

Urban Development Stakeholders Interacting in Practice: The Case of Kraaifontein East

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1993 a process was launched to prepare a structure plan for the eastern parts of the former Kraaifontein Municipal area. The Kraaifontein Joint Planning Committee was established as a vehicle to achieve maximum public input and participation. The Committee was abandoned in late 1994 in favour of a conventional planning practice, namely following the minimum procedural prescriptions contained in the relevant legislation.

Numerous theoretical models for critically assessing processes have been offered in planning literature over the years. In this paper a synthesis of models is used to critically review the case of the Kraaifontein process. The paper is divided into three sections. The first briefly reviews the elements deemed important by the theoretical models. With these elements in mind, the paper then presents a brief history of the process as it unfolded, emphasising those dimensions in the process pertinent to the subsequent evaluation. The last section critically assesses the process with the intention of uncovering some of the possible reasons for the failure of the process.

2 A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

An extremely important measure of success in any participative planning process is the extent to which it has built a new community; a community around a specific purpose. Community must not be simply understood as a group of people in a defined area. We are all members of multiple communities simultaneously, and our

memberships change all the time. This may be regarded as more important than the plan eventually produced or adopted (Mandelbaum, 2000). And this building of a new community is premised on the improvement of

relationships between interest groups or individuals that at the outset may have been antagonistic, or even confrontational over the issues at hand. The analytic approach followed in this paper is therefore to track the changes that the relationships underwent in the course of the planning process. The strengthening or deterioration of relationships is induced by communication. But communication must be understood in the broad sense. It is not purely about what is said; but how it is said; who said it; under what circumstances; in which place; with what accompanying gestures; in what tone; etc.

Table 1 represents an attempt to account for all the different factors leading to changes in relationship. These factors may be loosely grouped as speech acts, the speech situation and symbolic communication (or non-speech communicatives). They have been drawn for theoretical writings as indicated. Ideally one would systematically address each factor in turn. However, since no taped transcripts of the process are available a detailed reading of the dynamics is not possible. Raw material is derived from personal attendance of some of the meetings and a set in-depth of interviews with interest groups.

Drawing on some of the ideas offered by Abbott (1996), three types of relationship are discernible, and important. Firstly, that between the different

actors (stakeholders) themselves. Secondly, the relationship between the actors (as representatives) and their constituency. Finally, one must consider how the actors related to the *essence* of the process (termed here, the "activity"). The process can be viewed as an ongoing flow of events, each event impacting and altering in some way these sets of relationships. The most fundamental event, I maintain, is the changing nature of the process activity. It is this activity, and how the different interest groups relate to and understand it, that determines whether the participants forge a new community or remain divided. This framework is a guide for the analysis.

3 ORIGIN OF THE KRAAIFONTEIN EAST STRUCTURE PLAN (KESP)

The initiative to produce a structure plan for the eastern parts of Kraaifontein had its origin in a much more local development: namely the appearance of an informal settlement called Bloekombos. Its appearance was by no means unique. Similar cases could be discovered all over South Africa at the time.

The period 1991 to late 1993 was a time of acute political division at the national level. On one hand, the ruling National Party government was trying earnestly to deliver housing and services in the hope of gaining greater support. On the other the democratic movement was pressing for radical change at every possible opportunity and in the process was sorting out its leadership hierarchy. Both groupings had their sights firmly set on the general election of April 1994.

Norms	Factors influencing / altering relationships	
Communicatives		
Universal Pragmatics (Forester, 1980)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Comprehensible Speech 2. Legitimate Speech 3. Sincere Speech 4. Speaking the truth 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is jargon used? Is a foreign language used? 2. Is it relevant and appropriate for that role player? 3. Is it meant? 4. Is it true?
Speech Situations (Kemp, 1988)	Equal opportunity to <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Speak 2. Interpret and problematise 3. Regulate proceedings 4. Express attitude and feeling 	Issues: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Were speaking times even? 2. Amount of questioning done? 3. Did participants feel free? 4. Who registered objections?
Symbolic Communication (Bolan, 1980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Venue location? • Furniture Arrangement? • Participant's dress? • Time of day? • Language used • Attendance? • Number of representatives and their seating? 	
Significant events	Media coverage and responses?	
Nature of the process (Abbott, 1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How "open", flexible is the government in the process in terms of its own imperatives and needs? How committed is it to the outcome of the process? • How complex is the process? How many actors are involved? What is the nature of the central activity? • What kind of participation process are we confronted with? 	
Relationships (given that it is a "negotiated development" Process) (Abbott, 1996)	How did the actors relate to each other? to the central activity? and to their own constituency? How did the relationships change and why?	

TABLE 1 FACTORS LEADING TO CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIP.

Saff (1994: 377) has offered the concept of the "deracialisation of space", as opposed to the slower process of residential desegregation also apparent in South Africa. He is referring to the "... spontaneous establishments of informal settlements on prime land either within or adjacent to many affluent areas". One such case was the appearance of Bloekombos on the outskirts of the residential parts of the Kraaifontein Municipal area. Bloekombos has always had some squatters: 20 structures in 1988, but this suddenly increased to over 1510 by 1993 (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1993). A more recent aerial photo survey shows 2555 shacks in 1996 and 2698 by May 1998 (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1998)

The site upon which the squatting took place was owned by the erstwhile House of Representatives (HoR) charged with all coloured affairs under the tri-cameral system. The new occupants, however, were black and not coloured. The HoR thus requested the then Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), responsible for "general" (and black) affairs, to

acquire a piece of suitable land and provide basic services for the community. The CPA had recently completed a site and service scheme called Wallacedene. It is situated slightly south of the squatter settlement, and on it some sites were available. The Bloekombos community chose not to move, however, preferring instead an *in situ* upgrade.

A second site was chosen for development. It was owned by the Department of Correctional Services, and had been earmarked for a new prison. Being public land it was readily available to accommodate the squatters. This site was located directly alongside the existing Bloekombos settlement and was acceptable to the Bloekombos community leadership⁵. The CPA, under pressure from the local farmers, the HoR and the Kraaifontein Municipality to resolve the problem, secured the property and immediately began with the engineering works. Proceeding with construction, however,

heightened the discontent, since *resolving the problem* was not understood as making the squatters permanent residents. In a meeting with the then Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) of the CPA these groups were given the assurance that a structure plan for the wider region would be prepared so as to deal with all their concerns systematically. They would have a direct input and through the plan achieve some certainty regarding the future of the wider area. Such a plan also fitted neatly into the operational rationality of having a generalised plan in place, the relevant land parcels designated and then only undertake physical implementation.

The CPA also committed itself to the active involvement of all stakeholders in the drafting process. In an attempt not to preempt anything, the CPA tentatively chose the generic title *Kraaifontein East Structure Plan* for the plan. This has not been changed to date. It was from this set of conflicts that KESP originated.

⁵ Personal Communication with Andreas Fourie of PAWC

3.1 Formation of the KESP process

In July 1993 a first general meeting was arranged by the CPA, to which 65 organisations and individuals were invited, to discuss the launching and drafting of the KESP. The CPA's letter was more than an invitation though. In the opening sentence it mentions that site 732/6 (the Prison Site) is being proclaimed a Less Formal Townships Development Area which paved the way for the CPA to appoint contractors in August, 1993. The effect was to implant all the hostilities arising in the Bloekombos situation, into the new KESP process. These hostilities never left the process, and the Bloekombos matter never finally left the KESP process either. But it was no longer the central issue ⁶.

The first meeting began late and absent were several community leaders. These tended to be those who had been active in the Bloekombos process. Once under way, what immediately became clear was that such meetings would in future require more systematic structuring. To the CPA it also became clear that it would not be able to chair them easily in future. The CPA, while in theory the state might be neutral, was not viewed that way by stakeholders. A professional facilitator acceptable to all chaired the second meeting. It was held in a different venue, approximately 1km further away from the Bloekombos settlement in the heart of the new Kraaifontein commercial and administrative centre.

At this meeting the Joint Structure Planning Committee (Joint Committee) came to life. This Committee, composed of a representative from each of the interest groups would vet all the planning proposals. The principle was entertained that each

⁶ *Practical difficulties associated with having to move the squatters to the new Prison Site remained unresolved. This meant that ongoing liaison with the Bloekombos residents had to continue outside the KESP process. Two processes were thus running concurrently. Debates within KESP can be read to have happened at three levels: national empowerment politics, urban management issues and structure plan issues.*

organisation had the right to be represented. Support- NGO's were excluded from direct representation, and they accepted it so. Each interest group was awarded a vote (see Annexure A for a listing of the recognised interest groups) in the unfortunate event of there being a deadlock over any issue. Representatives were permitted to bring along as many delegates as they wished. Several other organisations or departments had observer status, mostly because they were so marginal to the process. The Joint Committee would articulate the problems in the area while a Technical Sub-Committee would translate these into appropriate policy responses (see Fig 1). In the interests of openness, any organisation wishing to send a representative to partake in the work of the Technical Committee could do so. As things turned out, the Joint Committee would meet in total 8 times over the period from July 1993 to November 1994. The process also included other meetings though: the Technical Sub-Committee, focusing on production, met 9 times; numerous bilaterals between actors were held, a Finance Sub-Committee was established which met once; and finally, information sessions were held with community groupings.

At its first formal meeting the Joint Committee concentrated on two issues. Firstly, agreement was sought on rules of procedure, media coverage, a quorum percentage, the frequency of meetings, and the like. Secondly, agreement was sought on the nature and scope of the work to be done.

Without objection the gathering accepted that meetings would take place at the Kraaifontein public library, once a month, in the late afternoon. The Technical Sub-Committee would also meet once a month, soon after the Joint Committee. All other meetings would be *ad-hoc*. Initially 66% of vote-holding organisations had to be present to make the meeting quorate. Later in the process this was reduced, so that at least half the vote-holding, plus an extra one, would be in attendance. The exact procedures for admitting new member organisations to the process, and how existing ones should exit the process, were never quite clear. In practice new

organisations applied to the secretariat of the Joint Committee, and it would be on top of the agenda of the next meeting.

The purpose of the process was agreed to as follows: "om voorsiening te maak vir die ordelike ruimtelike ontwikkeling van die gebied in die aangesig van versnellende verstedeliking" ⁷. This was general enough to be widely accepted as a basis to proceed. Defining the precise limits of the planning area frequently occupied the early meetings, but was never finally settled. Fig 2 gives an indication of the working plan boundaries.

3.2 Order of Business

The KESP proposals did not exist in a spatial planning vacuum. A planning exercise at sub-regional scale was also being undertaken by the Western Cape Regional Services Council, which involved going to the wider Joostenberg public. Not to cause unnecessary confusion among those communities involved in both, an attempt was made to lead members to distinguish between different levels of planning.

In the earliest meetings the procedure was to permit the town planner to present the draft proposals, followed by comments from the floor. In the course of the process this pattern changed. Then the first part of the each meeting was taken up by matters related to representation on the Joint Committee, and report-backs on special attempts to get selected community bodies interested in the substance of the process and also to attend the meetings. As the process continued, discussions around these issues consumed ever more of the meetings, until finally no time was left to get to the planning matters. The intended practice was that the Technical Committee would be asked to present short reports on, for instance, details of the feasibility of small-scale agriculture, land uses more conducive to maintaining an urban edge, or having soil samples done for the proposed grave yard. The ever declining level of progress

⁷ *English Translation "...to provide for orderly spatial development of the area in the face of increasing urbanisation."*

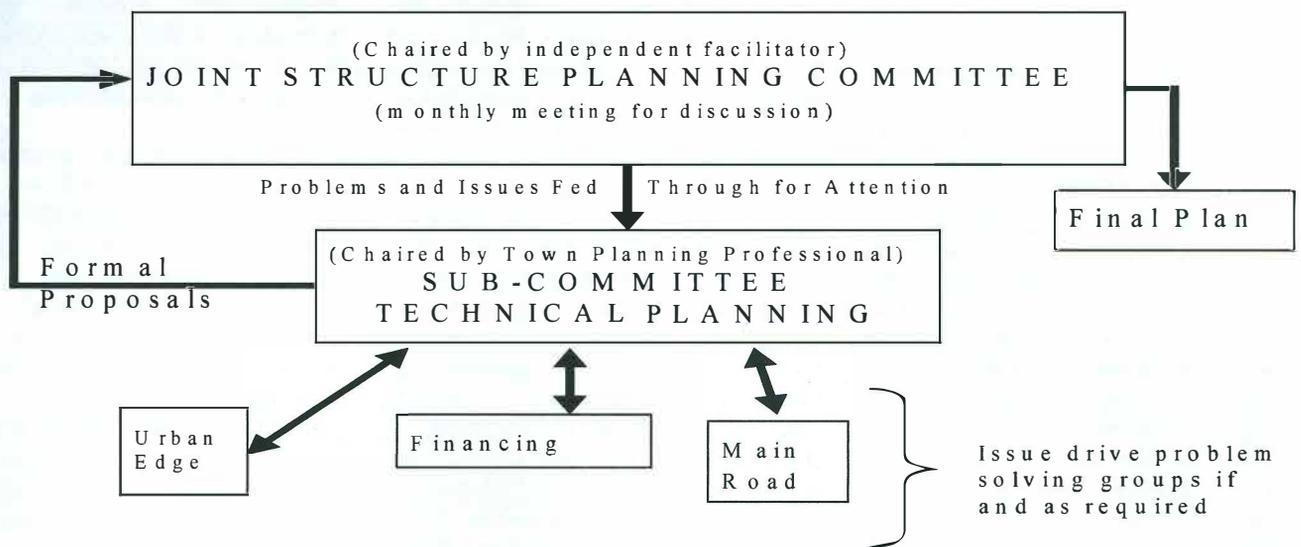


FIG 1 FLOWCHART OF INTEREST GROUPS AND ISSUES

acutely frustrated planners, and particularly the CPA, which bore the costs of the process. In this case public participation, they felt, was taken too far.

Attention throughout the process focused almost solely on an area no more than 10% of the total planning area, and this was the immediate surrounding of the Bloekombos settlement.

Debate and questioning could happen in the language of choice since a translator was always available. At first the medium of communication was primarily Afrikaans. This gradually changed over time, partly perhaps because it was not the chairperson's first language, partly because translations took long, but largely also because long speeches in Xhosa caused unease. Language, in a symbolic way, constantly brought national political sentiment into the process. This was reinforced by the boisterous contributions made by the khaki-clad, bearded representative from the Blanke Inwonersvereniging⁸.

3.3 An Interpretation of Agendas

Kraaifontein Municipality, represented by a councillor and never accompanied by less than two officials, made two submissions on the greater Bloekombos area. The Town Council's team sat to the left of the chairperson, at the tables which were arranged in large U formation before the chairperson. They were by far the most

prominent interest group. Having to accommodate the Bloekombos residents in their area dissatisfied the Municipality. Yet this situation was unlikely to change. The compromise position put forward was to physically isolate the squatters from Kraaifontein's existing development. The Council's proposals placed an industrial area to the north, show-grounds and a nature reserve to the east, and a large cemetery to the south of the existing settlement of Bloekombos. The Municipality would also not settle for anything less than formal housing for the community. Why the Municipality continued to participate in the process while the development of serviced erven was in progress was because it presented the promise of preventing any further squatting.

Along the back end of the U-formationed tables the farmer organisations tended to sit. Urban sprawl was their prime concern. Accordingly, their interest lay in the establishment of a meaningful limit to urban development - an urban edge. At one point a special task group was constituted specifically to consider the precise alignment of the edge in detail, in which their representative took a lead role. This group took as a point of departure the alignment suggested by the Joostenberg sub-regional plan, and never made further progress. Since the line ran immediately along the Bloekombos settlement, as well as the proposed resettlement site, the same dilemma faced them as was facing the Joint Committee.

The Kraaifontein East Farmers Community sought the reverse. Having their farms adjacent to the Bloekombos settlement, they desired the public sector to acquire their farms for low cost-housing rather than being concerned with the limiting of urban growth. In planning terms it meant providing for urban development beyond the proposed edge, and this indeed was the demand they made.

Also along the back sat the representative of the Joostenberg Aksie Komitee. This was a body representing the interests of the smallholding property owners in the study area. Of particular interest to them was the protection of their smallholdings and not allow further subdivision. In terms of such an agenda they pushed strongly for the imposition of a green belt, the protection of the natural heritage (JAK, 1994) of the region, and also invoked a long-standing grudge they had against the old Divisional Council, namely to service the smallholdings properly.

To the right of the chairperson sat officials from other government departments, such as the RSC, the neighbouring Town Council of Brackenfell, national departments and other CPA departments. Rather than taking strong and substantive positions, their participation in the proceedings was mostly confined to reporting back on requests made at earlier meetings or answering questions.

The Cape Provincial Administration, later known as the Provincial Administration: Western Cape

⁸ English. - White Resident's Association

(PA:WC), regarded itself as the client. It was not especially interested in the form of the final plan, but rather that a plan, with which local all interest groups would be content, was forthcoming. This would meet their line function requirements with minimum bad political publicity in a very trying period. Not once throughout the process did the CPA express the need to reach a settlement on the Bloekombos problem through the plan. To have a plan in place prior to development was part of its operational rationality.

The venue was large, yet there was never enough seating available at the tables. Those not wanting to be more than observers from the outset, such as the media and local residents usually chose to sit along the walls away from the tables. As it happened these seats were also where representatives from the coloured Management Committees and civic-association representatives sat. On the whole these groupings did not participate in debate at the level of spatial planning. The few contributions they did make were very general speeches with, at best, an indirect bearing on the planning proposals.

From the start, identifying and achieving attendance from resident associations in Scottsdale, Scottville, Summerville and Bernadino Heights proved difficult despite repeated attempts. Why this was so is difficult to say, and would require detailed interviews with the individuals involved. The reasons are likely to range between problems of capacity, that structure planning was the wrong vehicle through which to have their concerns raised, and their choice not to participate due to their particular reading of the wider political environment of the time. It may also be that well organised ratepayers simply never emerged under the old Management Committee system. At a meeting in November 1993 they were all present and immediately given voter status, which raised the figure for a quorum to 11. SANCO representatives from Bloekombos and Wallacedene still did not attend.

3.4 The Collapse and Reinvention of the Process

On 3 March 1994 patience on the part of the Kraaifontein

Municipality seems to have run out. The meeting with a demand to know the purpose of the entire exercise if no representatives from Bloekombos or Wallacedene ever attended. Hereby, it clearly reflected its understanding of the process throughout, namely to resolve the squatter problem at Bloekombos. With similar disregard for the formal agenda, the Northpine Residents Association tabled a request on behalf of a newly formed umbrella body: the Kraaifontein Community Forum (KCF). Its first request was to equalise voting power on the Joint Committee between the statutory and non-statutory sectors. The terminology "statutory" and "non-statutory" sector intruded on the process from the local government restructuring debate. The request angered many of the participants, particularly the politicians participating in the process. It echoed the immanent shift in political power, which was a highly sensitive question at the time. The request effectively terminated the meeting in that it was no longer quorate. In an attempt to rescue the process the facilitators first approached the CPA and then each of the discontented participants individually.

Although the KCF's request was not accommodated agreement could be reached which saw the KFC as observer participants henceforth. The other participants were also convinced to attend the following month's meeting. On 21 April, days before the national election, the CPA proposed that attention should be refocused on plan-making, and that the Joint Committee not convene for three months to allow the consultants to approach each interest group individually and prepare a plan. The product would then be presented at the next Joint Committee meeting.

Six months later, on 10 November 1994, the Joint Committee met again. It was conducted under the chairmanship of Mr Pieter Marais, Minister of Local Government and Development Planning. He thunderously asserted that the Committee had made insufficient progress, and that if this were the way in which participation progressed, as democratically elected minister, he would have to undertake the planning within his

department. This meeting dissolved the Joint Committee, though not in that many words. It was emphasised that the meeting would be for report-back purposes only, so no quorum was needed.

From then on, the traditional and very tight reading of the Land Use Planning Ordinance participation procedures would be followed. This involves mailing draft contents of the plan out to interest groups for comment and posting a notice in the local newspaper. The response period ends within 40 days, after which the Minister may approve the plan. Formal comments on the plan are still awaited from the respective local authorities: only then will it be approved.

Bloekombos residents are still squatting on the same piece of land they did in 1992. A total of 200 serviced sites are lying unutilised on the Prison Site. A minimum maintenance programme is in place, funded by the PA :WC. So where did things go wrong? How can these extra-ordinarily wasteful efforts be avoided in future? Should there be more participation in future, or less? Or should there be a different process altogether?

4 AN EVALUATION

The literature on participatory processes is replete with ideas on what aspects are important to account for in the analysis of any process. Table 1 listed some of these. Since proceedings of the KESP process were not tape-recorded, some of these criteria are difficult to explore. Moreover, the process cannot be classed with processes such as commissions of enquiry, public hearings or tribunals for which such analytic frameworks also seek to cater. The KESP process was a political process the substance of which was urban development and the objective to reach a negotiated settlement.

4.1 The Activity : From Community Issues to Urban Issues

The informal settlement of Bloekombos grew rapidly in 1991, to the point where it attracted national attention by policy analysts. It became a testing ground for differing urban policy positions. On the one hand, the state was still committed to the delivery of serviced sites according

to its organisational and bureaucratic rationality. On the other, progressive policy analysts were eager to illustrate that urban upgrade projects must be achieved through community participation, and in this particular case that *in situ* upgrades can be financially feasible and socially acceptable. This excessive spotlight on Bloekombos completely altered the nature of the activity. The process was no longer about issues related to the improvement of Bloekombos' living conditions but about policy agendas. The public participation process could no longer be viewed in the "community development" (Ekong & Sekoya, 1982) sense, or the "community management" ⁹ (Korten, 1989) sense, where the only real actors are the community and the state. By definition thus the process can no longer be fully inclusive. It will have to rely on representation. The Bloekombos process, however, which I believe should have sought inclusiveness in its process chose to rely on an extremely small number of community representatives. When the CPA, acting in line with its operational imperatives, decided to acquire a piece of land and develop it in the hope that the Bloekombos residents would resettle, it inadvertently introduced a further group of actors into the process. The Department of Correctional Services which owned the Prison Site; the Department of Transport which held a reserve for a national road: the neighbouring farmers who

expected an increase in produce theft; and the Municipality of Kraaifontein which would have to resume the administration and maintenance of the services to be provided, all had a direct interest in the process.

With this increase in the number of primary actors the process must be regarded as a form of "negotiated development" ¹⁰ (Friedman, 1993). The complexity of the process is significantly stepped up. Representatives of the Bloekombos and Wallacedene communities felt themselves outnumbered. The most they could now win from the process was to be assured they could remain on the land they occupied. Given that forced removals were not likely during this time they really need not have partaken in the process. Indeed, support NGO's advised them to ask for a de-linking of the two processes, since in terms of their needs there was little to be gained from the protracted KESP process. this shift in emphasis from Bloekombos' concerns to wider urban issues produced a process environment starkly resembling the national political polarisation during 1993. On the one hand, were the disenfranchised groups, the ANC-SACP Alliance, the democratic movement or the non-statutory sector of society. On the other, was the *establishment*, or the statutory side. So although all of the actors had particular and frequently very different interests, polarisation tendencies were constantly exerting themselves, clouding the real issues, and simplifying them. In the early meetings community leaders were still in attendance, but over time regional ANC and SANCO members came to represent the community. The polarisation was symbolically reinforced through dress. Almost

daily during this period television visuals would feature khaki-clad white right militants making provocative statements in Afrikaans. Select representatives of the Kraaifontein process seemed to relish in reproducing these images.

4.2 The Activity: From Urban Issues to Plan Drafting

It may have been useful to set up a negotiating forum ¹¹ at this stage, where actors could confront each other with their demands, fears and needs. However, the CPA's recommendation to prepare a land use plan as mechanism for resolving the problem was accepted unchallenged. Again the CPA's suggestion clearly stems from its operational rationality: structure plan before layout plan, and layout plan before construction. This decision gave the activity a particular flavour, which holds implications for how actors relate to and view the activity, in turn shaping their contribution.

• Government's project

The effect of opting for plan preparation as the mechanism for resolving the problem, rather than opting for a negotiated development process, was that public participation was viewed as public involvement in what is essentially a public sector function - town planning. This is participation of the purist British kind (Bruton & Nicholson, 1987). So understood, officials viewed the process as one of the public participating in the planning process, rather than the public sector getting involved in the resolution of what is essentially an urban process. Inadvertently, government began marginally to close again, and saw itself as the dominant player - the one to terminate the process at any point.

⁹ Korten (1989) defines Community Management as follows: Community as used by him "...comes from the field of ecology, referring simply to an interacting population of organisms (individuals) living in a common location. Competing interests are assumed to be a natural feature of human communities, and one of the concerns in the development of community management systems is with the strengthening of mechanisms for effective and equitable management of such conflict. Another distinctive feature of the community management perspective is a concern with community control and management of productive resources, which goes well beyond a more conventional concern with participation and implementation of externally controlled development projects". (p 2)

¹⁰ Friedman's (1993) paper uses the term Negotiated Urban Development. He does not try to define it or generate a conceptual construct. He uses the term to home in on a particular type of processes; they are urban based, complex in that they involve too many interests and groups to be inclusive, operate under time and resource constraints, and revolve around development. Such processes must rely on representation. This excludes many political processes which general political theories on process attempt to accommodate.

¹¹ In the forum a "negotiated development" could have been employed. This involves 1) all stakeholders tabling their needs, 2) all stakeholders committing themselves to finding a solution and to respect other participants' needs, 3) compromising on their demands and holding other parties to the agreement. Unlike a structure planning process, stakeholders not only make demands, but also make contributions and give undertakings: eg. paying for services, and delivering services. This presupposes strong links between leaders, and the constituency.

No doubt, this is also how the other actors understood the process.

• **Technical inequality re-inforced**

Using the formulation of a plan as the basis of communication does not preclude meaningful negotiating from taking place. However, such an approach requires a certain level of conceptual thinking from all actors, otherwise certain participants are put at, even if they merely feel at, a disadvantage. When plan making is the central activity frank and open communication is complicated significantly. Needs cannot be directly presented for discussion, but must be translated into spatial terms. Aspatial issues are virtually not admitted to the process. This was clearly the case in KESP. The Northpine Residents Association, SANCO Wallacedene, Scottsdene Residents Association and others made no contributions with a direct bearing on the plan, while the Municipality presented completed spatial alternatives or plans. These events communicated more than what the plans presented, but also suggested that this is a technical exercise. Any actors without technical aid would be at a disadvantage in the negotiations. This notion must surely have been symbolically re-inforced when the Municipal Councillor never attended with less than two professionals at his side. Tellingly, towards the end of the process KCF requested technical support before there could be any further progress.

Another potential drawback with the plan-making approach to negotiations is that it brings with it intellectual baggage which works to the advantage of the professionals in at least two ways. Firstly plans are prepared according to theoretical methods, usually expressed as a series of discrete steps such as (1) defining problems and issues, (2) formulating goals and objectives, (3) evaluating alternatives, etc. In a way these get read as technology, and get placed beyond question. These methods can have a massive impact on the order of procedure throughout the course of the meetings, which again repeatedly re-inforces the feeling of technical inferiority among some actors, but it can also direct the form of the actors' contributions.

Secondly, additional issues appeared on the agenda, which from a debating point of view advantaged the town planners, and which are issues not necessarily introduced or defended by any actor. Examples of these in the KESP process included lengthy explanations on planning constructs such as the hierarchy of plans, relevant legislation such as the Land Use Planning Ordinance, and that structure plans are not finance linked¹², in the early meetings. At later meetings dominant issues took on a more concrete form, but were still not particularly dear to any of the participants. These included the loss of agricultural land, the alignment of an urban edge, east-west and north-south transport linkages, and nature conservation. Such discussions favoured metropolitan stakeholders and public sector departments.

5. EXPECTATIONS

This assertion is best underscored by considering the Municipality's demand from the process to address the Bloekombos squatting issue; the Joostenberg Aksiekomitee's submission to have water supply and road resurfacing of the smallholdings attended to immediately, and that farm owners along the fringe frequently met bilaterally with the CPA, despite there being a process. Neither of these needs contributed to the drafting of a structure plan, which was in fact the Provincial Administration's need. A key failing of the process was thus that structure planning, as one actor's need, dominated proceedings and so squeezed out other voices. This situation had several consequences. It sapped considerable energy and called for patience from all actors. Participants' needs were never directly addressed. Nor were their expectations from the process clearly articulated. Active participation and commitment from actors was thus put on hold. Also, I contend that, to varying extents,

¹² *Kraaifontein Municipality requested that a Finance Task Team be set up to approach the Department of Housing and investigate ways of raising necessary funding. This was widely supported. It illustrates the prevailing feeling of unease with planning that is not linked to action*

different actors' ability to participate in comfort was compromised. A more serious consequence, however, was that actors would have had difficulty reporting back to their constituency, straining that relationship. Actors were never required to engage their constituency on the crisp formulation of their needs from the process, and to relay that to the meeting.

A negotiated development approach would not have precluded the production of a structure plan, since the CPA is a legitimate actor with its own demands on the process. It would no doubt have facilitated a greater probing of each other's motives, expectations and fears. A far better understanding of each other's circumstances could possibly have emerged. Moreover, instead of using the argument of having to *consult* their constituency as a delaying tactic, representatives would have had to do so far more frequently than they did, with the explicit intention of formulating their needs, or reporting back on commitments made.

6. CONCLUSION

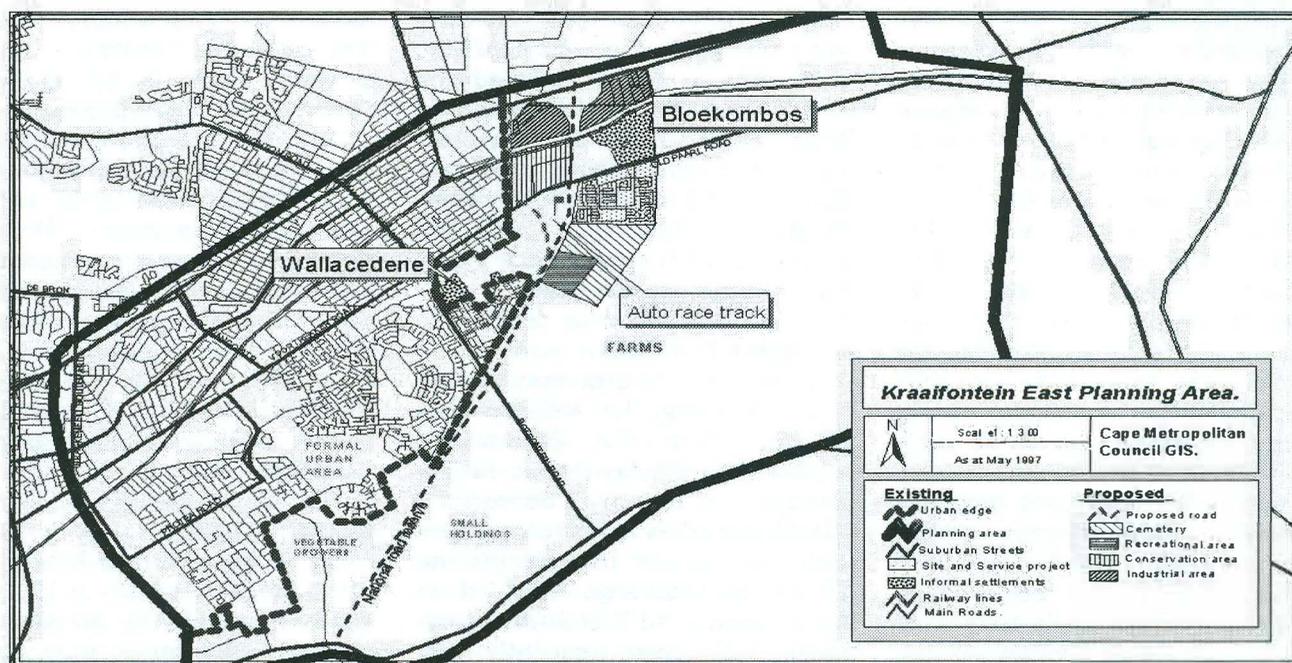
The CPA launched the Kraaifontein structure plan process in 1993 with the best intentions. An effort was made to set up a process that would allow for maximum community participation. Moreover, this effort was made in probably the most trying political times of South Africa. But things did not work out well. Progress was so frustratingly slow that the CPA eventually terminated the public process and reverted back to an approach to plan-making which did little more than follow the minimum procedures stipulated by the Land Use Planning Ordinance. It has been argued above, that the principal reason why the process failed was that the nature of the issue at hand was being dealt with through an inappropriate vehicle - town plan preparation. It may have been wise to deal with the spontaneous emergence of the oekombos informal settlement by upgrading it. Instead, according to prevailing policy, it was decided that the community would be resettled on a serviced site. The question of which site was to be used effectively generated a wider process, with many more actors. The manner in which these actors could resolve on a site, it was

suggested by the CPA was to prepare a structure plan. The consequences of choosing this route were numerous. The Bloekombos community lost its voice, the language of debate for resolving the actor's needs was "spatial planning", the attention of the actors was focused on end states and not the articulation of their respective needs, and the government was seen as the dominant actor. It is proposed that had a negotiating process been set

up, one where compromises over competing needs and demands are made, and where the CPA was merely one equal actor, with its own requirements from the process, the chances of success would have been much greater. Articulation of "needs" must not be constrained with retorts such as "what relevance does that have to this process". Groups must progressively work towards each other, discover commonality and build community. More recent

literature suggests that collaborative processes are more desirable (Healey, 1998). However, how this would work in a public realm with many stakeholders and complex power relations is not clear. Moreover, collaboration presupposes a degree of proximity, a measure of common understanding already among participants. It assumes a positive predisposition towards co-operation by all parties.

FIG 2 WORKING PLAN BOUNDARIES



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Annexure A

List of stakeholders

1. Administrasie: Raad van Verteenwoordigers
2. ANC: Kraaifontein Branch
3. Bernardino Heights Rate Payers Association
4. Botanical Society
5. Brackenfell Municipality
6. Crammix Road Residents Association
7. Departement Hulpbronbewaring
8. Departement Streek en Grondsake
9. Departement van Nasionale Gesondheid en Bevolkingsontwikkeling
10. Departement van Vervoer
11. Eskom
12. Fairview Eienaars en Gemeenskapskomitee
13. Gemeenskapspreksforum
14. Joostenbergvlakte Aksie Komitee
15. Kaaplandse Natuurbewaring

16. Koelenhof Bottelary Aksie Groep
17. KPA: Direkoraat Beplanning
18. KPA: Gemeenskapsdienste
19. KPA: Tak Paaie en Verkeersadministrasie
20. Kraaifontein Munisipaliteit
21. Kraaifontein Boeregemeenskap
22. Kraaifontein Sakekaner
23. Metropolitaanse Vervoerbeplanning
24. Northpine Residents Association
25. National Party: Koelenhof-Bottelary
26. Ou Paarlpad Boeregemeenskap
27. Paarl Landelike Raad
28. Pineview Belastingbetalersvereniging
29. SA Police
30. SA Rail Commuter Corporation
31. SANCO Wallacedene
32. SANCO Bloekombos Branch

33. Scottdene Bestuurkomitee
34. Scottdene Residents Association
35. Skiereiland SOV
36. SOAK Streek A
37. Social Development Committee
38. Stellenbosch Landbou Genootskap
39. Stellenbosch Landelike Raad
40. Regional Services Council: Regional Planning Branch
41. Summerville Residents Association
42. Telkom
43. Tygerberg Kamer van Handel en Nywerhied
44. Vroue Landbouvereniging
45. Watsonia Park Residents Association
46. Wes-Kaap Landbou Unie
47. Wes-Kaap Departement van Onderwys and Opleiding