responsible for the development of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and also to formulate high-level of different dynamics of policies and strategies which are used and applied to direct and channel the vision and goals (e.g. resources) of the City of Johannesburg. In broad terms, "the CSU's mandate is to help set up a uniform strategic planning, monitoring and evaluation system for the City of Johannesburg. In short, it supports the executive mayor and the City manager in their oversight of the entire organisation of the City of Johannesburg, thereby promoting the stated organisational goal of good governance" (www.joburg.org.za – 2010/12/09).

Most fundamentally, planners can also exercise their power by holding information because they are the actors who amass and control the greater amount of information in planning practice. Politically, planners also have power to misinform the politicians or citizens since they amass and control the huge amount of information. Planners' power can also link with referent and legitimate power. Their expert power can change to referent power especially to the politicians who trust and like their knowledge and skills. Their superior expertise can become a source of reference for the politicians who want to achieve the positive outcome goal for the society.

2.5 Power for Politicians

In spatial realm, politicians gain power through coerce or elections. In most cases, political power which exert by politicians comes from the people in society. For practical example, "citizens delegate power by electing politicians for representing them. Politicians are aided by an administration that branches off, from national to local organizations, this way influencing the daily lives of the citizens. This line of power is called power by representation" (Van Assche, 2004: 53). However, this representational power sometimes it becomes a huge problem within the society because, in most cases, when the politicians are in power some of them start to behave in unacceptable manner towards the people whom have voted them as they create a certain tendency of misrepresent them. For practical example, here in South Africa selfish accumulation of public resources or corruption by an elected members or officials and service delivery protest are some of the symptoms which highly demonstrate political misrepresentation of the society by the

politicians who are in power. The misuse of political power always sluggish service delivery in the landscapes of many local governments in South Africa.

Politically, politicians exert power in different dynamic forms such as legitimate, coercive or referent power. The power which exercises by politicians through legitimate is the type of power in the form of position or specific authority in the given governmental environment (see diagram 1 and 2). Positional power is the traditional power which is always given to politicians to lead people for a certain period of time. This type of power is not permanent or stable as it always changing. Legitimate power always depends on the political and economic stability of all the governments. Legitimate power can also link with institutional and administrative power because it functions in the given specific area. Politicians sometimes exert coercive power through the use of both physical and psychological violence to gain their political goals or hidden agenda. This is the type of power which drives their actions to achieve personal interests or goals which are associated with corruption.

In political planning practices, "politicians exert power not through agenda setting, decision making or needs shaping but through their ability to shape both the agendas of discussion and the citizens' perceived needs and self-interests" (Forester,1989: 25). They also exert power through the approval of the recommendations of spatial planning, planning policies documents which produce by planners and also to approve an applications for developers. Politicians apply their authority or legitimate power to approve these planning documents which planners have applied their professional knowledge and skills. In reality, "no politicians' ruler can function without a steady supply of skills and knowledge that only experts such as engineers, technicians or planners have, and just as a ruler" (Popovic, 2007 in Van Assche, 2004: 57). Politicians need the cooperation of experts to stay in power especially within the democratic governmental environments.

However, politicians' power is sometimes associated with the domination of political interests or personal gain for certain agenda. It is the power to control, govern, or lead the actions and behavior of other people in the given environments. Moreover, political power is strongly equated to manipulation, abusive, exclusion, influence, pressure or coerces others within the society to do what politicians want. Subsequently, the power which exercises by politicians in the planning practice act as a threat against the place where

planners work because there are decision maker bodies and they also have power set any political agenda within the country.

2.6 Conclusion

In planning perspective, people are seen as an infrastructure which means we cannot separate them from planning practice because we plan for people. The issues of power and representation are critical here: whose views are represented in agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation always shape and politicised planning practice. Who holds the power and who dominates, how, why, in which mechanism these questions play an essential role in terms of service delivery or the distribution of resources within the society. In a constructive and progressive ways power interface between politicians and planners is very matter on the distribution of resources such as RDP houses, education, natural resources, economy or service delivery in the City of Johannesburg. The distribution of different resources is always shape by the maintenance of power which is presented in agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping or misinformation processes.

Most crucially, it is very difficult to reach a general conclusion about the power relationship between the politicians and planners in spatial realm. This framework chapter suggests more generally that the power relationship between politician and planners through the conceptualization of Forester' four modes of power is very complex and ambiguous. It suggests that the meeting ground of politicians and planners power is always depends on the context, time and space. This suggests that the relationship between politicians and planners is not stable it is always changing from time to time, however, this cause by the political and planning stability between politicians and planners or the political stability of the country. The relationship between the politicians and planners is also political because it functions in the political world of planning where both politicians and planners are more concern on how or which mechanism of power the resources of the country should be distributed within the society. In a nutshell, politicians and planners power relationship always depends on the individual and planning committee which is currently existing or functioning at that present time and space. For practical example, the new elected politicians or members have the huge impact into where planners work and function because they have the strong ability to shift or change the present power relationship of

planners and politicians within the planning practices. One may conclude this argument by saying that the election within the local governments contributes a lot in the relationship between politicians and planners within their working situations.

Chapter Four: The Political Power Structure of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

4.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to provide an empirical understanding of the political model that governs the City of Johannesburg. It aim is to show how the political institutional structure is organised within the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The crucial point of this chapter is to discuss the context of this structure before testing John Forester's arguments within the City of Johannesburg. This chapter will look at how the political structure in which politicians are situated as well as that of planners. It will also explore issues such as structure, resources and knowledge were used on restructuring of the political model of the City.

4.2 The Institutional and Governance Model of the City of Johannesburg

The institutional and governance of the City of Johannesburg is divided into two political arms which are Executive Committee and Legislative Committee. These two arms are the key drivers which govern the City. Most importantly, the people who are in these committees are politicians who are elected by their parties to come and represent them to serve the needs of the community. In general terms, the primarily aims of these two arms are to:

- "delineates powers more clearly by separating legislative and oversight roles on the one hand, from executive roles and responsibilities on the other;
- deepens democracy by empowering citizens and enhancing stakeholder involvement;
- improves the efficacy of governance;
- strengthens decision-making powers and accountability; and
- consolidates departments and municipal entities into single sectors, based on a politically led strategic perspective" (Mid-term report 2008: 6).

Before the year 2006, the office of the Mayoral Committee and the office of the Speaker were combined as show in the diagram below.

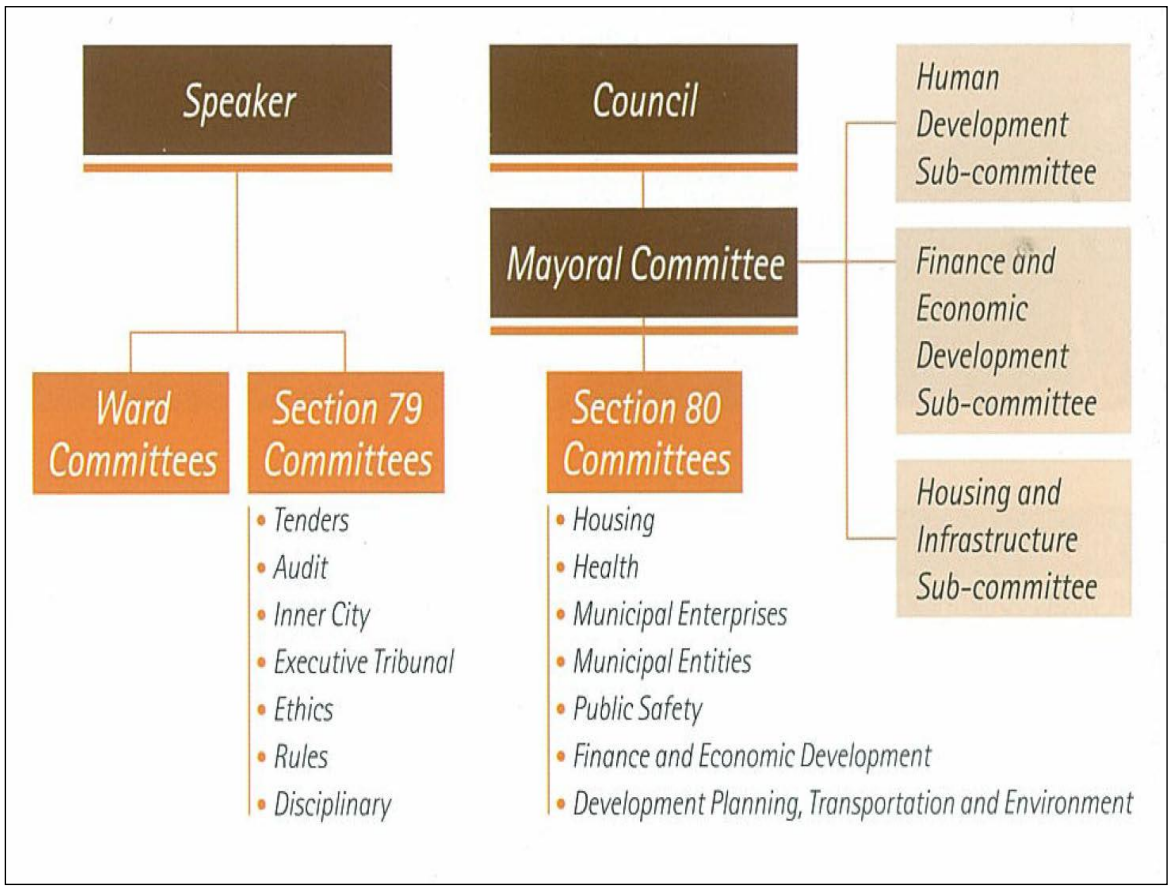


Diagram. 1 **Old Political Structure of the COJ** (Mid-term report 2000-2005: 6)

4.3 The Political Arm of the Executive Committee

After five years in power, however, the ruling party the African National Congress (ANC) found that there is a crucial need to revamp and adopt new political model that can be used for improving and providing a maximum effectiveness of service delivery to the city dwellers within the City of Johannesburg. In broad terms, the first Arm of the Executive Committee of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is form by the executive mayor and ten Members of Mayoral Committee (MMCs). "The executive is responsible for day-to-day decision-making and operational oversight. The executive submits quarterly and annual reports to the Council" (Mid-term report 2008: 9).Most importantly, the Arm of the Executive Committee encompasses the politicians from the ruling party (ANC) only, this is because the ANC has a majority seats in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

This Executive Arm mentioned above, is heads and runs by the councillor or executive mayor Amos Masondo. From a political perspective, Masondo is the person who takes overall strategic and political responsibility for the City with the assistant by a ten MMCs. This Executive Arm of the mayor also heads and controls ten departments which function on the day to day on city duties.

When the ANC gained power in 2005 for the third time in South Africa, they established its political mandate which aims to address some of the political agenda or social issues which were faced by the city dwellers such as lack of basic services (e.g. water, health, sanitation, environment, shelter, economy development, etc.) and good governance. Therefore, the executive mayor and his ten MMCs are delegated by the ANC to go and implement its political mandate which aim to contribute a huge positive impact of change in terms of human development to the city dwellers of Johannesburg.

An executive mayor Masondo and his ten MMCs can be seen as the key city actors, who are mainly driving the political and economic growth of the City of Johannesburg. These actors are the fundamental players within the City, and their responsible are to control, govern and maintain the agenda and needs of the City. They are also responsible for changing and/ or driving the City to become the world global City-region. The City-region that will be competitiveness and connectedness into other cities around the world.

Mr Masondo as the executive mayor has a certain powers and duties which he is responsible to exercises which purposely to strengthen the implementation of political decisions and political affairs which take place in a daily basis within the City of Johannesburg. The powers, functions and duties of the executive mayor are vested in the section 59 of the Local Government: Municipal Structure Act of 1998. In terms of section 59 (1) demonstrates that “An executive mayor is entitled to receive reports from committees of the municipal council and to forward these reports together with a recommendation to the council when the matter cannot be disposed of by the executive mayor in terms of the executive mayor’s delegated powers” (Local Government: Municipal System Act NO.32 OF 2000: 6). The powers, functions and duties of the executive mayor are also highlighted in

section 59 (2), (4), (5), (6) and (7) of the Local Government: Municipal Structure Act of 1998.The executive mayor's office is also responsible for the following issues such as to identifying needs, monitoring and, reporting and accountability (Local Government: Municipal Structure Act of 1998).

Masondo who drives a political mandate of the ANC is that him and his members have identified six strategic spatial priorities which they believe to be the key issues which faced by the City of Johannesburg. These priorities are planned to be implemented and maintained within the City. These priorities are crafted as follows:

- good governance;
- economic development and job creation;
- by-law enforcement and crime prevention;
- service delivery excellence, customer care and bathopele;
- Inner City regeneration;
- and HIV and AIDS. " (IDP Revision Report, 2008: 6).

The offices of both executive mayor and City manager are joint and work together to strengthen good governance of the ANC's political mandate. The crucial factor for this combination is to emphasize on the notion of good governance and strong institution which can be seen as the central focus. Another crucial point of this combination here is the creation of power setting where all the City departments can learn from one another "and a public consideration 'about how problems are to be defined and understood, what the range of possible solutions might be, and who should have the responsibility for solving them'; the effort is to be 'iterative and ongoing' and 'requiring communication flows in both directions" (Reich, 1990: 38). In doing that the political agenda of the City will be achieved and maintained through good communication and the sharing or delegation of power within the departments. Likewise, the notion of communication reminds us as about Foucault and Habermas when they equate it with power. Both authors view communication as a source of power which is always used to maintain and strengthen different issues within a given discourse. As noted by Foucault (1998: 34) "discourse is created and perpetuated by those who have the power and means of communication. Those who are in control decide who we are by deciding what we discuss".

In terms of the arm of the Executive Committee, the City manager functions as the head of the mayoral committee's administration. The City manager is responsible for ensuring a close working relationship within the mayoral committee. The duties of the City Manager are highly documented in the Johannesburg local government policies in full and clear detail as follows:

> "The City Manager heads the administration of the City and the executive directors of all sectors are answerable to him. The City Manager chairs the management team. As the key official in the administration and as chief accounting officer, the City Manager's key tasks are to ensure that strategic decisions are implemented efficiently and effectively and to oversee sound administration and financial management. He has both overall strategic responsibility and day-to-day management responsibility for the effective operation of the executive arm of the City" (Mid-term report 2008: 4).

Hence, the ten Members of Mayoral Committee (MMCs) system consist of councillors from the ruling party (ANC) only. These MMCs have their own function and responsible to play within the City of Johannesburg. Each MMC heads and runs the City department. Their duties are to do operational oversight, monitor, control decisions and to implement all the policies that have been designed especial for their specific portfolios. These ten MMCs are also responsible for reporting back to the executive mayor and full Council for the performance of their departments. The fundament emphasis here is to strengthen the element of transparency and accountability of the local municipal governance which is good governance. This political strategy is also intentionally to foster an effective service delivery and to combat or reduce the dynamic level of corruption which is seen as the big challenges for the governmental structure of the ruling party (ANC). From this account, one may state that the political structure is mainly to enforce agenda and the needs of the City through the notion of good governance. Therefore, all MMCs are also subjected to the performance management system of the City of Johannesburg.

The departments that are lead by these MMCs are as follows Infrastructure and Services, Environment, Development Planning and Urban Management, Safety, Community Development, Housing, Health, Finance and Economic Development, Transport, and Corporate and Shared Services. In general overview, the performance of these departments is shape by these ten MMCs that are stated above. These MMCs can be understood as the key drivers within their portfolios. Ironically, these ten MMCs are the one to be blamed to the poor function or performance of the departments they lead. When saying this, because they provide a proper information and direction on how the resources of the City should be channelled. The MMCs also play a vital role in shaping and influencing the agenda setting, decision making and needs of the City by displaying different knowledge within the departments which they are assigned for.

This diagram below shows the full detail about the new political model which designed by the ANC party to is to improve municipal governance of the City of Johannesburg in order to improve human development of the city dwellers as the whole.

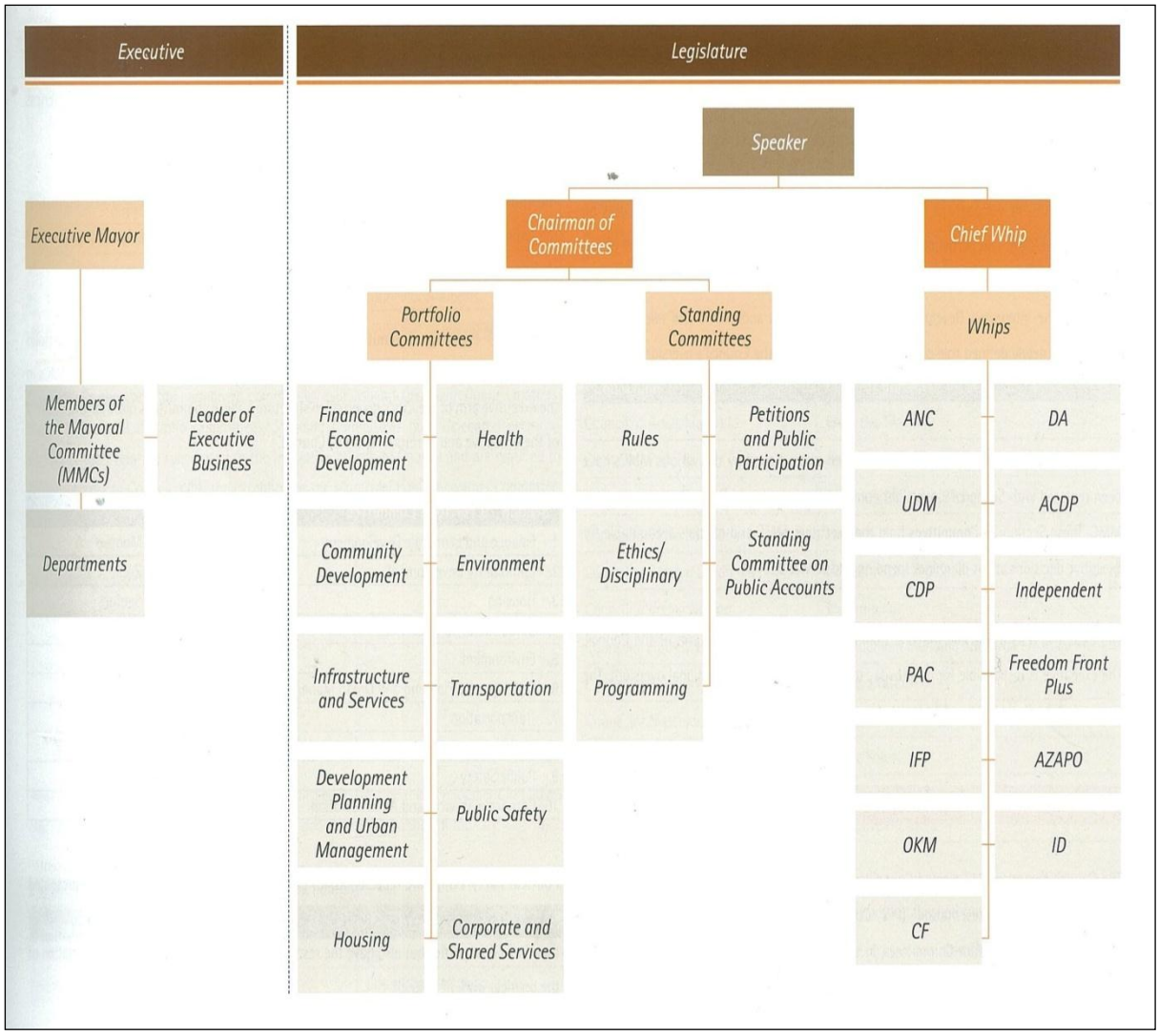


Diagram. 2 **New Political Structure of the COJ** (Mid-term report 2008: 4)

4.4 Legislature Arm of the Council

The second Arm is the Legislative of the Council which heads by the Speaker who act as the chairperson of the Council (see Diagram. 4). The speaker's power and responsible are vested on the Section 37 of the Municipality Structure Act. Municipality Structure Act highlights the duties of the speaker of the Council as follows:

- "Presiding at meetings of the Council
- Performing the duties and exercise of power delegated to the Speaker
- Ensuring that the Council meets at least quarterly, currently meets monthly
- Maintaining order during meetings
- Ensuring compliance by Council and Councillors with the Code of Conduct

- Ensuring that Council meetings are conducted in accordance with the Standing Rules and Orders of Council"

  (Local Government: Municipal System Act NO.32 OF 2000: 7).

In a nutshell, the Legislative Arm of Council consists of politicians from various parties. These politicians stand as the councillors which are mainly appointed by their parties to represent them into political structure of the City of Johannesburg. From a normative perspective these various councillors formed the Council Committees which "comprises 217 elected Councillors, constituted from 109 Ward Councillors and 108 Proportional Representation (PR) Councillors. Local councillors represent their constituencies' needs. Ward Committee, turn assist councillors by enabling community participation by serving conduits for community information and dissemination" (Mid-term report 2000-2005: 16). The full Council is seen as the decision body maker as it responsible to decide and approve to any nature of policy and spatial strategy documents which are prepared and formulated by planners or any professionals and researcher within the local government of the City of Johannesburg. From this perspective, the way full Council is structured demonstrates and emphasizes much on the collective decision process which portrays some of the qualities of democratic conduct and good governance.

This Arm also comprises of Political Party Whips from different parties. These whips are seen as the political managers who represent their parties in the democratic political affairs of the city. Furthermore, Political Party Whips are also responsible to build or create strong political coordination and effective relationship between the parties to ensure a good governmental structure that will produce positive political outcomes of the Council. Lastly, the Legislative Arm also consists of Section 79 Committee which is comprises of the ward councillors whose responsibility is to oversee of the related City departments. [Further more], these committees monitor the delivery of the executive and in return report to the full Council. The ward councillors are also the politicians who work responsible to monitor and influence the agenda setting, decision making and needs shaping of the spatial planning developments of the City. Most importantly, the ward councillors are politicians who interact with planners within the planning practices within the City of Johannesburg.

In summary of this section, one could say that the political structure that governs the City of

Johannesburg is systemically highly organized. This structure also creates network of power relations within the different City offices and departments to function in the democratically mode. The crucial point of this political structure is that it forms a good and strong governmental institution of the City of Johannesburg. This strategy of restructuring the governance model will actually enhance and empower the community for accessing the resources of the City equally, especially to those who have traditionally been rejected or excluded in the governmentality planning process as it portrays the elements of transparency, accountability and good communication.

This political model is also strongly emphasize in democratic political processes that shape the City of Johannesburg to become a globally competitive city. In broad terms, "this model of democratic politics denies the central role in politics of the conflictual dimension and its crucial role in the formation of collective identities and power" (Fainstein, 2005: 24). From this accountability, "the city must be governed in a way that is attentive to the share concerns of its people (Fainstein, 2005: 15). The institutional changes of the Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality aim to "meet public needs without sacrificing individual freedom" (Hoch, 2006: 34). Furthermore, it also intends to create new modes of governmental participation that will meet imperative needs of the public societal interests.

Finally, the general overview of the political structure which governs the political affairs of the local government are strongly based on the key governmentality issues which can be summarized by these point as fashion:

- To promote good governance
- To promote and build a strong institution
- To promote sustainable urban development
- To identify specific challenges or problems within the society
- To avoid fragile, distorted or separated of departments
- To avoid the misuse of public resources by official for private gain
- Good governance and quality institutions can play a role to the distribution of the resources within the society.
- Quality institution of the country determine its political and economical effective performance

- Quality institution can also contribute to human development or social qualities
- It also a good system to identify the people who are not doing their work properly
- It is also helps to reduce exploitation of public resources, nepotism and/ or corruption within the governmental institution.

  (IDP, 2008, Mid-term report 2000, 2005 & 2008)

Consequentially, one may argue that the political structure which was formulated can be seen as the strategy to exert power by politicians. The City departments which are headed by the MMCs display some of the aspects of political power which could not be negotiated or argued within the departments. Moreover, the political structure of the City of Johannesburg act as the strategy of exerting power which is mainly to emphasize on the genuinely open, accountability, transparency, inclusive and collective processes to enable to reach the level of good governance. Here, one may view that the structure itself is a strategy to combat against corruption and to delegate a specific powers and responsibilities to a specific people within the different departments to avoid pitfalls, contradiction or tension between the departments or offices in future.

4.5 Development Planning Structure

Substantially, within this political structure, there are planning units such as Central Strategy Unit (CSU), Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM), Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF), Development Planning (DP) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS). In a nutshell, all planning departments that are mentioned above have different crucial roles to play within the City of Johannesburg. The main functions of these departments can be demonstrated as follows. The Central Strategy Unit is the department which is mainly responsible for the development or formulation of the Integrated Development Planning and facilitating of the City's business planning for all units, performance management, City development strategy, spatial components and community based planning. This department is one of the departments located in the City manager's office and it is located on the 2nd floor of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

building. Planners within this Unit are also responsible for structuring the political priorities of the City of Johannesburg.

The Department of Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM) incorporates the three planning sections: Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF), Development Planning (DP) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS). The role of DPUM is to provide strong administration and an oversight role for these planning departments. This department is managed by an executive director and directors. Politically, it heads by the councilor (politician) who is a Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC). The DPUM department is situated on the 10th floor. Crucially, this department is also responsible for scrutinizing and approval of development applications which are proposed by the developers before they submit them to the politicians who are dealing with planning issues within the City of Johannesburg for final decision.

Development Planning and Facilitation consists of junior and senior planners, and directors. Its responsibility is to formulate strategic planning, development frameworks, strategic formulation policy, manage/ coordinate city's capital budget and manage the process of spatial infrastructural planning. Development Planning also consists of junior and senior planners and directors and it is located on the 5th floor. The responsibilities of this department are: Land use Management, Law Enforcement and enforcement the of Town Planning zoning by laws according to the applicable schemes. In overview, this department is mainly dealing with the development applications and the implementation of policies that have been formulated from the CSU and DPF departments.

Geographical Information Systems is mainly responsible for evaluating and scrutinizing all the plans that are submitted by the people or developers within the city of Johannesburg. This department also deals with maps and any form of infrastructural planning design within the City of Johannesburg. Geographical Information Systems department also consists of both senior and junior planners, and directors like other planning departments and it is situated on the 7th floor in the municipal building. In broad terms, all the planning departments that are mentioned above provide the City with a different information and knowledge (e.g. technical, professional, skills, expertise, etc.). Planners' knowledge

contributes a lot in shaping and directing the needs and resources within the City. They also contribute in agenda setting and their knowledge also use by politician for making a proper decision which will be fair and accountable to everyone within the society.

In broad perspective, the political model of the City reveals the political knowledge which was utilized for revamping and restructuring it. Furthermore, politicians have also applied the local knowledge and professional knowledge from other stakeholders (e.g. planners, economists, developers, etc.) for shaping and strengthen this model, because they are aiming to address the different agenda and needs which are faced by the city dwellers within the local municipality of the City of Johannesburg. From planning perspective, the City aims to use knowledge as the guiding tool for achieving its goals and vision for it. The model stresses the flow of knowledge and power which will determine the truth within the departments and offices which is very crucial because it aims to emphasize on the political democratic conduct and sustainability (Foucault, 1988). In broad terms, the sharing of power and knowledge is what the new political model of the City aims to practice and achieve.

4.6 Conclusion

The political governance model of the City of Johannesburg is structured in a systematically democratic manner. This structure emphasizes on the collective and the delegation of power to strengthen the local municipality of the Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality. Ironically, the notion of "collective power concerns the capacity of a group to realize its common goals; it is the combination of organization, cooperation, morale, and technology that allows one group or nation to grow and prosper while another one falters" (Domhoff, 2005: 2). This is how the City of Johannesburg is aiming to achieve and demonstrate its city goals and vision by forming a notion of collective power between its City departments and offices as collective body of one cabinet to enable to systematically deliver effective and democratic services within the City dwellers of Johannesburg. Moreover, this power structure also helps the City-departments to enable them to be in line with the political agendas and political decisions of the City.

Chapter Five: The Power Dynamics between Politicians and Planners within the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to outline and critically analyse the responses that was collected for this research report. It is important to highlight again that this report focuses on the use of Forester's four modes of power, which are (1) agenda setting, (2) decision-making, (3) needs shaping and (4) misinformation in the real world of planning practices. Forester views these four modes as the imperative power which influences and shapes the real world of planning practices in which planners work and function. These modes of power have been investigated and scrutinized in order to understand how politicians and planners interact with each other in their daily practices specifically in terms of the power relations within the planning circuit. The results of this research report were determined by applying the following two strategies: firstly, making critical observations within some of the Section 79 Committee meetings and secondly, by interviewing 27 participants including administrators, politicians (ward councillors and MMC) and planners within the City of Johannesburg.

5.2 The Presentation of the Findings of the Study

5.2.1 Observations within the Section 79 Committee meetings

It is important to note that within the planning department (DPUM) I was assigned a mentor or informant who helped me to identify specific people (interviewees) with whom to interview. My informant was also in charge of guiding me within the boardroom setting during all Section 79 Committee meetings. Two meetings were attended and observed at the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and the observations can be summarised as follows:

The first was a quarterly meeting of the Section 79 Committee including ward councillors, political representatives and various officials from the planning departments. The main purpose of this meeting was to provide feedback of planning reports pertaining to certain portfolios of the City planning developments. During this meeting, my informant pointed out that only politicians are allowed to sit at the negotiation roundtable, and planners are

not. He further warned that an observer is not allowed to talk or to participate during these board meetings, or receive any document of any nature.

My most significant observation during that first meeting were the complaints by ward councillors regarding the professional and technical language which planners predominately used throughout the boardroom discussion. They also complained that the language used to formulate the spatial planning reports and recommendation planning documents presented in this meeting were too difficult to comprehend. They went on to emphasize that the use of technical language contributed to a negative impact on society and the stakeholders, as many would struggle to comprehend what had been proposed. As one of the councillors from the ruling party proclaims that "the language used on the reports should be restructured and non-technical language is highly recommended" (Interview: 17/06/2010). Hence, other ward councillors felt that without understanding the language properly they will misinform their wards and cause confusion amongst the public. These ward councillors were all representative members of the ruling party and this meeting was facilitated by a chairperson from that ruling party, namely the African National Congress (ANC). In this regard, the chairperson was exerting positional power which he was given by his party for controlling a certain behaviors of the others within the Section 79 Committee meetings (Karkoulian, 2006).

In theory, it was always going to be problematic to reach a substantive agreement during that Section 79 Committee meeting due to the kind of policy that was being proposed by the planning department and planners. The main objective was to approve or provide recommendations for the proposed policy by politicians from both the ruling and opposition parties before they take it to the full Council for a final decision. As noted in chapter four, the main responsibility of the Section 79 Committee is to oversee and monitor the functional aspects of all City departments in the City of Johannesburg; the Section 79 Committee does not have decision making power within the city. They can only suggest planning recommendations before they are taken to the full Council consisting of 217 politicians from the different parties as mentioned in chapter four. Evidently, decision making is out of the hands of Section 79 Committee. However, the disempowerment of this Committee has its highs and lows. The highs are that it cannot corruptly abuse the decision

making process by monopolizing it and secondly, it cannot be held accountable should anything go wrong with a collectively made decision. The lows of this, however is that they are in a better position to understand the policy than the full Council. As such, the full Council can either obstruct the policy because they have not been part of the committee's decision.

Further on the structure of this first meeting, it was obvious that the ward councillors could not come to an agreement amongst themselves – the opposition party was willing to approve the policy while the ruling party was not in agreement even amongst themselves, with some willing to approve the policy while others were not. Evidently, when it comes to decision making, decisions are not made on a partisan but rather on an individual basis. While this might be democratically commendable, it evidently delays the decision making process. Due to this disagreement, the discussion reached the point whereby the chairperson commanded all planners and ward councillors from the opposition parties to leave the boardroom in order for the ruling party to discuss amongst themselves in order to reach an agreement. They also sought the political advice of their lawyer who was also the part of the meeting. From this account I believe that this Section 79 Committee demonstrated a domination of power by the ruling party over planners and ward councillors from the oppositional parties. The ruling party definitely controlled and dominated the discussion although all councillors from different parties questioned the planners to clarify the language used on planning reports.

The second meeting I attended was also for the Section 79 Committee. Again, the meeting was about giving feedback on certain planning recommendation reports. My aim at this particular meeting was to interview a specific number of politicians both from the opposition and the ruling party who had been identified and selected by the chairperson of the ruling party. In addition, my aim was to also collect a written response document from each politician which were linked to my interviews, and these questionnaires were supposed to have been handed out by the chairperson three weeks earlier. I was therefore utterly disappointed when I heard that none of the ward councillors received any questionnaires prior to this meeting, as this was not the agreement that I had made with the chairperson of the Section 79 Committee.

My initial proposal to the chairperson was to first interview the twelve politicians that he himself had identified: six from the opposition party and the other six from the ruling party, in two groups. Second, I was to collect all the completed questionnaire documents written by each individual politician after the interview had taken place. These interviews were due to take place after the Section 79 Committee meeting, once everyone had had their lunch. Unfortunately, this did not go according to plan either because many of the politicians complained that they were tired or said they did not have much time to stay and felt the interview was going to take up too much of their time. In the end, I just requested the chairperson to ask them to answer the questionnaires in writing rather than interviewing them in a group form. By this stage, I had realised that the interviews were going to prolong the process and many participants could leave because I estimated that each group would probably take one and a half hours, in total at least 3 hours of interviewing the ward councillors from both the ruling and oppositional parties. Unfortunately, by the time the chairperson announced my new plan, many of the politicians had already left due to time constraints.

In the end I realised that receiving only written responses was the only option available to me without delaying the process and postponing until the next meeting. I knew that the unavailability of the politicians would probably prolong my research report and due to the fact that it had taken me a long four months to arrange this meeting date, I wanted to take this last opportunity to gather any information I could or potentially lose the chance to get their feedback.

Most imperative, my observation of this second Section 79 Committee meeting was that the politicians were demanding answers from the planners, particularly those from the ruling party who were talking a lot and dominating the discussion. The analyses of these observations provide a clearer picture of the power relations between planners and politicians, specifically ward councillors, within the City of Johannesburg. At a foundational level, Section 79 Committee meetings show that the language used between planners and politicians plays a vital role in maintaining and influencing agenda setting and decision-making within the real world of planning environments. Simply put, the use of language within these meetings reveals power structures and relations between planners and

politicians within the context of planning environments. However, “this moves away from a notion that the powers of planners and politicians are fixed and focuses on the powers of these groups in specific situations. Second, language operates as a means of exerting power” (Habermas, 1984: 227).

It is important to note that the role of language within the `real' world of planning practice as a mechanism for reflecting and constituting power has been demonstrated and dominated by the work of Jürgen Habermas and Foucault. The way politicians and planners communicated within the boardroom provided a political expression that each group was fundamentally trying to express their certain forms of power through the use of language. From this perspective, one may argue that “language can be seen both to reflect and to create the ambiguity which often surrounds the relationship between officers and members”. Although, “the use of certain forms of language may be relevant and necessary to maintaining their position within the planning system, officers and members may also derive their language forms from class, economic status or personal characteristics” (Tait, and Campbell, 2000: 496). From this argument, one could say that the technical language which seems to be a problem for politicians can be linked with misinformation since some of the politicians were having a certain expression of being misinformed and marginalized. Since, we aware from Foucault theory that knowledge can be manipulated to achieve certain things within a discourse, therefore, there are high possibilities that planners might be trying to hide or hold certain information. By doing that planners were exerting power indirectly. According to Foucault discourse can be equated to a certain patterns of language to identified specific people within the certain environment so, this gives us an expression that the use of technical or planning language on the planning recommendation documents, planners were purposely try to identify themselves from the politicians within the boardroom (Foucault in Whisnant, 1999: 175).

In relation to Forester’s four modes of power, the first Section 79 Committee meeting revealed that (1) the setting of the agenda was a fundamental problem; this was exhibited by the tension between the politicians themselves and the planners. The spatial planning policy that was proposed by the planners developed into a huge argument within the boardroom. Some of ward councillors from the ruling party (ANC) could not agree with the

presented agenda setting, citing that it would not appeal to the society. They went on to say that the policy would worsen the situation rather than improve it. On the contrary, other politicians who agreed with the planning policy said that it is very relevant and applicable to society and would provide a positive impact. The ruling party however, as the majority party, did not approve that policy and the discussion was postponed until the next meeting when an informal decision would be taken.

The second issue was that (2) the making of quick decisions reflected a serious problem amongst politicians and planners within the boardroom. For example, when the chairperson of the Section 79 Committee commanded all planners and politicians to move from the boardroom so that they can discuss between themselves in order to make a decision that didn't even pertaining to the presented policy. Essentially, this action proves that the ruling party was exhibiting their control of all decision-making. This behaviour demonstrated by the political members of the ANC reinforces the political stance of asserting power over oppositional parties and planners within the Municipality of the City of Johannesburg. From this perspective, the actions which displayed by the ruling party over can be linked to legitimate power since the ANC is the majority party within the City, so they have given that mandate to exert it (French and Raven, 1959).

My third point is that (3) this meeting revealed that the needs of the city seem to be shaped by politicians; this because instead of taking the proposed spatial planning policy to their communities, the politicians cited political implications as their reason for refusal.

And finally, (4) the use of technical language by planners as discussed earlier on, seems to provide an expression that manipulates their knowledge through language. This further gives the impression to some of the politicians that the use of this technical language by planners is the way in which they can exert power, hide something or use to misinform them.

The last meeting (the Section 79 meeting) I attended only exhibited how planners viewed, treated and understood the politicians in the real planning environments on a daily basis. The main challenge which planners faced was to provide the planning solutions demanded by the politicians, particularly those from the ruling party. During the discussion in the

boardroom the planners were fired with many questions to answer or clarify. This meeting definitely demonstrates that planners are indeed the handmaidens of power in planning situations due to their technical expertise and ability to enhance the needs and expectations of the politicians.

5.2.2 The Critical Responses from the Politicians and Planners Interviews

This section will, in particular, look at the interview data which can be outlined as follows: These interviews of both planners and politicians were conducted in both group and individual form. The interview process was dominated by males as they were the ones more willing to participate in my study.

Eleven politicians were interviewed: most from the ruling party (ANC) and three politicians from other parties as that group were more reluctant to be interviewed. From these eleven, only three were female whereas the interviews for the planners were much more evenly matched: seven males and five females. Generally, many planners were unwilling and anxious to talk about their work situations, which seemed obvious when they delayed to respond to the questionnaires provided to them. Some participants seemed very reluctant to engage in the study, constantly postponing the submission date and citing numerous reasons for the delay. Although, some of the planners were willing to engage with the study, most emphasized that they could not respond to some of the questions properly as it was not relevant to them as junior planners who did not work or interact directly with politicians or ward councillors. These junior planners further stressed that they work directly with the planning directors only, but they did suggest that I approach the directors of the planning departments in order to get more solid information for this report, as they are more the group that interact directly with politicians.

5.2.2.1 Agenda setting within the City of Johannesburg

In terms of agenda setting within the City of Johannesburg, the data findings reveal that agenda setting is driven and shaped by the principal of politics which aims to identify the most strategic planning problems and to create the strategic planning solutions for the various issues which this city faces. It also has been documented by the participants that every five-year term of the Mayoral Committee, the political side of the Executive

Committee for the ruling party (ANC) sets a meeting with all the executive and senior directors from all city departments. The principal aim of this meeting is to outline or highlight the mayoral political agenda or political priorities that are in line with the city's five-year political goals and vision.

The Executive Committee acts as the strategic engine which drives the City of Johannesburg. It is also responsible for the city's developments and to produce adequate, proper services and conducive, friendly living environments within the city. Moreover, the Executive Committee is concerned with how the future development of the city should look. The Executive Committee is, as previously stated, responsible for the political goals and vision that they would like to achieve in their five-year term, and this is why they pass their political mandate to the various city departments to be practiced and produced. The fundamental purpose of the Executive Committee for setting political agenda is to get certain political outcomes and to share information with different stakeholders and other parties within the City. Traditionally, all political heads from various city departments are responsible for driving their departments that enable them to produce the good outcomes in line with mayoral priorities. In additional, city departments are also in charge and responsible for achieving the goals and the vision that have been set by the Executive Committee.

The data findings further reveal that the full Council consisting of 217 councillors are the main key stakeholders of the city because they are the ones who have the power to approve any form of agenda, policy and budget for the City or any nature of the city spatial policy. In conclusion, the Section 79 Committee of ward councillors, including the 11 that were interviewed, are responsible for overseeing the work done by all the city departments in response to or in line with the six mayoral priorities which have been set, whereas the planners are responsible for pushing the agenda that has been set. Planners formulate a wide range of policies and strategies (e.g. IDP, SDF, GDS, etc.) as the way to influence the political agendas of the city. As the director of the Development Planning (DP) department pointed out "we planners, we influence the agenda by providing adequate information and technical skills. We are also responsible to interpret and see how this five-year plan could be achieved, how do we break it down. We are part and parcel of the political discussion for

the recommendation and the outcomes of the plan. All this is always politically driven" (Interview: 17/09/2010).

Both politicians and planners affirm that the agenda set by the city has always been sent to the public to be scrutinized and tested before it is implemented. From this perspective, politicians are the political body who set the agenda and planners are mainly actors who are responsible for producing some professional strategic planning recommendations and reports pertaining to the agenda that have been set for the city's developments. In relation to the power that planners can exert in shaping the needs of the city, most of them agree their power is in their contributions which they carefully formulate through the structure of spatial planning recommendation documents and reports for the city. The power that planners can wield here is to produce strategic information and high quality technical expertise that they can use as their political and planning tools in order to demonstrate how they are going to reach the political goals and developmental vision of the City of Johannesburg. The Executive head of DPUM department summed this up by stressing: "the city considers the planning department the most important and central department of the full Council. Naturally, any successful city must have an excellent planning department in order to be sustainable and continue to grow and develop as well as to accommodate the needs of the rich and the poor" (Interview: 10/09/2010). Politically speaking, both planners and politicians are actors that claim to be concerned about the production, protection, development and interest of the society; the needs and interest that can bring dramatic change to a society.

5.2.2.2 Decision Making within the City of Johannesburg

On the broader level of the decision making process, specifically related to the planning practices of the City of Johannesburg, the politicians are the ones who control the decisions. As noted earlier on, the full Council that consists of 217 councillors, are the decision making body within the City of Johannesburg. This Council has power to make any kind of decision. Generally, if the full Council cannot agree with certain issues or reach any political consensus then they vote. However, when it reaches the point of voting, that particular decision is always taken through the majority and this type of decision is not challenged or disagreed by anyone within the board (Interview: 16/09/2010). In the case of the Section 79

Committee, they are a political body that only make recommendations to the full Council, they do not have any decision-making power. From a political viewpoint, the "decision making processes (is) reliant on structures within institutions and between institutions which links to relationships between agents both within and between institutions. Those relationships are inherently dependent on positions of agents/actors/stakeholders within and between institutions" (de Villiers, 2009: 15).

In summary, the planners' power is very limited within the decision making process especially in the full Council. This is because they are officials who are mainly responsible for responding to the political mandate that has been set by politicians by producing sustainable outcomes which can be more effective and democratic within the society. In broad terms, most of the planners that have been interviewed felt that they have a limited room which they can assert influence over the decision makers within the City of Johannesburg. Furthermore, some planners, especially the more senior ones, stated that they can only influence decision making by writing the recommendation planning reports and documents to the Section 79 Committee. As the executive political head of the DPUM department states it this way, "Reports are submitted by planners in the department to the Member of the Mayoral Committee (me) and the Executive Director for approval and signature. They are then placed a Mayoral Committee agenda for discussion approval and finally to Council for final decision. Some reports obviously arise from Committee input and concerns. Planner will draft report and the process will unfold from there" (Interview: 10/09/2010). Similarly, planners emphasize that at the full Council meeting when discussing planning issues, planners are not even allow to speak, they are merely there to listen and to take what politicians have said to them (Interview: 18/09/2010). From this perspective, one can argue convincingly that the power of planners is very limited within the political planning circuit where they function.

With reference to this, one of the junior planners from Development Planning (DP) department further confirms this point when she states: "as a planner, decision making is only influenced when the land use applications I am dealing with are discussed. Consequentially, when it comes to other issues except applications, I have no influence" (Interview: 18/09/2010). Some planners further stress that if they are not satisfied with the

decision that has been made by the council, as an official they still do not have any power to change or challenge any decision that has been made. They further emphasized that, if you try to challenge a decision, there may be political consequences (Interview: 20/09/2010). To summarise, planners are effectively function to enable the political goals of the political mandate to be met within the City of Johannesburg.

One of the directors in one of the planning departments summed up this notion of decision making in the City of Johannesburg by claiming that the full Council "are (the) authority that have power to take any decision. These politicians are fairly responsible, they think hard before they decide. For example, if these councillors suddenly start to say ok, from the development policy, transport is the way to go and the densification of the City is the way to go or every principal of the City is the way to go and then they (politicians) decide politically that it does not work for us, we want urban sprawl and they continuously do that. As planners, there is nothing we can do, it is their decision. Our planning mandate or responsible is to see if we want to contribute to the organization that is going that well or not. So, if you feel strongly, your professional integrity is not in line with the political agenda then you need to go out in the organization" (Interview: 17/09/2010).

5.2.2.3 Needs Shaping within the City of Johannesburg

On the needs shaping, my findings reveal that the needs of the Johannesburg city dwellers are prioritized through various factors that are more concerned with human development. The participants all outlined common factors that contribute to shaping the needs of the city; they are: (1) workshops, (2) resources, (3) networks, (4) Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and (5) Integrated Development Planning (IDP). As one of the ward councillors claimed: "the needs of the city are shaped through a public participation process. These needs are compiled into Integrated Development Plans. Priorities are then determined based on the determined criteria or on the gravity of the need" (Interview: 20/09/2010). He further emphasizes that "our vision, plans, strategies are all about the city's citizen. Political party has its way they do/ use to consider issues" (Interview: 20/09/2010). Generally, different workshops are formulated within the city to provide various communities with the latest by-laws and legislations and policies. The workshops are used as a platform to formulate IDP documents and other planning strategies or policies

that become a vehicle for enhancing human development within the City of Johannesburg. From this point of view, workshops can be viewed as the platform to perform public participation for shaping the needs of the society. In terms of the resources, both politicians and planners point out that the needs shaping is always driven and dependent on the availability of the city's resources namely budget, research, information, knowledge, etc.

The findings reveal that networks are the source of needs shaping for the City of Johannesburg as it has created or formulated various networks with other cities around the world. This clearly indicates that global cities play a very substantial role for shaping the needs of the society within the city. To give a practical example, the deputy director of the Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF) department proclaimed that the establishment and innovation of the notion of bus rapid transport (BRT) within the City of Johannesburg was discovered during a trip that was taken to the cities of Colombia (Interview: 17/09/2010). This point of reference has brought a huge impact to the developmental improvement of human development within some of cities in South Africa. In conclusion, one ward councillor puts it this way: "all develop proposal should be done to create better human settlements for the community. Due to the goal of achieving human sustainability, communities interests and issues need to be dealt with and put first and our policies puts emphasis on community interests" (Interview: 17/09/2010).

5.2.2.4 Misinformation within the City of Johannesburg

Regarding misinformation, the data shows that misinformation is caused by the misrepresentation of data; for example, when demographic numbers which incorrect, the manipulation of knowledge by those who are knowledgeable, and others. A particular ward councillor in our interview proclaimed: "people often approach politicians with hidden agendas which are sometimes hard to determine" (Interview: 20/09/2010). Another politician went on to say: "some politicians may not be honest and hence spread misinformation purposefully. For instance, you get politicians manipulating communities for their own agendas or gains. This cannot be justified under any circumstances. It is generally done for political gain and affects communities" (Interview: 20/09/2010). Here, misinformation is seen as the source of power that leads to bad decision-making, community protests, etc. Misinformation can also cause unrest in situations within the

planning department and this will lead to a negative impact on the lives of the citizens. Misinformation is also related to negative impact which can cause unnecessary costs.

Ultimately, the data above reveals that planers can be a source of misinformation as indicated by one of the planners when she points out: “misinformation has occurred whereby applicants have been given the wrong information in terms of application and documentation that need to be submitted. These problems are usually resolved by hearing meetings with the affected people and resolved by returning certain applications and submitting new ones, or by correction. Right now the City has developed a town planning help desk for information to applicants and to send inquiries with regard to proposals in order to avoid misinformation”(Interview: 19/09/2010).

In most cases, politicians are always pushed by the public or community to do what they had promised before they got elected. To this end, the politicians put more pressure on the planners to produce good out outcomes and goals that will serve the needs of the society. Planners act accordingly in order to fulfil and to make sure that the political mandate that has been set by the politicians is being reached. From this account, politicians are always dependent on the planners to gain more power within the society. Generally though, the society always re-elects politicians who have produced good outcomes or worked for them in a democratic fashion; while politicians who fail to deliver the proper service to their communities are very unlikely to be elected again or to find themselves in power.

The discussion above definitely shows the importance of the role which planners play in their planning environment. Planners are seen and understood as the crucial actors who can build strong relationships and trust between politicians and the society. The substantial argument here is that in most cases planners do not have the power to serve or produce the needs and interests of the society; they are only employed to serve the political needs and interests of the politicians. As one of the planners from Central Strategy Unit (CSU) department asserts “as officials at this level we do not have power to exercise. We just make some planning recommendations so, from this sense we do not have any power. The power that we only have is really in line with knowledge base and technical expertise” (Interview: 21/09/2010). According to this statement, one can perceive and understand that the power that planners have is mainly to drive the political mandate that has been set

by the politicians through the use or application of their professional knowledge and skills exhibited through the formulation of spatial planning recommendations and reports. One may further argue that these spatial planning recommendations and reports can be viewed as the voice of planners within the political circuit of power.

Since planners are not the decision makers, one can strongly argue that planners are the servants of the politicians who are mainly responsible for producing positive political outcomes which are in line with the political mandate that has been set by the politicians. In this regards, one can also see that planners do not act or practice their profession according to their own will/opinion. They act or perform in line with the political mandate that has been set. Broadly speaking, most of the planners feel being limited or constrained by the political mandate as they say they cannot express or demonstrate their profession freely. Planners strongly emphasize that the political mandate is the key controller or formula that they are forced to obey or to follow. In doing so, planners become voiceless and powerless as most of them state that they cannot challenge the dominant of power within the political circuit. Most planners agree that when one of them feels pressurized by this dominant power, he/she has only one option to leave the organization rather than try to challenge the dominant power. One can therefore strongly argue that "planners do not work on a neutral stage, an ideally liberal setting in which all affected interests have voice; they work within political institutions, on political issues, on problems whose most basic technical components (say, a population projection) may be celebrated by some, contested by others. Any account of planning must face these political realities" (Forester, 1989: 3). To a larger extent, planners cannot always claim to be neutral or acting in the public interest.

5.3.1 Critical Discussion of the Findings

In summary of the findings**,** one may argue that in reality the needs of the City of Johannesburg are shaped by the political mandate of the ruling party the ANC. All the developmental needs of the city are in line with the six mayoral priorities which are: 'Good governance; Economic development and job creation; By-law enforcement and crime prevention; Service delivery excellence, Customer care and batho-pele; Inner City regeneration; and HIV and AIDS' (IDP Revision Report, 2008: 6). These six priorities are seen as the agenda setting for the City of Johannesburg. Across the board, all city planning

departments consisting of the Central Strategy Unit (CSU), Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM), Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF), Development Planning (DP) and the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) function accordingly to enable them to reach the political goals and objectives of the city's priorities. This definitely shows that the needs of the city are shaped by the political interests of the ruling party; despite the fact that some planners and politicians claimed that the needs are shaped by the interests of the society. Generally, the politicians set the agenda of the city (the above mentioned six priorities) and the city planning departments produce or formulate the goals in the form of services and various spatial planning strategies, policies and recommendations which aim to shape and direct the political priorities identified by politicians.

Most importantly, these planning strategies, policies and recommendations which produced planners by can be viewed as the planning agenda because the planners provide their information on the planning documents which become an agenda since we aware that agenda itself is an information and the information reveal truth (Foucault, 1983).In doing that, the goals and vision of the politicians are achieved. As Nadine Schenk (2007: 3) clearly puts it: "Every 5 years the ANC has a policy conference during which a long term policy direction is being discussed. The more precise policy discussions take place during the National Executive Committee's annual Lekgotla's in which the program of action for the coming year is discussed. These Lekgotla's are not public, only the issues which have been decided on are made public, there is no insight in the extent to which an issue is discussed or considered". This absolutely demonstrates that the society has less power in shaping their own needs within the city and further indicates that the society can only influence their needs in a passive manner.

In addition, there were various issues that emerged from the field study: politically, this study revealed that the meeting ground of power between planners and politicians is vested within the spatial planning documents and reports, and also within the Section 79 Committee meetings. The planning documents and reports are largely influenced and produced by planners and other professional developers by applying different forms of rationalizations and knowledge including professional knowledge, technical knowledge and rational reasoning within the planning environment. From this account, knowledge is an

element of power (Maeder, undated; McHoul & Grace, 1993; Smart, 1985; Fillingham, 1993 in Yiftachel, 2001), which can influence the practise, understanding and formulation (decision making processes) of strategic spatial planning strategies and policies which are purposely produced for restructuring the physical environment and for channelling the direction of distributed resources within the space of the country. As Oren Yiftachel (2001: 39) notes, “planning' is defined broadly as the public production and division of space, including the formulation, content and consequences of state spatial policies”. In broad terms, one may argue that the spatial planning recommended by planners is understood to be “the methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. It is undertaken with the aims of creating a more rational territorial organisation of land uses and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives. Spatial planning embraces measures to coordinate the spatial impacts of other sectoral policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses” (EC, 1997: 24). From this perspective, planners utilize professional power and rationalization when attempting to achieve their goals and objectives in a given area. Planners’ power can be understood as the discourse which is in embedded in strategic spatial planning, which is approved by politicians (Amdam, 2004).

In contrast, politicians utilize their political power, knowledge and local knowledge to shape and approve the recommended planning documents and Section 79 Committee reports that are formulated and produced by the planners. Drawing upon this empirical observation, planners exert power through the use of knowledge and this is called expert power. Planners are seen as the expertise within the planning environments as they are problem solvers or solution makers especially when it comes to technical planning issues or physical planning problems. Planners are always responsible for “provid(ing) the public and politicians with alternative visions of what is desirable and possible, to stimulate discussion about them, to provoke re-examination of premises and values, and thus to broaden the range of potential responses and deepen society’s understanding of itself” (Beath, 2007: 19). Politicians however, are always dependent on the different forms of planners’ knowledge in order to set an agenda and to make strategic decisions that are sustainable, democratic,

appealing and achievable within the society. In broad terms, politicians wield power over planners as the decision-making bodies through the use of their political knowledge and power. Here, the power exerted by the politicians is embedded in politics and resources. In a nutshell, "politics is an activity whereby people achieve what they want by exerting power and influence. However, sometimes it involves conflict over the distribution of scarce resources" (Hertel, 2006 in Hinkin and Schriesheim, 2007: 228). As Schattschneider (1960: 5) states: "every conflict consists of two parts: the individuals engaged and the audience attracted to the conflict".

5.3.2 Politicians as a Threat to Planners

Other crucial information that was found during the field study: seven planners and two politicians from the opposition parties indicated that politicians are sometimes viewed as a big threat within the planning environment and provided several reasons to back this up. Some of them stated that politicians are a threat to planners because since they have the decision-making power, they can reject or override any recommendation that is set by planners (interview: 17/09/2010). The participants went on to emphasize that the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Law Enforcement documents are approved by politicians before implementation but due to corruption and nepotism, decision-making and justice is not always achieved in a democratic manner. Moreover, it was stated: "if new politicians are elected then new By-laws and legislations get proclaimed and then they have to be enforced" (interview: 16/09/2010). However, some participants viewed politicians as a source of power but not a threat to the planners. One of the directors in the planning department said: "the relationship that we have with politicians is one of the collaboration because the politicians have role to play and also planners have their role to play. These roles are mainly to support each other. [However], I do not perceive politicians as threat I perceive them as part of the constitution of the local authority and have different role to play. As planners, we have our own different role to play" (interview: 17/09/2010).

The statement above reminds us of Forester's argument when he notes that if planners "ignore the exercise of political power in the planning process, they [planners] can make that process more democratic or less, more technocratic or less, still more dominated by the established wielders of power or less"(Forester, 1989: 27). This political statement takes me

back to the group meeting I had with four planners including the director of planning cited above. Most crucially, the director was not comfortable when talking about the issue of power as he proclaims that "I do not like the word power/let us use the word authority" (interview: 17/09/2010). He further provided some practical examples within the planning practice of the city stating, "to be honest or in reality if you (planner/s) do not agree with the decision that has been taken you surely resign" (interview: 17/09/2010). From this accounts, one may argue that some of planners in the City of Johannesburg are not free to talk about their planning situations, the issues of power, the concept of power or the political domain of power. It shows a lack of confidence to expose their planning situations due to several things i.e. political power, status, positions, etc. The concept of power from the discussion above is best understood in terms of control, domination, persuasion or manipulation of others. In broad terms, power is also known as a complex discourse that comes in different forms and which can be also exerted in different forms.

5.3.3 Challenges and Difficulties within Planning Practices

Ultimately, the fundamental challenges and difficulties faced by the planners in the City of Johannesburg is to meet the political expectations set by politicians. Broadly speaking, some of the expectations are real while some are not real (interview: 17/09/2010). As some of the planners proclaimed, in most cases, the political expectations could be seen as a hidden political agenda. Planners further stated that some of the political expectations and political agendas are born from real issues on the ground as exhibited within the Lekgotla Committee which is seen as the engine of the City future development. Lekgotla is the Committee whereby the policies, strategies and priorities of the city are discussed and formulated and aims to provide a political direction for how, when and where various resources should be channelled and which mechanism of power should be applied or used. In most cases, the policies and strategies that are developed or formulated within the Lekgotla Committee become a political tool for facilitating the distributing resources within the City of Johannesburg.

Hence, some of the planners spelled out that the main challenge is not the political power issue as such; rather it is the political mandate of the ruling party (ANC). However, one can strongly disagree with this statement because this political mandate has been structured

and formulated politically which definitely shows us that this mandate is embedded within the political power of the ruling party. In short, the political mandate of the ANC government can be interpreted and understood as some of the power issues that face by the planners within the city. Some of the challenges and difficulties that face by planners are political needs or interests of the certain politicians; the implementation of the spatial planning programs and financial city constraints for reaching some of the planning goals and visions. Traditionally, politicians and planners can be viewed as the major stakeholders in the planning process and practice as both are concerned with how the physical space should be structured and utilized for future development. Furthermore, both actors are also concern about the distribution of the resources which will serve the needs and interests of the society. As Roar Amdam(2004: 15) spelt out "planning as a social interactive process between actors who are seeking consensus and mutual understanding across conflicts of interest, needs and values, and across different opinions about what constitutes the good society". From this argument, planning is about the resources, politics and power which challenge both politicians and planners within the planning practice.

5.4 Conclusion

The data analysis shows that the power interface between politicians and planners within the City of Johannesburg is rooted fundamentally within the political mandate which has been set by the ruling party, the ANC. I believe that the meeting point of these two actors is within the Section 79 Committee meetings; in the spatial planning policy documents and recommendation planning reports which are influenced and produced by the planners and the politicians who approve and oversee them so that both actors can act and function in line with the political mandate of the city. In broad terms, spatial planning policy documents, recommendation planning reports and Section 79 Committee meetings can be viewed as the political platform of both politicians and planners to exert their different forms of power on a daily bases within the realm of planning practice. Hence, since we note that power comes from different forms or dimensions, so, the political mandate can be seen as the representation of the political power for politicians especially the ruling party, the ANC. Moreover, the political mandate can be comprehended as a systematic and strategic framework of exerting power in the political world of planning practice. This exertion of

power is also revealed by the control of these three forms of power that include agenda setting, needs shaping and decision making by the politicians.

Certainly these three forms of power mentioned above are perceived as the fundamental phenomenon strategy for politicians in shaping the development patterns of planning arguments and constitutional objectives within planning processes and practice. These forms of power are also perceived and understood as the driving force for creating political strategy used for exclusion, manipulation, marginalizing, limitation and prohibition of others during the planning process and practice. The study also revealed that both politicians and planners are seen as the product of misinformation within the City of Johannesburg. Broadly speaking, all these four modes of power (agenda setting, needs shaping, decision-making, and misinformation) are wielded as the structural strategy that decides whose interests, knowledge or power can be applied or excluded for the formulization and implementation of the planning programs within planning process and practice.

It is also worthwhile to point out that these four modes of power mentioned in this report (agenda setting, needs shaping, decision-making and misinformation) can act as structural key drivers because they have strong potential power for politicizing psychological dimensions in the world of planning practice. In addition, agenda setting, decision-making, needs shaping and misinformation are viewed as the elements of power which are at the core of both politicians and planners which they apply for operative planning and implementation of strategies and policies within the political world of planning practice (Amdam, 2004). The fundamental implications of Forester's four modes of power are that they intertwine and overlap each other. From this point, one could argue that an agenda setting can affect the decision that is made and that particular decision can raise a certain needs within the organization or society. However, in raising the needs there is always a context and that specific context has to do with the information which is provided. From this perspective, the provided information can affect the agenda which was set because the agenda itself is information or misinformation. Therefore, misinformation has the strong potential to affect the setting of agenda. From this argument, these forms affect each other both directly and indirectly.

Most importantly, all these modes of power discussed by Forester in his book ***Planning in the Face of Power*** are strongly interrelated with regards to planners and politicians in the City of Johannesburg. From this argument, one may conclude that the power interface between politicians and planners within the City of Johannesburg is ambiguous and difficult to be identified or measured due to the political changes (i.e. elections, new politicians or planners, instability of politicians, planners, administration, stakeholders and other issues) within the city. The power relationship between politicians and planners is not stable. It is always changing from time to time. Moreover, their relationship always depends on the given time and context (place) to be maintained.

Chapter Six: Planning Interventions for Politicians and Planners Interaction in the City of Johannesburg.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed for planning recommendations and suggestions in line with the findings that are outlined in chapter five of this thesis. The principal aim of this chapter is to facilitate the activities of the planners who feel challenged by political issues of power. This chapter further aims to provide a strategic planning mechanism which may be applied to reach a level of democratic planning through the control of agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation in a transparent, accountable and fair manner. It furthermore aims to strengthen the working relationship between politicians and planners, which has been revealed through the findings.

6.2 Recommendations and Planning Suggestions

The dynamics of power exerted by planners and politicians in the planning situations are always shaped by different forms of social issues such as behaviour, status, religions, wealth, education, knowledge, etc. All these social issues outlined above are seen as some of the key drivers of power at the work place as they can be used as the strategy to construct and implement a certain programs and also a strategy for excluding or including others in the agenda setting or decision making process. From this perspective, planning can be considered and viewed as the meeting ground for the different cultures e. g. professions, status, regions, etc. One could also argue that different cultures in planning practice contribute a lot in shaping and influencing the agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping and misinformation processes. Power applied on these four modes of power is always dependent on the culture or behaviour which is displayed within that context. Planning is the culture itself. For example, the planning practice of the City of Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni are not the same because of their different cultures and context even though they are on the one landscape of South Africa.

Most crucially, the intrinsic recommendations and involvement of citizens input in the construction and implementation of planning programs are very important because citizens can influence the greater changes and improvements for urban development which is going

to affect them. From a political perspective, planning is about the people or societal setting. In this argument, people become an infrastructure within planning practice because all the planning programs, policies and strategies produced by planners and approved by politicians have both positive and negative impact on the lives of people on the ground. The implementation of the planning programs can also have direct or indirect effects on the society, so this further makes it very crucial to involve them during the planning processes.

It is therefore, imperative to state that the "greater citizens input should be instrumental in affecting urban development" (Fainstein, 2005: 5). This statement definitely shows the importance of consultation and the substantive involvement of the people on the ground in the planning processes as well as on where the planning operates. Furthermore, this statement is also concerned about the political impediments which can become a problem in planning processes.

In a normative argument, negotiations, influence, knowledge, technical skills, control and sharing of information and network approach are some of the major forms of power that are highly expected from planners to exert them in the complex political situations within the planning processes and practices. Planners may be able to use some of the forms of power above as the metabolism intervention to the distortion or fragmentation of power domination and knowledge into their everyday dynamics of planning practice. They can also apply these forms of power outlined above, to respond and shape the flow of agenda setting, needs shaping, decision making and misinformation which may be seen as the major elements of power faced by planners and rooted in the political world of planning practice. The crucial matter about these elements of power is that they are ingrained within the circuit of political power.

As I have mentioned earlier that the control of information is one of the strategies which planners can exert as the source of power in planning practice. Forester emphasizes strongly that "the planner's information is a source of power because it serves necessarily, firstly, to legitimize and rationalize the maintenance of existing structures of power, control, as well as ownership, and, secondly, to perpetuate public inattention to such fundamental issues as the incompatibility of democratic political processes with a capitalist political-economy" (Forester, 1989: 25-26). Sharing of information among planners is the crucial

phenomenon strategy to overcome some of the political pressures that are embedded in agenda setting, decision making and needs shaping. One could further accentuate that sharing of information is highly recommended to them (planners) because it is where the grassroots of planning practice is entrenched.

The planning recommendation documents and reports produced by planners are mostly driven by information which they display in the form of knowledge to influence the agenda setting and decision making processes and also in shaping the needs or interests of the society. As Toffler (1990: 17-19) notes "the amount and quality of information [which planners display] is the ingredient of the production of knowledge [and power]". Planners can capitalize on their professional planning knowledge as the power to subvert the dominant power of political power within the real world of planning practice. Most crucially, in planning practice "knowledge can be used to deploy a certain strategy, to change strategies and may also be used to understand the strategies of the other players" (Van Assche, 2004: 47). It can be also used as the tool to influence planning situation. For Toffler, knowledge can act "as the source of the high-quality power" (Toffler, 1990: 15). Knowledge accounts a lot in the processes of agenda setting, decision making, needs shaping, and misinformation. Knowledge can decide, shape and stimulate any argument within these forms of power in the planning practice. One could further emphasize that the sharing of information within the planning practice has a high potential for reducing the manipulation of knowledge by others over others to reach or gain certain interests and also to confuse or misinform others (Toffler, 1990 & Foucault, 1983).

Most crucially, the report suggests influence as an instrumental tool to mitigate power dynamics within planning practice. The influence approach is very crucial for the planners as it can act as the strategy to mobilize power to the implementation and construction of the systematically planning programs and also to act against any form of power that could be viewed as the prospective threat to them. Here, the concept "power" is understood as "the potential to influence and influence is the exercise of power" (Turner, 2005: 26). Turner does not view power as the means to control or as domination over others, he views it as the influential intrinsically motive. Hence, the director of Development Planning and Facilitation (DPF) accentuates that "It is very crucial to know that you can influence the

politicians if they trust you and they can only trust you if you have proven that you can meet their political developmental agenda and needs. This shows that one can be able to deliver or produce the outcomes" (Interview: 17/09/2010) to the decision that politicians have made pursuant to the political agenda they have set.

It is very important to note that planning is a discipline or discourse which operates or occurs in a political environment, meaning that the power struggle from different actors will always be there and there is no one who can escape from it whether we like it or not (Foucault, 1983). From this perspective, one could argue that planning operates in a political world whereby, "politics is primarily concerned with resource distribution…and the role of planners is, inter alia, to provide a reasoned and socially responsive contribution to political decision-making" (Muller, 1992: 48). Therefore, all work done always becomes the politics of the day because the outcome of it has a huge effective impact to everyone within the society.

Moreover, this report also recommends that, "planners must be willing to act strategically (that is, politically) to promote their ethical interests (the case studies amply demonstrate planners' willingness to act politically). However, acting in a responsible political manner requires planners to interpret (or, as Sork would say, "foreground") their understanding of planning arenas and activities in certain ways" (Wilson & Cewero, 1996: 17). If planners ignore those who are dominant, and also having control of power or not willing to act politically, such planners will be blinding their minds. In doing that, they will be putting themselves into a difficult situation. In light of their unwillingness to act politically, planners cannot then fully represent the societal or public needs and interests in a proper or democratic manner because their insights and ethical mandate will be blinded by those who consider themselves as powerful than them. By doing that, planners cannot have any potential power to influence those who have more power or exert power over them. In fundamental reality, the programs that would be constructed within the board, planners cannot have any means to say in their implementation and monitoring of them. From this stage, planners will not be proactive in the agenda setting and decision making processes within the board which can serve the needs of the society.

Most importantly, when planners are willing to act politically, they can gain more power that can be utilized to challenge and influence the dominant power in the arena where they operate. The principle involvement by the planners in the political circuit of power is very crucial because this will bring a positive impact in terms of the flow of power in the planning world. Although Baum (1999: 214) notes that "some planners do not recognize their work as political, due to the fact that planners recommend allocations of valued goods and services". However, one is of the view that planners are recommended to act political in order to be enabled to systemically overcome the challenges and difficulties which they face within where they work and also to be enabled to allocate the efficient needs and services through the interests of the society without compromising any dominance of power or political interests.

It is very imperative to point that planning should not be done for the people or society. Planning should be performed together with the people from the start until the end of the programme. This notion will allow the people to be active in the agenda setting and decision making which will be very effective in terms of addressing or tackling directly the social issues they face. In so doing, this will be an emphasis on the democratic planning processes and a promotion of public participation because everyone especially those who were traditionally voiceless, marginalized, excluded and neglected will be accommodated and involved in the processes and practices of the programmes. Moreover, this notion will also help planners not to work neutral or feel constrained by political mandate which they are highly expected to perform in accordance with (political mandate). This notion will further allow planners to function according to the interests of the society. This account is very important in planning practice because "if the marginalized are linked into the appropriate networks of power, they can influence formal decision-making processes" (Turner, 2005: 12).

From the political perspective, planners are responsible for solving or offering an integration planning strategic solutions that can solve the problems that are faced by the urban dwellers. In a nutshell, "the world has changed, and the resources for development are constricted – which requires planners to think creatively about solutions to development" (Simela, & Minyuku-Gobodo, 2010: 3). Planners are fully required to create sustainable goals, visions,

policies, and strategies that will create sustainable healthy cities which will be enjoyable and accessible by everyone within the society. Complex urban problems are the crucial factors requiring planners to be more effective in the principle involvement in the agenda setting, needs shaping decision making processes, which always affect their structuring and formulation of the planning programs.

Visser highlights some of the urban problems which planners anticipate and act holistically against them in the political world of planning as follows: "Inadequacy in planning practice and processes, many urban problems related to social justice, spatial segregation based on socioeconomic classification of the population, inequitable distribution of resources and services, unemployment, traffic congestion, urban sprawl and fragmentation, environmental pollution and degradation, resources depletion, and unsustainable nature of urban form have occurred" (Visser in Abukhater, 2002: 16). These challenges are seen as a major threat to the developmental space of urbanization. From planning account, planners must have "a proactive involvement in the political and social arenas of decision-making". Wielding power for planners, on one hand, means being able to make decisions that have the potential to change reality; and on the other hand, planners should become an active part of the 'game' not just the audience, or worse yet, cheerleaders" (Abukhater, 2002: 18).

Planning acts as an instrumental tool mainly concerned about the sustainable significant outcomes. As Harris substantiates this by noting that, "planning is results oriented. It is not focused on process or methodology for their own sake, but on process and method only in so far as they will bring about the desired outcome" (Harrison, 2002: 57). Planners should know that "a significant outcome of planning' is the maintenance or transformation of planners' power to construct programs" (Blake, 1998: 21)**.** However, it would be important in this type of environment for planners to ensure that their work is highly well researched and meticulous so as to put convincing planning arguments to enable to produce strategic planning outcomes within the political world of planning practice.

6.3 Planning theory as an Intervention tool for Planners

Planning theories serves as a vehicle to enhance the ability of planners in addressing an important practical issues based on a holistic understanding of the larger picture within which these issues are often generated and evolved. Since planners are seen as the representatives of the societal voice and interests so, "they have to be able to read the power and interests in a given planning situation; if they do not, they will not be able to tell whose interests are going to count and how to use their power to negotiate them. [Furthermore], if planners do not learn to read the situation in terms of power and interests, then their technical skills become the instruments of the dominant interests in the planning situation" (Wilson & Cewero, 1996: 11).

For argument sake, "planners should identify planning theory which they can use to strengthen their arguments so that they will be persuasive in political and multicultural environments" (Stiftel, 2000: 5). Planners must identify the theorists that are more related to their work situation so that they can be able to proffer a series of dynamic suggestions and different perspectives which they can use or apply for remedying the power dynamics and challenges of their day-to-day in the political world of planning. Lewis and Melville (1978: 45) argue that, "the adoption of a theory is also the adoption of a political role". This statement still stresses that planners are advice to act politically so that they can address and represent the needs of the society in the face of power. This idea further reminds us that "what planners do is part and parcel of what constitutes power in a society" (Forester, 1989; Hoch, 1994; Throgmorton, 1996; Bryson and Crosby, 1993). Beauregard and Sandercock also suggest: "what planners do today reflects their understanding of practice and their aspirations as molded by the planning theories they have read or heard about, or by the ideas of others which, in turn, were molded by theories" (Beauregard, 1995; Sandercock, 1998).

In broad terms, "learning to see, then, is a matter of seeing the political dimensions of planning so that our practice can be more responsible" (Wilson & Cewero, 1996: 17). In terms of identifying the specific theories which can be relevant to us, however, António Ferreira, Olivier Sykes and Peter Batey (2009: 32) remind us that: "What is important is that individuals can identify invariants in very different settings. The type of invariants that an

individual is attached to will define the line of thought that he or she will support. Furthermore, theories are connected to the invariants that individuals understand as the most reliable; therefore the invariants which we believe in are connected to our political choices. Having said this, we must think about what is the ideal role of planners in decision-making processes" (Ferreira, Sykes & Batey, 2009: 33). Consequentially, Forester leave us with his popularly used statement when he asserts that "planning theory cannot offer general answers to be used independent of specific practical settings but planning theory can be expected to pose significant questions, to point attention selectively and insightfully, so that actors in their own settings can find their own answers. Theory asks, practice answers" (Forester, 1996a: 259).

Planners must create practical institutions or theories which they can be used as the weapon for 'vigilantly protection' to their daily work condition within the planning practical world. Some of these practical institutions are communicative, network, pragmatism, collective, storytelling and collaborative. Planners should be enabled to respond in practical and political fashion to protect their profession and also to meet the needs and demands of the society without compromising any dominance of power and interests of individuality as stated earlier on. Some of the planning theories are discussed as follows:

Communicative theory is highly recommended for use by planners when they get stuck in planning practice. This planning theory is very concern about the communication network and dialogue between the different actors who are involved in planning processes and practice. Some of communicative theorists believe that communicative planning can act as the instrumental mechanism which planners can use "to alert themselves to the dangers of distorted communication and to opportunities of more consensual modes of decision-making" (Forester 1989; Healey 1996; Hoch 1994). From this perspective, planners are highly advised to use the communicative planning theory to build and strengthen their relationship with other different professionals, politicians, stakeholders and the society which will promote and emphasize on transparent, accountable, openness and democratic planning. As Forester notes: "ensuring widespread availability of data and understanding of public decision processes would help to enfranchise the under privileged. Furthermore, Forester's communicative planning theory asserts that through communicative strategies

complementing their technical work, planners can alert citizens to the issues of the day, arm them with technical and political information, and otherwise encourage community-based planning actions" (Forester, 1989: 148). One could argue that Good communication between these actors mentioned here can promote the notion of sharing of the information, knowledge and this will also help these actors to respect and acknowledge other actors' professions, positions, status, knowledge, cultures or religions within planning environment.

In broad terms, communicative theory always shapes and depends on type of language which is used within planning practice. However, some basic forms of training and workshop is very recommended and crucial for the politicians, stakeholders and the communities to enable them to comprehend the dynamics of the technical planning language which is used in planning practice. This could be achieved through precautious consultations and negotiations. In doing that, politicians, stakeholders and the community cannot feel manipulated by planners through the use of the technical planning language. The notion of the use of language in planning practice remind us about Forester when he asserts: "To communicate content, planners and their audience need to share a language – of word or gesture – with which first to call attention to particular things in the world and second to say something coherent about these things" (Forester, 1993: 26). Forester is also concerned about jargon; "The more jargon in planning, the less public understanding, accessibility, and possibility of meaningful action and participation" (Forester, 1993: 26).

In general perspective, a lack of mastering the language by other professionals and main actors (e.g. politicians, society, stakeholders, etc.) can be viewed as one of the major barriers which affect and cause challenges in planning practice. Lack of mastering the language can also create negative arguments and tension between the different actors which can lead to the distortion or fragmentation of communication that can affect the setting of an agenda and decision making processes. In this argument, the decision that will be taken will be unfair and not democratic because some of the participants will be limited, prevented or excluded through the use of language within that given area. Therefore, some basic forms of training and workshop will serve as the platform for developing a shared language to encourage dialogue with the different groups of professionals as well as

ordinary people and stakeholders within the planning environment. Furthermore, training and workshop will also allow the stakeholders and community to be more active in agenda setting and decision making processes which will shape their needs and affect them in their future.

Consequentially, if all actors can comprehend the planning language this will foster and promote an effective participation "rights and obligations of democracy" (Barber, 1990: 151). As Hodneland (undated: 5) notes in the planning process: "the democratic quest for openness, cooperation and dialogue manifests itself as claims for information, public meetings, hearings, work-groups, and numerous other forms of public involvement". In terms of the notion of participation, Sager asserts that there are two kinds of involvement. The weak forms which "merely admit the right to be informed, to give information and to be heard, to protest and so on" and the stronger forms which "give some influence over means, and finally, in dialogue one will be able to influence ends as well" (Sager, 1990: 114). Planners are advised to be proactive in the face of political power so that they can influence and encourage the citizen's participation. When the citizens participate in the political planning arena, it will allow them to raise or set the agenda pertaining to social issues which they are faced with. The citizens will be proactive in this arena as they may be fully involved as part of planning processes and practice rather than them waiting for the politicians or planners to feed them with information.

Network theory in planning practice is also very crucial for planners to apply when they get stuck because "the official system of planning always operated in a context of and aided by shadow networks containing people from the administration and other groups in society" (Van Assche, 2004: 67). This approach can allow planners, politicians, stakeholders and community to emphasize on the democratic consensus when dealing with the planning issues because the agenda and decision that will be set or taken always bring a certain impact to them. The involvement of the different groups mentioned above contribute a lot in the structuring and shaping of the cities that we live in because each group has its own unique task to play. Therefore, it is very important that every group is connected to foster the flow of different information which will act as the source of reference. One could argue

that network theory is strongly emphasized on the collective and collaboration idea as it spreads through different networks.

For the storytelling, as a planning strategy or intervention, has been encouraged and promoted by the work of Leonie Sandercock. Bruce Stiftel (2000: 7) asserts that: “One promising direction proposes that the often-quantitative orientation of urban planners matches poorly with the needs of decision-makers who are often moved by stories that convey human behaviours in terms of which they can understand. Storytelling is a proposed serious planning method that can accomplish what statistical analysis may never do”. Sandercock adds that “story has special importance in planning that has neither been fully understood nor sufficiently valued” (Sandercock, 2003: 12). Sandercock also emphasises that “stories are central to planning practice: to the knowledge it draws on from the social sciences and humanities” (Sandercock, 2003: 12). Most importantly, if both politicians and planners can apply storytelling within the planning environment, that will promote the good working relationship between them. In broad terms, this can also prevent the distortion of information or knowledge or the manipulation of discourse by others for their individual interests.

One could conclude this part by saying that, “it is important for planners to think about how to act in the face of power” (Forester, 1999 in Ferreira, Sykes & Batey, 2009: 35). The work done by “planners needs to reflect critically on the political implications of the theories they subscribe to because all theories are embedded in specific political agendas, and they necessarily promote specific power relationships” (Ferreira, Sykes & Batey, 2009: 37). Furthermore, “if planners learned the interpersonal skills of mediators of identifying interests (goals), crafting options (alternatives), and finding "fair" decision rules (criteria), they would improve their effectiveness” (Healey, 1997 & Innes, 1995). Good relationship between politicians and planners can serve as the stepping stone that could foster a crucial democratic planning process and practice.

6.4 Conclusion

An investigation of power in the City of Johannesburg is very imperative because it has helped us to understand and exposed the complex layers of planning practice in South

Africa. It also served as a strategic way to seeing how far we are with the planning profession since the end of the apartheid regime.

The political mandate of the ruling party, the special planning recommendation documents and reports, and Section 79 Committee meetings are seen as "a strategic priority in the maintenance of power" (Coleman, 2010: 139) between the planners and politicians within the planning practice in the City of Johannesburg. This is where the power interface between politicians and planners is manifested and embedded. Most broadly, all the elements mentioned above could be understood again as the archaeological engine for the maintenance and exercise of power through agenda setting, needs shaping, decision making and misinformation within the City of Johannesburg.

This report has also revealed the importance of the political institutional model of the City of Johannesburg as the key driver as it shows how the power is structured and flows within the different departments in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The model reflects the "political calculations or strategies which guide the performances" (Coleman, 2010: 135) of planners and politicians within the City.

A general impetus about this report has reflected the political argument of Forester in his book ***Planning in the Face of Power***. This report indicated a strong link to Forester's four modes of power (agenda setting, needs shaping, decision making and misinformation), which are controlled and exerted by planners and politicians. But the amount of power is largely in the hands of politicians as they are seen as the dominant actors within the planning practice. This account has further shown that planners are indeed planning in the face of power whereby political interests are the source of power in shaping the political world of planning. "In each case the planner's reading of the situation resulted in specific political strategies for negotiating interests and managing the work of the planning by people." (Wilson & Cewero, 1996: 19). Most crucially, one is not saying that planners do not have power; they do have because they exert it through the professional knowledge and planning agenda which they formulate and produce in the form of special planning recommendation documents and report for the politicians.

Most broadly, planning theory serves as a vehicle to enhance the ability for the planners in comprehensively addressing the important practical issues based on a holistic understanding of the larger picture within which these issues are often generated and evolved. As Forester further reminds us that "planning theory is what planners need when they get stuck: another way to formulate a problem, a way to anticipate outcomes, a source of reminder about what is important, a way of paying attention that provides direction, strategy, and coherence" (Forester, 1989: 137). One could conclude this part that the power interface between the politicians and planners within the City of Johannesburg is very difficult to measure because it is not stable as it is always changing from time to time. There are also a lot of factors which contribute to the instability of the politicians and planners relationships. These factors include context, politics, resources, information, power, time, etc. In most broadly, the power interface between these two players is always dependent upon these factors as outlined in order to be functional and also to ensuring their stability.

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Interviews:

- Central Strategy Unit - 3 x participants
- Development Planning and Urban Management - 3 x participants
- Development Planning – 4 x participants
- Geographical Information Systems - 2 x participants
- Mayor's office (Administrator) - 2 x participants
- Member of Mayoral Committee (Political Head of DPUM)
- Section 79 Committee (Ward Councillors) – 10 x participants
- Speaker's office (Administrator) - 2 x participants

All the interviews were conducted from 5th of May 2010 to the 18th of September 2010.