

Urban Planning and Roles of Planners in a Changing Context:
A Comparative Assessment of Attitudes of Community and Planners About
Local planning in Disadvantaged Communities -- A Case study of Bottlebrush

Tshilidzi D . Netshilaphala

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Glosary of Terms

In a research concerned with attitudes, there is a danger of bias introduced by the researcher's attitudes about the subject. Often, and unconsciously so, the position of the researcher influences the direction and the outcome of such a study. It is therefore important to clarify the general perspective of the researcher on some of the important issues in the study.

Attitudes: Attitudes are composed of three parts: knowledge or what the individual knows or believes about the topic; feelings or how the person feels about the topic and its value; and action or the likelihood that an individual will take action based on the attitude (Hudson, 1988). This study put more emphasis on the second aspect of attitude (feelings) based on the assumption that the community from which a sample is drawn have limited understanding of urban planning.

Community (Public): The concept of a community is an abstraction, and one that hides more than it uncovers. Community refers to a variety of physical and social areas and institutions within which, and with which, people live. This word is used to denote two different phenomenons. Firstly it is used to describe the public or social and physical area including all structure controlling activities in a given area. Secondly, community is used as a planning unit or a 'neighbourhood' in traditional planning terms.

Community planning: This term is used in two different ways. First it is used to imply a planning process where the community is a focal point. It is interchanged with community-based planning. It is also used to refer to planning at community level or planning within the context of a given community. The content and context of its usage in the text would determine the appropriate meaning.

Development: The use of this term implies both social, economic and political advancement. On other front it may mean physical development meaning implementation of various policy on 'physical' development.

Development Process: This term is used to define different steps through which conversion of land for various purpose goes. This differs from 'the process of development' which implies a wider context to include social, economic and political advancement.

Ideology: The term 'ideology' is much overused and misused. It is sometimes too strongly associated with conservatism and reaction: with resistance to change. Loosely, the word is used to describe any system of values which a person holds, including political or quasi-religious views. For the purpose of this study, an ideology involves having personal values, belief, hopes, bases for judgement which goes beyond what can be scientifically proved. It is used to mean "any conception of the world which of its nature goes beyond what positive science can vindicate and which carries an emotive tone relevant to social action" (Donald Macrae 1968, in Eversely, 1973). It is important to note that it is quite possible for one to express one's ideology in one form, whilst believing in something rather different of which one may not be conscious but which in some ways impose constraint on one's action (Eversely, 1978).

Politics and Planning: The reference to politics or planning being political is used in a much broader and more fundamental sense than merely 'involving politicians'. The idea that planning is political is not conceived in its wider sense that planning assumes power. Rather it implies that planning establishes goals which "must win approval from a democratic political process" (Blowers, 1986). It is not that planning itself is political but that it must inevitably operate within a political framework. The interpretation and use of this concept stems from Kiernan's (1983) contention that, the political understanding of planning begins with the recognition that planning affords very few right and wrong answers, but instead affords answers which are largely contingent on one's underlying political and philosophical values.

Urban Planning: There are many different views about the meaning of 'planning'. Its interpretation can be used to cover almost every aspect of human affairs. Sometimes it can be limited tying planning closely with spatial issues. Since planners intervene in issue which are both spatial and non-spatial, planning in this document is interpreted as a social activity that is limited but not determined by the technical possibilities of design. The term 'urban planning' is interchanged with town planning when referring to urban planning activities. Town and Regional Planning is used when referring to the profession in general.

Planners: The study considers an urban planner as an allocator of scarce resources, who understands the socioeconomic and political context in which he or she operates. In addition, all planners are regarded as agents of the state in that even those planners not employed by the state are forced to work within the agenda established by the state

Values: Values, like ideology covers a variety of ideas. 'Value' can be used to show relative weighting of some type (statistical accounting), values are reckoned in cultural and aesthetic terms, and suggest economic significance and so on. In all of these, however, lies some form of relativistic experience with at least a good/bad, preferred/rejected dichotomy, if not more set of interlinked choices. Of importance is that all these forms, economic, cultural, aesthetics or otherwise come into play consciously or unconsciously in planning and decision-making. Thus, values are simply regarded here as a matter of persona; taste or preference that cannot be empirically defended. Value is defined as "*a cognitive assumption about the desirable or the undesirable to which its holder is affectively committed (whether consciously or not) and which influence his perception of the range of alternative actions or views from which he may select*" (Aterman and Page 1973, in Grant, 1994).

Planner Are Payed to Dream with Very Open Eyes. They Are Professional Visionaries. But Until the Planner's Insights Come to Suffuse the Outlook of the Larger Community, the Planner's Plans Remain Inert, Possessing No Power to Inspire Action. It is in this Sense That Effective Planner Plays A Role As Educator (Fagin, 1970).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

All professions periodically engage in stock-taking for various reasons. While other professions continuously change as they modify their technical apparatus, planning changes for even more volatile political and social reasons. Programs change. Public demands take new forms, and the place of the profession in the society also shifts. As it adapts to rapidly moving urban developments, the planning profession begins to undergo transition in roles, function, and methodology. Planners caught up in these changes are puzzled and call for a review of their situation. This analogy is relevant to the planning profession in South African situations. The urban crisis in triggering programs, which generally enlarge the role of the government in the social and economic affairs of the society, increases planners' awareness of the more subtle, yet deep, ongoing changes that have for some decades been affecting the context within which planning takes place. The awareness grows because of the changes in the roles planners are being called upon to play.

However, while we legitimise the role of planning based on the needs of a society, various legislations that determine the parameters and the context of the planning system limit and determine the nature and form of planning practice, including the role of planners. Apparently, since it is conducted on the shadow of state action, urban planning would largely have no legitimate basis without state power. In the South African context, urban planning has been part and parcel of the state domination pattern under apartheid policy. It has been responsible for the imposition of unitary solutions upon communities as though people do not matter. It adopted a technocratic perspective underpinned by utilitarian and sometimes utopian orientation. In this environment, planners were generally content (or they had no choice but) to play the role of apolitical technicians, often in the service of a political master. Overall, the public (especially the disadvantaged groups excluded from the planning process) was suspicious of planners and planning activities, because planning became "... an activity of the state in an attempt to shape and guide the forces of environmental change *to comply with apartheid policy*" (Cherry, 1982:6 -- *italics added*).

South Africa has entered the post apartheid era and urban planning has entered a new dimension as well. Politicians and planners widely applaud the debate about the role of planning and planners in promoting social changes in our society. They view urban planning as having potential in the provision of basic services such as housing and other social services. Planners are continuously encouraged to be conscious of the increased social challenges and various roles they can play in the reconstruction and development of the South African society. They are expected to be responsive to the desires and aspirations of communities.

Also, the government had through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), committed itself to efficient delivery of public services. The question of access to benefits derived from the city for most of people denied such access, has been placed high on the agenda. This has raised expectations amongst the communities. As for planning, this raises many questions around whether planners are in a position capable to satisfy these needs and expectations. Are they fully equipped and conscious of their roles to address these needs effectively? So the list goes on. There is a greater emphasises on planning for positive economic development, empowerment and capacity building of the

disadvantaged communities. This implies adhering to democratic ideals of participation and accountability of planners to the recipients of the planning product. Coming from an environment characterised by a top-down, technocratic approach to planning, this poses a problem and challenge for both planners and communities less experienced in participatory planning approach.

Planning in a democratic environment raises many problems, from which a planner in a technocratic environment is most often insulated. Such problems are related to acknowledging competing needs or claims in urban development, allowing other role players, who most likely have divergent ideas and attitudes, to be involved in the planning process. The notion of a unitary public interest as a justification of planning decision cannot be good enough to justify planning intervention in this context because it evokes value judgement in deciding which course of action is worthy of planners' blessing. Deciding any course of action implies application of conscious and deliberate method to control or influence the future; it implies an understanding of what social order is desirable or not desirable. Values and attitudes about planning issues, therefore, play a significant role in the ultimate decision on what planners can and cannot do, or what the recipient of planning products will accept and be happy with or the other way round.

Planners and communities (recipients) should, therefore, have at least a common understanding or appreciation of the value and objectives of any planning programme. Mutual understanding and compatible attitudes about planning would be a plus factor for a successful development. All participants in the urban development process are voicing the concerns for the community-planner partnership in the planning process, especially at local level. These concerns revolve around:

- The issue of effective participation and roles or functions of various groups in the planning process and their impact on the development process and traditional roles of planners.
- Roles of urban planners and their capacity to play an integrative role in developing people and empowering recipient of planning products.
- The concerns and needs of various groups being addressed in the planning process

These concerns are directly linked to the attitudes of both planners and communities towards urban planning activities. There is a need, therefore, to gain an understanding of the nature of planning practice in a democratic environment/context and to create a framework for making urban planning more accessible and comprehensible to the public, especially the end users. We need to understand more about planners' values and attitude towards planning and how they perceive their role in the society and to understand the public's attitude towards planning and the process of urban development. The technocratic ideology would make us believe that once policies are formulated, they will be carried out successfully because it presupposes an autocratic institutional style. In a context where participatory planning approach is advocated, the efficacy of this notion is in question. Moreover, planning decisions at local level should be explicit, consistent, and clearly related to all other public policies that ensure orderly growth and development. It is also recognised that decisions on development at local level should occur within a set of guidelines, that at the same time, do not subject the public to a set of ill-advised regulations.

The general purpose of this study, is to gain an understanding of the nature of the characteristics and functions or roles of planners and to develop a framework to help in bridging the gap between planners and communities (the public) in a participatory planning approach or a democratic planning environment. More specifically, the concern is with gaining an understanding of the nature and attitudes of planners and the Bottlebrush community about planning and planners roles, and to assess the impact of these attitudes on planning practice and planners' roles and an overall urban development process.

1.2 NEED FOR THE STUDY

Controversies which surround urban development, and particularly land conversion for low cost housing purposes, are a wide spread problem all over South African major cities and urban centres. Decision-makers and planners are finding it difficult to set up many projects, mainly because of misunderstanding between them and end users or other parties who feel such projects may adversely affect them. The perception among the communities that planners do not consider their interests at the planning stage might be exacerbating this phenomenon. This concerns the application of sound planning principles and regulations by the authority, influences of planning programmes/projects on values of existing developments, the need and standard of various amenities in the residential areas and so on.

Local authorities, concerned with the costs of providing infrastructure and public services and the need to optimize the use of existing infrastructures in excess of current needs, adopt a participatory approach of involving communities. The assumption is that if communities are involved in the planning process, many of the problems can be averted. The notion of public participation or participatory democracy underpins arguments supporting this notion. Such arguments assume that the community knows best its needs. However, the arguments falls short of understanding the interrelationship of how the envisaged role players use and understand urban planning creating the ideal community they want, it fails to understand the interrelationship between values and attitudes which shapes their understanding of the roles they play or intend to play.

Given the context of South African history of community exclusion from urban planning practice/process, understanding values and expectations of communities from urban planning is important for planners and politicians, if planning has to be an effective tool of realising goals and objectives of community development. There are, however, certain areas of uncertainties where knowledge is required in order to understand and deal with the issues and concerns regarding community planning under planner-politicians-community partnership.

First, the process of public participation is complex because of the diversity in communities regarding their composition, situations, areas and so on. A process from one area cannot be duplicated in another area or situation. Despite the emphasis of participatory approach in development policy, there is a lack of broad guide lines in that many policy proposals are not explicit regarding interrelations of roles of planners, authorities and the community. These actors in the planning process have divergent perception of planning process. They come to act in the planning process with particular views of the world, partly shared and partly idiosyncratic. There is, however, a very little understanding of community values and expectation from planning.

Secondly, there are uncertainties due to the lack of research or information on attitudes and values of the less-advantaged groups about planning and urban development. Many research projects concentrated on values and attitudes of planners within the planners' perspective. This has left a gap between what planners provide for the communities and what communities expect and how they use planning for their own good. There has been a widely shared notion among many reformers -- health specialists, social workers, economists and planners, architects and engineers -- that by upgrading the built environment, they could fulfill the aspiration of the low-income groups and significantly advance human welfare. However, the tendency has been one of providing wrong type of infrastructure in terms of costs, functional adequacy and relevance to serving the needs and preferences of these groups.

Thirdly, there is a lack of an understanding and consideration of interrelationships between values and perception of planners, politicians and the community in the urban development process. As a result, planners, authorities and communities face uncertainty regarding formulation and implementation of goals

and objectives of local development planning. Understanding planners and politicians values and attitudes about community planning in relation to those of the community are important, since it plays a significant role in the ultimate decision taken in the planning process. Technical activities carried out by planners can help in making recommendations and testing alternative plans. However, decision makers are required to evaluate all the possible and potentially conflicting social and political impacts.

This study attempts to deal with the various level of uncertainties about attitudes of planners and communities towards urban development and planning by undertaking a research into the nature of community attitudes towards and expectations from urban planning and the nature of planning attitudes about planning practice at local level in the current political context. Consequently, the main aim of such a study is to fill the need for community-based planning guidelines and to suggest possible areas of intervention in planning practice regarding values and attitudes of all role players in the urban development process.

1.3 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

Under the new dispensation we expect a significant shift in the approach to development policy and intervention, in terms of which community needs in both rural and urban areas are given greater importance in the provincial and local agendas. In the broad context, the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) forms the basis from which development programmes are likely to emanate. It provides a rudimentary basis for the transformation of the methodological approach and roles of planners in planning practice.

Problems confronting the planning profession in this new dispensation are real and considerable. Urban planning finds itself ever more in the centre of a political arena. It is cast into a situation of establishing a balance of opportunities between various areas and sections of the population. Planners need to think about providing wider access to opportunities for larger proportion of the population. They are expected to contribute in addressing the question of how power, living and working space, public services and goods are to be distributed, to which classes or groups of people and following which principles. There is an increasing complexity of planning and the problems this will pose for both planners and the planned, who are increasingly demanding more access to the planning process. However, the overall contemporary role of planning in the context of the social, economic and political transformations in our society remains to be enabling and regulating economic growth, improving both the quality and equality of life, and mediating conflict between economic growth and desire for a better and fairer quality of public life. In particular, the need for housing has accentuated the role of 'physical planners' in providing physical development plans. Housing provision in particular will typically involve informal settlements upgrading. Politician and planners involved in urban development process see this as an essential part of the process of integrating the informal settlement into the urban fabric. However, various interests groups organise to put pressure on planning and the development process to achieve their goals.

This study is premised upon the notion that planning is a necessary activity for either altering the present to redirect the future, or changing the future to preserve the present. Yet alteration or preservation of the future is done through a conscious and deliberate application of methods, which implies value judgement of what is a good or bad social order. It is based on the assumption that for urban planning to reaffirm its social integrity and begin to address vast social and economic problems relevant to the practice of urban planning, communities should be active participant in the planning process.

Apparently the democratic ideals are becoming a standard norm in the planning process. However, a meaningful mechanism of participation in planning and decision-making process is a relatively new principle in the history of our planning system. Planners are accustomed to playing role regarded as apolitical. Coming from the past clouded with conflicts, oppression and resistance, the issue of attitudes and values in planning practice is very important. It is important that both planners and communities have mutual understanding of each other's attitudes and how both value development issues in the interest of successful application of development policies and carrying out of projects. However, developing a mutual understanding between planners and the planned seems problematic because it ultimately requires changes of minds, life style and ways of thought that are quite profound. It brings to the fore issues raised by participation, representation and government. It is more likely that planners will cope with a public that is increasingly demanding more access to the planning process and more aggressively organised and becoming better informed. The major challenge for planners here is defining and understanding community's perception about problems and priorities in development issues in a way compatible with that of the community. The study assumes that it is planners' duty to make planning comprehensible and accessible by communities, and therefore making the profession socially relevant.

The urban planning profession in South Africa has over the years, gained professional status and social recognition. However, Badernhorst (1995), attributes its success to professionals' 'personality ethic', things such as skills, techniques, public image, and attitudes and behaviours that "lubricate the process of human interaction" (p.13). It has been lacking in 'character ethics'; things like integrity, fidelity, courage, and sense of justice, and so forth (Muller, 1982, 1992; Smit, 1991). The focus of the profession in the post-apartheid era is apparently most likely going to be around development of character ethics. Failure to achieve such ethics will mean that the profession risks losing its relevance in the society. This study seeks to contribute to debates regarding a broad question on post apartheid planning, as part of an effort to redress past and current urban problems in South African cities. It seeks to explore ways to effect changes in planners' roles within the context of reconstruction and development and concentrates on the purpose, form, focus and outcome of urban planning at local levels. It looks at the social context in which planning occurs, and examines roles of planners as they work in bureaucracies, communities and other organisations. Attitudes and values play a significant role in planning decisions in these contexts.

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- First, based on the assumption that urban planners in South Africa have operated on a technical mode for decades, the study intends to review and provide a general understanding of planners' attitudes and values about urban planning and their roles in the current context by focusing on their alleged roles in the society.
- Second, the study seeks to assess the nature of planners' roles at local level, particularly regarding the formulation of 'physical' (development) plans. The study seeks to assess whether planning in this context can be a purely technical activity or largely a political activity.
- Third, using the informal settlement upgrading project as a study case, the study seeks to assess the efficacy of planners' technical roles in physical development at local level in environment that require participatory planning approach.
- Fourth, based on the assumption that communities that have been at the receiving end of planning activities have negative attitudes about planning activity, to provide a general understanding of the community's attitudes and values about urban planning and planners' roles in local development projects.

- Fifth, by comparing attitudes of both the community and planners about planning and planners' roles (specifically relating to planning in low-income areas) the study seeks to provide implications of these attitudes on planners roles and the development process in general. That is, the study seeks to relate the impact of attitudes and values of planners and the study case community on the role of urban planners and urban development processes in general.

1.3.2 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

As indicated above, this study seeks to **understand** the relationship between attitudes of the less-advantaged communities and planners towards **planning** and urban development. An investigation into such a relationship leads to the problem of whether to concentrate on planners as individuals or as a group. The problem here is to explain the relations between an individual characteristics such as perceptions and attitudes and characteristics of a group such as power and cohesion. However, planners interact with communities, who are in essence groups of individuals, as individuals rather than as a group. Even when projects require a multi-disciplinary team, interaction with the community, where necessary, is often through an individual planner representing ideas of relevant professionals. Planners as individuals are therefore, an important unit of analysis here such that the research focuses on the individual planners playing various roles. On the other hand, a community is composed of groups of individuals, who are disregarded. In this regard, the overall scope of the research is to describe, compare and assess the relationships among attitude properties of planners and the community.

The relationship between attitudes of planners and communities in this study are assessed based on the understanding of how planning (should) respond to the needs of a changing society. To form a view about how planning should respond to changing society, we need to know what 'planning' is. There are many different **views** about the meaning of 'planning'. Some suggest a **very** wide interpretation, according to which planning covers almost every aspect of human affairs. **Others** **feel** that a more limited definition should be **adopted - tying** planning closely to the physical environment or concerned mainly with spatial issues (Willmot, 1973). However, planners are called to **intervene in** issues which are both spatial and non-spatial. Thus planning in the scope of this document is interpreted as a social activity that is limited but not **determined by the** technical possibilities of design (Hague, 1984). From the very nature of the subject, the study is concerned with growth and change. It is concerned with planning as a process rather than a static pattern-making activity.

The prospects of planning practice in the face of socio-political transformations inform this study. Thus, it is more descriptive than critically exploratory. To understand the relationship between community and planners' attitudes, the study focuses only on attitudes about planning in low-income areas and issues relating to quality of life and redistribution of resources, community participation, planning principles and environmental issues.

Many studies undertaken to investigate attitudes of planners towards planning practice have mainly concentrated on the roles of planners in the society from the **planners' perspective** (Howe and Kaufman, 1979, 1981; Howe, 1980, Knox & Cullen, 1981; Schwartz, 1986; **Nidan** and Jones, 1990). Many of these studies failed to examine closely, interests and goals which planners promote and support. This study attempts to understand attitudes about planning and planners' roles based on comparative assessment of attitudes of urban planners and the 'public'. Some researchers have investigated factors which influence planners to hold certain ideology which affect their attitudes and values in planning. Social background, race, sex, and level of education are among those factors which influence planners in practice. It is not within the scope of this research to establish why planners and communities hold particular *views and*

attitudes, or to distinguish factors which influence such attitudes.

This study is largely theoretical and developed from texts, with empirical research providing the essence of the case study. The dissertation does not attempt to prove the universality of the relationship by using the case study, rather, it is an experimental study to explore the dynamics of such relationship.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The research methodology of this dissertation draws on both primary and secondary sources as well as qualitative and quantitative methods. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods is, however, often misleading and at best relative rather than absolute (Peil et al. 1982). The research problem investigated in this dissertation brings the 'how' question to the fore. This question requires an explanatory and exploratory investigation which relies firstly on quantification of the nature of attitudes of both the community and planners towards urban planning practice. Secondly, it requires qualification of these attitudes in exploring the dynamics of the relationship. This is important because the relationship is neither uniform nor static. The specification of the case study approach reveals that an overall understanding of all the dynamics of the relationship is not going to be gained. However, the value of the case study is the identification of processes and dynamics that cannot be gleaned in a broad view.

To carry out the objectives of the study and to provide a necessary data base, several steps had to be taken regarding collection and collation of existing information. The primary step in the comparative assessment-study methodology involves secondary sourcing of relevant information, particularly the background information required to understand the context and operation of planners and communities in the planning process. Further, information required in gaining some insight into the various theoretical frameworks concerning the context of urban planning practice, roles of planners in the society, the role of communities or 'the public' in community planning practice is sourced at this initial phase in the research process. Some aspects of the information had to be suitably analysed in order for further analysis and interpretation to be undertaken. Material used in this phase includes: various published secondary sources, unpublished materials, conference papers and discussion documents and other library resources. All the information 'gleaned' and sifted from the material reviewed were integrated and developed into the conceptual framework for the study. The results of this phase of the research process are recorded principally in conceptual framework component of the dissertation (chapters two and three).

The next objective is to create a context for analysing the case study. Certain suppositions about the role of planners in society and the scope of their activities including the normative framework within which planning practice is undertaken were made emerging from the literature review. These aspects have produced distinct themes about planning, planners and communities. Specific aspects of the broad theoretical debates, concepts, dimensions and assumptions identified were narrowed so that they can be operational and be investigated empirically. This culminated in a questionnaire designed to collect primary data.

In assessing the differences and similarities in the approach and comprehension of the community-based planning and planning practice at local level, a number of interviews have been conducted with the people involved in practice at this level and involving these processes. These interviews were designed to involve informal, open-ended schedules among agents in the process of upgrading the Bottlebrush informal settlement. These were: Neil Taylor, a planning consultant with Rob Kirby and Associates; James Copley, a planner with Senque Maughan-Brown. SWK, interviewed as a project manager representing the Urban Foundation; and Errol Wilkinson, a planner with the Durban City Corporation. However, an unstructured, nondirective interviewing method was used to collect information from the planner with the

City Council. This method was used because the respondent was reluctant to be formally interviewed. The interviews held (on three occasions) took a form of general discussion about the project, and planning practice in the related environment. In this context the respondent was, encouraged to express his views without direct suggestions or questions from the interviewer. Structured interviews were used to gather information from the two other planners: the consultant and the project manager (See appendix III).

In addition to interviews conducted among planners involved in the upgrading process, a predominantly pre-coded, structured questionnaire schedule was employed to gather data from other planners around Durban. That is, planners who were not involved in the Bottlebrush project. A 'one-off' attitudes survey was conducted over two weeks (13 - 24 November, 1995) in this regard. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed personally to twenty planners randomly selected from the list of registered planners around Natal - Durban provided by the Natal Branch of SAITRP (See Appendix I). Questionnaires were again personally collected for coding and analysis. The three planners who were involved in the Bottlebrush project were also requested to respond to the similar questionnaire. Generally, the survey was designed to collect information from planners regarding their general impression about the nature of planning practice at local level in the current political context. On collecting the questionnaires, the researcher held some informal discussions with some of planners who responded to the attitudes survey questionnaires. This provided useful impression on some practical problems and challenges related to other projects in other areas around Durban.

The choice of a sample size was determined by the need to have an accessible and manageable sample. Since questionnaires were personally distributed, time and costs involved in questionnaire distribution, considering that the researcher had no car, also influenced the size of the sample. Names and addresses of planners were randomly drawn from the planners' register found in the Natal Branch office of the SAITRP. Those chosen were then asked over the telephone if they were interested and willing to participate in the survey and hence the issue of whom to include in the survey depended also on the willingness of planners to participate in the survey. The fact that planners in Durban were chosen, as a vehicle to test ideas, is not considered important in the overall aim of the study. They were selected merely because of their relative accessibility to the researcher.

Further interviews have been conducted in seeking to focus the study on the planning and the upgrading process and to gain a deeper insight into the research problem amongst those from the community who were directly engaged in the project. Interviews were held with eight members of the local development committee. Of the eight members of the existing local development committee interviewed, five of them including the chairperson¹, were members of the initial committee established in the beginning of the project (refer to appendix IV). The later interviews has been conducted on the basis of less-structured, open-ended interviews schedule, which arise primarily from the limited understanding of the various roles and responsibilities of the community representatives involved in the scheme (See appendix III). In all cases, interviews were taped or if interviewees requested not to be taped, recorded in writing.

In addition to interviews conducted among members of the local development committee, a predominantly pre-coded, structured interview schedule was employed to gather data from members of the local beneficiary community regarding their general impression about the project including organisation which were included in the upgrading process. The sample used in this regard was informally stratified according to sections of the area (natural and man-made features were used to divide the area in *strata*).

¹ He has been the chairperson in all the development committees

The author requested field-workers to interview a range of people, where possible. The questionnaire used in this regard was similar to the one used for attitude survey among planner, though it included some slightly different questions (See Appendix II). The questionnaire arose partly from an exploration of the key concepts, translated into dimensions and indicators, which have been incorporated for assessment into the questionnaire and further informed by the limited understanding of the scheme and the extent of community involvement in its execution. Some questions were borrowed from other sources to enhance the quality of the research. (See section 4.3.1.2.1 for details of the type and content of questions asked). The design of the questionnaires was such that it would reveal: demographic information, perception of the community about the project regarding the process of delivery and capacity building; perception of the community about agents involved in the process. It was designed in a way that it would enable greater insight into the community perception or impression about the approach adopted for the planning and delivery process.

This stage of the research process involved several steps. First, the pilot questionnaire was administered among few members of the recipient community, and adjustments were made on the basis of this feedback. (No pilot survey was undertaken for planners attitude survey). Second, two field workers who had considerable experience in social surveys and familiar with Bottlebrush area were employed to conduct the community interviews. These field workers then underwent a short (an hour and half) training and briefing session. Third, the field workers worked for two days gathering information from community members, resulting in a total of thirty (30) completed questionnaire. This was followed by a debriefing session to enable clarity on certain aspects of the survey. Thereafter, the completed questionnaires were assessed for anomalies. Finally the data gathered from the part-coded, part open-ended questionnaires was captured and analysed.

The responses to the surveys were coded according to variables. Extensive use was made of the spread-sheet and statistical programmes of Quattro Pro in this regard. Numerous runs were made using Statgraphics to analyse the data of the questionnaires. Results produced were mainly in the form of frequencies (percentages). Various cross tabulation between variables and other statistical analysis were done in order to seek finer details. Two-sample analysis and chissquare tests were used to identify the relationship between various variables.

The final step in the overall research process is that of integration and evaluation, whereby the data gathered through the primary research process, including both interviews and survey data, is analysed according to pre-determined indicators, and in view of qualitative information gleaned at earlier stages in the research process through general interviews and secondary research. The results of this final step are incorporated within the latter parts of this study.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Chapter two and three form the conceptual framework of this study. Here, the theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature on planning ideology and planning practice, the role of the state, planning and planners in society, and various political context in which planning practice is undertaken are reviewed. In addition, the role of the communities or 'the public' in planning practice is examined in relation to planners roles. Chapter two explores those concepts related to the role of the state in the planning activities and its influence on planners roles. In this context, it also tries to identify the independence or the 'freedom' of planners in role choice. It considers the debates and motivations which, from different perspectives, validate the planners' roles in society. This chapter considers the planning ideology within the context of unitary public interest model, planning underpinned by the traditional reform model and technical

orientation. This chapter also set the context in which planning practice under apartheid policy took place. In this regard, it also identifies problems regarding planning practice in the context of current political development which arise from past practices. Informed by the debate about the role of planning and planners in the current context, this chapter also set the context in which planning practice is likely to operate.

Chapter Three explores the theoretical context within which the scope and roles of planners in society are conceived. The discussion on planners' roles follows the technical-political model. Values and attitudes of planners as professionals are implicitly derived from these roles. Arguments embedded in these planning traditions and their relevancy to our local situation provide a basis to analyse relationships between community and planners' values and attitudes towards planning and urban development. This chapter tries to operationalise the variables which arise within the dissertation topic itself. It clarify the key concepts employed in the study, concept such as purpose and function of planning (planning ideology), roles of planners and communities in the planning process.

Chapter Two and Three form the contextual and theoretical basis for the case study that follow. Chapter Four examines the case study, by outlining the project in terms of its scope, the planning process that was employed, and roles of various agents in the project. It also comprise the comparative analysis of attitude of participants in this project including general information collected from other sources. The comparative assessment entails the following aspects: the conception of the role and purpose of planning; attitudes of planners towards planning; roles of planners and the community in the planning process; and attitudes of planners and the community towards each other including their attitudes about substantive issues in planning practice.

Chapter Five examines and evaluates the influence of attitudes of both planners and community on planning practice and planners' roles in the current context. It also analyses and presents the implications of these attitudes, on planning practice and urban development processes in general. It draws from the context of planning practice in the current environment as discussed in chapter two. It also will assess the extent of planning achieving its social goals implicit in the research problem on the basis of attitudinal problem in planning practice suggested in chapter two.

Chapter Six present a synthesis of the research process. It concludes the dissertation by drawing upon the relevant literature and the case study in the formulation of summative arguments together with recommendations for the appropriate context where community planning practice could be beneficial and fulfilling to both the community ant planners. In conclusion the chapter presents some recommendations on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Town Planning has always been underpinned by attempts to solve social problems prevalent in the urban environments. Its ideals have been of a better society, of social improvement and reform expressed in eliminating poverty and squalor. They were of more equal opportunity and equity in resources allocation (Lucy, 1994; Moore, 1978). Town planning has become more influential in most aspects of life in the urban environment; it affects every-day-activity by decisions which affect accessibility and distribution of scarce resources. As a result, new challenges always face urban planners as factors such as politics, economy, and culture, affecting the environment in which planning operates are always changing. According to John Levy, these challenges are a result of “new concerns that have found their way from society’s agenda to the planner’s doorstep because society demands responses, not because planners necessarily have the answers.” (1992: 81).

Our society today is vigorously pursuing the same ideals of a better society and social reform, of equal opportunity and greater equity and equality in resource allocation more than ever before. Augmented by the socio-political transformation taking place, they have major challenges for urban planning profession and the urban development process generally. For example, the process of land conversion and events of conflicts over residential areas for the poor citizens in the inner city and on the periphery of our metropolitan areas point to a great change in the process of urban expansion. Planners and politicians interested in planning and effecting changes recognise that they now confront a different urban situation. The role of the planning profession in providing social improvement is, in this context, under a momentous test. Alan Mabin (1993: 10), urged that if urban planners are to make a signal contribution towards shaping South African urban society in this context, their understanding of these changes must be deep and their "conception of the role of urban planning broad ...".

This chapter concentrates on and consider the planning context which generally influences planners’ roles and planning practice (section 2.2). It also considers the influence of state activity on planning action and the role of planners (sections 2.2.1 & 2.2.2) including the predominant ideologies which underpins planning interventions in the activity of the society (section 2.2.3). This chapter sets up the context in which planning practice under the 'grand' apartheid era operated (section 2.3). By examining the changing planning contexts, this chapter considers the nature of planning challenges which impinge upon planners’ attitudes towards planning and clarifies the nature and context of the research problem explored in this study (sections 2.3.1 & 2.3.2). This points the reader to the scope of the study, its conceptual and historical location. This chapter conclude by providing a subjective assessment of the enfolding planning environment in which planners are likely to operate (section 2.4). This section also set the context which forms the basis of discussions in chapter three (part of theoretical frame work).

2.2 THE CONTEXT OF URBAN PLANNING

Many authors have looked at the contexts in which planning is done (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971; Kirk, 1980, McCarthy and Smit, 1984; Catanese, 1974) and the emergence of the distinctive planning ideology (Banai, 1988; Healey et al., 1982; Klosterman, 1985). Others have shown how the conventional planning practice produces regressive and inequitable outcomes in distributing resources (Davidoff, 1969; Gans,

1969; Kiernan, 1983). Some claimed that planning has in fact not benefited the disadvantaged in the society, but those in power (Davidoff, 1978; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1981; Fainstein, S., 1995; McConnel, 1981). The issue of inequitable and regressive results of planning practice is very important in this study.

Apparently, urban planning takes the form it does because of processes of cultural adaptation. For the ideas and theories implicit in planning reflect intellectual discourse not only within the profession but in the wider society. Over time, we find that theories tend to converge across disciplines; theory reflects common cultural paradigms. Ideas come in and out of fashion according to historic events and cultural trends. Planners interacting with other members of their communities translate common cultural meanings into terms relevant to their practice. Thus, professional discourse inevitably changes to adapt to cultural realities. Implicitly, this means that those ideas and theories that thrive do so because they suit the intellectual and cultural climate of the contemporary society.

As ideas about social and cultural needs evolved, various ideologies and traditions, which emphasize particular values and attitudes, influence urban planning practice locally and internationally. To instigate relevant or appropriate roles of the profession, in a changing socio-political and cultural contexts, we should think of how existing cultural attitudes and ideological premises have conditioned our present attitudes.

The urban design tradition, which view planning as a three-dimensional design of towns and emphasises land-use or physical planning, seems to have dominated urban planning practice for the first five decades of the twentieth century. Other approaches as described by Healey and others (1982), were developed in the 1960s; approaches such as the social planning and advocacy planning, the political economy approaches, implementation and the public policy models, pragmatism and humanistic approach and others. Then, in the early 1970s, the procedural theory which views planning as a general societal management process concerned with how decisions can be made more rationally, dominated planning theory and practice. The development of these traditions, followed the three fundamental areas of debates in urban planning: the analytical debate which tries to understand planning and its role in the society; the urban form debate which tries to assess a good urban plan; and the procedural debates which try to analyse what is a good planning process. All three debates have since taken place in parallel and continue to do so today.

According to Norman Krumholtz (1994), most of these paradigms upheld these notions: first, urban planning was apolitical and, instead of serving a narrow political objectives, served "the public interest" or the "community as a whole". Second, a unitary plan prepared by the public agency was adequate to express the interests of the entire community. Third, urban planning was the planning of land uses which, if artfully done, with attention to greenspace and the close proximity of linked activities, would provide quality of urban life. Nevertheless, urban planning is an inherently political activity in that it seeks to distribute (or alter the distribution of) scarce environmental resources through the decision-making process of the state. Through doing so, it seeks to resolve conflicts of interest over the use and development of land. Chester Hartman (1978), claims that planning performs the classic task of deciding who get what, when, where and how. Also, recent theoretical traditions see urban planning as a process of mediation between competing interests rather than the elusive pursuit of the public interest. Some authors have examined, in this context, the way institutions in which planners work fashioned their roles (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971; Kirk; 1980; McCarthy and Smit; 1984; Catanese, 1974). Some argue that only by accepting the political world as the planning context, can planners improve their ability to understand peoples' problem. They have a reasonable chance of "helping to create a diverse but more peaceful and fulfilling society" (Baum, 1990:66).

It is, therefore, a common cause that political climates or contexts influence planning procedures and decisions. Thus, understanding the activity of planning practice within the **context** of the state mechanism is important, because we conduct urban planning in the shadow of the state action; it would have no legitimate basis without state power.

2.2.1 PLANNING AND THE STATE ACTION

The conception of the role of the local state in capitalist society differs. The two divergent views in this regard are, one which regards the state as neutral favouring no particular group or social class. The other regards the state as an instrument of capitalism, perpetuating the values and interests of the dominant class. Within the different schools of thoughts, few will argue about the need of planning in this modern urban environment. All would agree that the 'market', left alone to sort itself out, is unable of meeting all demands of the urban population. Polarised views would obviously emerge regarding the origin of market failure and its solution. This forms differences in conceptualisation of the roles and functions of the state in the urban affairs.

According to Robert Beauregard (1978), the state in any capitalist society has two conflicting needs of efficiency and legitimacy. It must serve two functions of accumulation and legitimation to maintain and perpetuate itself. Accumulation refers to protecting private appropriation of capital or simplifying the working of the economy, whereas legitimation refers to "providing goods and services to all groups whose support the state" needs (p.238). In this context, the state acts as a *provider* and a *controller* of resources in the urban development process. Its intervention is required to stabilise contradictions which, on one hand arise from individual use of land for profit maximisation and on the other, the need to sustain the process of production. It acts as the collective guarantor of production and reproduction relations in capitalist society.

However, the manner in which it perpetuates accumulation of resources establishes different class structure. Those who possess and control the capital organises **themselves** to maintain the status quo (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1982). In this regard, the state in capitalist society become an instrument of class domination since the dominant class which own capital, holds political sway (Cockburn, 1982). They easily find their way to influence planning process for their own benefit. Thus, the role of the state in capitalist society become one of preventing unrest and, failing that, to resolve conflicts (Beauregard, 1978). Thus, it follows that planning as a state activity must serve the ends of the state in order for the state to retain its legitimation.

On the other hand, the state needs to uphold the image of being the guardian of all people's interests. Thus, although planning activities are political in nature, the **state** adopts an apolitical stance of the public interest by which "[it] legitimise(s) the [political] activity of planning ... for public consumption" (Beauregard, 1978:236). In this context, planners depoliticize the planning activity of the state by casting it in technical terms (Beauregard, 1978; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1982). This suggests that activities of planners consist of applying conscious will to overcome the contradictions of capitalism and legitimatizing the state intervention as the product of a scientifically determined public interest. In this way, planners contribute to the process of social reproduction. Harvey (1978), argues that planners are "equipped with power vis-a'-vis the production" for maintenance and management of the built environment which permit *them* to intervene to stabilise, to create the conditions for 'balanced growth', to contain civil strife and functional struggles by repression, cooption or integration.

However, various forms of limits and uncertainties surround urban planning such that preventing conflicts in the urban environment through planning is not as simple. These include planners' limited understanding of the function of cities and regions; uncertainties regarding goals of planning concerning social and economic change; uncertainties concerning the procedures and institutional framework that govern planning process and so on (Masser, 1980). Also, the relationships between the state and capital needs change constantly. These conditions tempt the state into the role of cautious crisis management and long-term avoidance strategy, in which case muddling through with plans becomes the official program (Kraushaar & Gardels, 1978). Rowies (1983:143) argues that urban planning, "itself only a specialised domain of state intervention", specializes in continuous managing of the contradictions of capitalism manifested in the urban form and spatial development. Implicitly, this argument implies that urban planning does not necessarily resolve contradiction of the private and public decision making. It is in this context that urban planning is and will always be involved in the value-laden activity of resource allocation.

The fundamental role of the state in the 1990s relates to the social, economic and political realities which are different from those dominant in the heyday of the welfare state in the fifties and sixties. For example, the state is no longer seen as a controller and provider but as a regulator and an enabler. The function of town planning in this context is "to *regulate* rather than *control* the timing, form and location of development to promote the efficient allocation of resources, reduce negative externalities and ensure conservation of valued environment" (Blacksell et al., 1987 in Adams, 1994:79). While urban planning has traditionally sought to reduce negative externalities through direct regulation and to promote positive ones through direct action, the more recent policy has shifted to making the polluter pay and theoretical attention has concentrated on the potential contribution of users. In this context, urban planning in practice deals very little with scientifically discovering the best technical solutions, which the planning authority will carry out in the public interest. It is involved in bargaining, negotiation and compromise over the distribution of scarce environmental resources, in which the planning authority, in attempting to mediate between conflicting claims on land, may promote, particular interest above the other.

This brings the question of how can planners in practice fulfil the humanistic ideals of planning in seeking to correct the unequal distribution of costs and benefits from development amid the constraint posed by state mechanisms? For the traditional urban planning and development tended to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. Locally and internationally, the statutory planning process is often criticised for being inherently inequitable, allowing those who can afford professional representation a better chance to influence plan formulation (Adams, 1994). In so doing, it reinforced the existing pattern of resource distribution by widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Yet urban planners have been reluctant to identify winners and losers, hiding instead behind the fiction of the public interest.

Regardless, the key area of concern is how much freedom a planner has within the confined mechanism of the state to advance the ideals of urban planning. For planners, whether in private or public sectors, are compelled to operate within the agenda established by the state (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1982). The next section tries to identify the relationship between planners and the state and their freedom to exercise discretionary-based planning regarding serving the local community.

2.2.2 THE PLANNER AND THE STATE

Three issues emerged from the preceding discussion. The first one is that the state is involved directly or indirectly in the process of capital accumulation and distribution. Therefore its nature, role and relation to social interests are not static. It is at times forced to respond to situations where its actual involvement

in production is required because allocative actions of the market left alone prove insufficient to maintain the accumulation process (Kraushaar and Gardels, 1982). For example, direct intervention in areas such as housing, education, transportation, and energy. The second issue refers to planning philosophy and planning activities. As an activity of the state, planning is involved in the regulation of social affairs and therefore, the reproduction of the social order. It is justified as “the institutionalised application of rational decision making to social affairs *in the public interest*” (Alexander, 1979:248, *italics added*). As an activity that affects society, planning involves human values. It cannot ignore ideology. Thus, it pursues and protects certain values. However, within institutionalised context, the aim of urban planning and the rationale for state action may not necessarily be the same. This makes the dilemma regarding the independence of planners and their discretion in state planning.

The third issue refers to the role of planners in state planning. The discussion suggests that planners’ involvement in the state planning apparatus is more likely to enable the maintenance of the status quo. However, given its particular role and function, urban planning is not and can never be a simple microcosm of the state (Catanese, 1974). Since planning activities within the state are structurally determined by legislative frameworks, the planners’ role in directing urban affairs is confined to predetermined courses of action. However, specific ideology also influences planners’ roles -- individualised values and socialised attitudes (Howe, 1980). This opens the door for discretionary in carrying out these roles. This implies that the role of a planner, though structurally determined, is ideologically qualified. This implies that, opportunity for planners to exercise their discretion in planning actions exists at local level. However, the extent of such actions is contingent on planners’ understanding of their roles within the local state.

So important then, is the conception of the contact between planners and the community/society. As indicated, **there are** different views in this regard based on the understanding of the role of the local state. Three perspectives valuable in analysis of planners’ role are: managerialism, structuralism and instrumentalism. Though these perspectives offer a valuable insight into the local state, none of them on their own provide a conclusive view about the role of planners in the local state. Their consideration in this section in neither comprehensive nor critically analytical.

The **Structuralist** views describe a degree of relative autonomy to the local state. This is based on the premise that the dominant classes in the society do not have direct control of the state. It suggests that the state is there not to support any specific class, but to maintain social cohesion, there by ensuring the continuation of the process of accumulation (McCarthy & Smit, 1984). However, in so doing the local state becomes part of the process which safeguards the long-term interests of the dominant class, while dealing with the working class through ameliorative programmes.

This view suggests that there is room for values and attitudes in planning, but many critics have seen it as irrelevant. Castells argues that if “the state expresses in the last resort and through all the necessary intermediaries the combined interest of the dominant classes, then town planning cannot be an instrument of social change, but only one of domination, integration, and regulation of conflicts” (Castells, 1983). This would imply that all activities of planners are to maintain the status quo. It would suggest that, in his or her position in the local bureaucracy, the planner is merely the agent of the state whose role is to guarantee the continuation of capitalism or the state agenda. This argument disregards the difference between short-term and long-term goals of planning. It also overlooks the fact that all actions taken by the state are not of necessity conciliatory in nature.

The **Instrumentalist** view suggests that, contingent on the capitalist accumulation, the state acts in the direct interest of capital. It suggests that the state is an instrument of capitalist class which ultimately controls and determines state action. The assumption here is that decision-makers managing the state apparatus have social composition of capitalist class, so their interests coincide with the state's interests. The main difference between this perspective and the structuralist view lies in the relative autonomy of the local state. The difference revolves around the question: for whom or for what the function of the state operates, whether they are class-biased, and the extent to which they reflect external political forces (Saunders, 1979 in Schwartz, 1986). Whereas structuralism acknowledges concession to less dominant class, instrumentalism, based on class oligarchy constructs, cannot acknowledge any concessionary 'behaviour' by the state. In this context, all planners are seen as managing the affairs of capitalist classes. The assumption here is that, though there may be divergent interests among bureaucratic representatives, there is a common ground between such interest groups to pursue a common objective. Those individuals filling bureaucratic positions, it is assumed, will be sympathetic to their bosses' interests. Planners seen in this context as allies in the continuation of capitalist society, is an important factor in determining the outcome of society's conflicts.

Planners are in this regard, accorded greater responsibility in the reproduction of social order. However, to accord planners such responsibilities disregards the basic constraints of capitalism. On the other hand, by alienating cultural context in which these activities take place, it also disregards the capacity for individuals in a given institution to hold and express ideology not necessarily consistent with the fundamental principles of the established bureaucratic order. In other words, not all planners would necessarily favour state action. Nonetheless, this perspective may accord a fair amount of discretion to planners.

Managerialism presents an important view of individual decision-maker in relation to the local state and the society. Though different from structuralism and instrumentalism, it deals with the ultimate allocative control of urban managers. Although planning function is still perceived as arising from capitalism's needs, this perspective offers a degree of flexibility in the management and implementation thereof. It views the variables shaping the urban land-use pattern as not entirely predetermined. McCarthy and Smit (1984:127), argue that managerialism "... accords to *planners* a substantial degree of autonomy in making decisions about land use". Recognising this autonomy to be a major force in land-use planning, Pahl (1969), proposed that through decisions based on the values and goals of urban managers in the private and public sector, the social-spatial system of the city is altered. This perspective also recognises the influence of and the control of central government over everyday life.

The value of this perspective diminishes if we view urban managers as autonomous units rather than relating them to the general conception of the political economy of urbanisation. In this context, the managerial perspective concedes to Marxists in that a planner's situation within a capitalist political economy is circumscribed (Klosterman, 1985). Planners are no longer simply the technocrats of the system. They are becoming increasingly involved in the formulation of bureaucracy's goals, although predetermined. The main thrust of this argument is that planners exercise some discretion in the carrying out of their professional task. Consequently, it is assumed that planners' values and attitudes are significant to the outcome of planning actions which affect urban community.

So far it has been shown that planning emerges from society's need to address the effects arising from contradictions inherent in urban communities. Its main function lies in the management of results produced by these contradictions, rather than solving them. As reflected in state activity, planning actions are structurally determined. Yet within the rigidities of this activity, opportunities do exist for discretion.

especially in the context where planning involves bargaining, negotiations and compromise. The possible extent of such action is contingent on an understanding of the planner's role within the local state. The remaining question then is that, if planners exercise judgement, what motivates their choice. This brings us to the issues of ideologies and values in planning.

Conceptualisation of ideologies which have dominated planning ideologies and planning practice in the next section is hardly comprehensive or conclusive. They are primarily discussed as indicators of planning thought. Furthermore, the construction of a planning ideology is specific to the purpose of this study.

2.2.3 URBAN PLANNING IDEOLOGY

Professional views of planning vary, but from the preceding discussions, planners clearly think that urban planning generally involves rational problem solving from a position of political neutrality. Foley (1960), identified three separate ideologies, variously held by members of the profession: "the reconciliation of 'competing claims for the use of limited land, to provide consistently, balanced and orderly arrangement of land uses', provision of 'a good (or better) physical environment ... essential for the promotion of healthy and civilized life', and thirdly 'as part of a broader social programme' to provide 'the basis for better urban community life'". Similarly, Richard Klosterman, asserts that "planning can be defended on theoretical grounds as performing four social functions: promoting the interests of the community; considering the external effects of individual and group action; improving the information base for public and private decision-making; and protecting the interests of society's most needy member" (1985:5). These arguments clearly imply an intertwining of matters of technical expertise and matters of values.

Foley's argument reflects both continued faith in the roots of urban planning in architecture, engineering and surveying, and an unwillingness to justify urban plans instead in social and economic terms. It reflects the dominance of the notion of a unitary public interest and scientific rationality, imbedded in the traditional approach to social reform, as justification of planning intervention in social affairs. It implies that urban planners attempt to bring order in development (spatial and otherwise) while protecting or advancing public interests or the community as a whole. This notion parallels the physical planning tradition as described by Robert Bruchell and George Sternlieb (1978). It has its roots from the reform tradition of the early 1900's which was aimed at humanising the city and reducing its alienating effects in response to the effects of industrialisation. The purpose of urban planning in this context, was to provide an environment which would promote and reconcile the maximum opportunity for individual choice -- in living, working and whatever is done -- with the protection of the individuals from the adverse effects caused by the activities of others (Lucy, 1994; Willmott, 1973). In other words, its ideals, as defined by John Howard (1961), were to create an environment which would do justice to the complexities of nature and varied needs of human life. This idealism embraces the notion of environmental determinism by which orderly physical environment is perceived to prevent or solve social problems associated with communal life. Thus, the main role of planners and the purpose planning in this perspective is to guide society into better life through design of healthy physical environment.

The notion of unitary public interest has been and is to a larger extent, still the basis for planner's professional practice. It, however, adopts a consensual rather than conflictive view of society (Kiernan, 1983). It regards all members of the society or 'the public' to share common interests, such that they will all in the long-run benefit equally from the provision of services and amenities. Its main premise is that through planning, decision-makers can make the correct decisions acceptable to all. Planners are regarded to have an unquestionable concern with and the ability to divine the public needs. Although applied as -

rationale for urban planning, the notion of unitary public interest is abstract almost to the point of irrelevance. It allows planning to become all things to all people. This idea seems to appeal to politicians and planners precisely because they can manipulate it to cover any occurrence. In fact the widespread and indiscriminate reference to public interest in planning practice served to disguise the cost and benefit of the planning system to particular interests. For, the unitary public interest model reinforces the idea that planning is apolitical. The purpose of planning is, therefore, simply to intervene in problems of contradictions between private and social rationale, by providing a right solution so that the space economy can continue to function on its designated path. This implies that planners intervene in societal activities in pursuit of a harmonious balance (Moore, 1978). It fails to acknowledge that, since planning is inherently distributional, it is hardly likely that various groups in the society will be satisfied simultaneously.

Another related concept which legitimises the apolitical nature of planning practice is the notion of scientific rationality. As a concept, scientific rationality is mainly concerned with the process and procedure of arriving at a best rational decision. It assumes that whenever there is a range of decisions to be made, there is a level of expertise to make rational, ordered and consistent decision. Like the public interest models, scientific rationality shuns the political nature of planning by claiming to differentiate matters of values from matters of facts; it assumes that we can easily distinguish factual questions from questions of values (Klosterman, 1980). It also assumes that we can use scientific methods to resolve empirical questions of fact without relying in any way on individual values (Klosterman, 1983). This perspective emphasises that planners can avoid arbitrary interference in public affairs by only restricting their analysis to objective questions of fact and allowing elected officials or public debates to resolve issues of value (Alexander, 1984). The central and most fallacious assumption about this model is the belief that methods of science can be used to solve urban or social problems as if they are purely scientific problems.

Under the pretext of these assumptions, this model overstates the role science plays in planning and policy analysis. It undermines the fact that planning is a process of interpersonal communication, interaction and dialogue (Klosterman, 1983), which invoke value judgement. Contrary to its assumption, however, values which planners hold, help them determine which problems to be addressed (and ignored), the inference to be drawn from analysis, and the advice to be offered. For the relationship between fact and values (what is and what ought to be) cannot be examined in the abstract, but must be examined in a particular context.

The significance of these ideologies is not only that they help legitimizing planning intervention, but they form the backbone of professional integrity of the planning profession. Since these ideologies cast planning into technical, non political mode, when their credibility is in question, the role urban planning play in the society is also questioned. Some who are sceptical argues that these ideologies while casting urban planning into professionalism, they serve only to safeguard and legitimize the employment of planners. They offer no social nor economic solution to problems which beset the society or at least identifying a necessary social purpose (Blowers, 1986:17).

2.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN PLANNING CONTEXT

The context in which planning practice in the current South African situation would take place has its blue print in the frameworks set and followed during the application of the apartheid ideology. Having outlined the general context of urban planning and its ideological basis, we should now set up the planning context particular to South African situations as characterised by the apartheid policy. This will help to identify areas of problems regarding the role of planning and planners in this new dispensation, underpinned by the democratic ideals.

Many authors, at least internationally, have suggested that planning is never neutral or disinterested in any way since it distributes resources (Catanese, 1974; Cherry, 1982; Davidoff, 1965,1978; Dykman, 1970; Kiernan, 1983). Despite the abundance of this knowledge, the view that planning is primarily a technical, professional, and an intrinsic apolitical activity in pursuit of indisputable goals has been a cherished and persistent myth throughout the urban planning history of South Africa. Although planners have for a long time convinced the public and themselves to the contrary, “their allocative decisions and recommendations are only rarely technical, disinterested, and evenhanded” (Kiernan, 1983:73). Moreover, typical problems in which planners should intervene are within the social, political and economic realms which invoke value judgement.

The context of planning practice under apartheid resembled the technocratic political culture. Fainstein and Fainstein refer to the technocratic political thinking as the product of industrial revolution. It represents efforts to come to grips with the social problems which resulted from the rapid, haphazard urbanisation. It presupposes an autocratic institutional style in which the state regulates the economy and engineers social change. In its essence technocracy emphasises the utilitarian and sometimes utopian desire to establish or reestablish social order in capitalist technological progress. It seeks to harness technology and the power of reason and science to create new social order. According to Kirk (1980), technocrats believe that the social strata that command the economy should engineer social change (in the public interest) paternalistically.

Fainstein and Fainstein (1971), describe the style of planning in a technocratic context as traditional, blueprint or one which focuses on physical or land use planning. It assumes that all planning decisions and the goal of “orderly development of the environment is in the public interest and planners are in the best position of any group to determine the plan’s ... goals” (p. 343). However, planning goals formulated in this context, often reflect values of planners rather than of those most affected by the result of planning. This is because in adopting the technocratic role, planners fail to realise that the so called apolitical planning process which they follow embodies values of the upper-middle class. In South African context, a typical planner has traditionally been a white, male and from this social and economic class. Employed in the state or local government planning agencies, the kinds of planning which planners engage in has been largely in the interest of the state and “by extension, the dominant class which they [were] part” (Laburn-Peart, 1991:11).

Alexander (1979), refers to the rational comprehensive planning model as also based on technocratic ideology. This planning model relies heavily on the rational decision-making process introduced in planning practice in the United States of America in the 1950s and Britain in the 1960s. It assumes that planners know or can discern the needs of the public and that they purely base their decisions on rationality or factual analysis of information. Due to its emphasis on scientific procedures, it denies any influence of personal values and attitudes during decision making. Therefore, it rejects the political nature of planning decisions. Implicitly, it also denies any *negative* impact that planning might have on social problems. In this regard, Kiernan (1983: 74), argues that it is “oblivious to the potential for planning to intervene in a *positive* way to alleviate these problems”.

Parallel to the technocratic political culture, the state has, under the apartheid ideology, engineered social change/development and cohesion by exerting extensive control over the rate and pattern of urban growth. Its objective had been to achieve racial segregation in all aspects of social and economic life; to protect the resources and lifestyle of the white minority and subordinate the less-advantaged groups. Urban planning became an instrument of crude social engineering by ensuring application of apartheid principles. It entrenched inequalities in the built environment and marginalised much of the population. Laburn-Peart

(1991:11) gives an account of some who regard apartheid ideology as "a utopian ideal, implemented and executed with bureaucratic efficiency". She also argues that while apartheid ideology and its goal are recognised as unrealistic and are currently being changed, much of the technocratic perspective remains as bureaucratic efficiency, which requires and emphasise discipline and control, and formal, or procedural rationality which relate to the nature of planning as described in the next section.

2.3.1 THE NATURE OF LOCAL PLANNING UNDER APARTHEID

The nature of urban planning under apartheid stemmed from the centralisation needed to enforce apartheid systematically at all level. To ensure consistent implementation, town planning procedures have been particularly rule-bound. Planning adopted a top-down approach with strong (legal) administrative control such that statutory planning procedures gave very little scope for public consultation, let alone for more active forms of public participation. The basic planning process conformed closely with the blueprint approach. It started with a clear preconceived solution and involved working single-mindedly towards it, reducing external interference. It was characterised by nonexistence of the tradition of collaborating with public, private or community organisation to promote forward-looking and common goals of the all-round city improvement (Turok, 1994). Success was measured by how far reality could be shaped to conform to the predetermined solution rather than advancement of social and economic needs of the majority.

Legislative frameworks had a significant impact on the practice of planning and roles of planners. Planning legislations confined local planning practice to narrow concerns with physical control and spatial aspects of land use changes. It offered no scope of facilitating economic development with physical development. Planning practice followed the traditional planning model where its main objective has been the orderly development of the physical environment. Because it was assumed that order in the built environment determine social relations and therefore give solutions to social problems, planners treat the spatial ordering of the built environment as an end sufficient unto itself. Some form of physical determinism takes hold in this regard. However, the traditional planning model, leaves the social, cultural and economic problems more likely unattended. As a result urban planning at this level was not concerned much with positive planning for local economic development as to ensure consistency with central policies despite the prevailing ideologies. The fact that local authorities were not involved in issues of education, social services or economic development boosted this condition (these were the responsibilities of central or provincial government). As a result, planners showed very little concern or understanding of the economic and social implications of physical controls (including segregation). Planning disregarded the private and social cost of the sprawling white suburban development and remote black township location. It also ignored the distorting effects on land price and housing markets of allocating urban land to a minority of the population and ghettoising other groups in small areas (Turok, 1994).

The most salient characteristic of planning process was the fragmentation of planning authorities. The central government was responsible for formulating policy applicable at all provincial and local level. It was also responsible for detailed planning at local level for many Black communities. Generally, the detailed planning was mainly concentrated at local level. Nevertheless, this was mainly for White Local Authorities including Coloureds, Indians and some Urban Blacks communities. Although there has been very little tradition of strategic approach to planning, in the sense of a comprehensive, city wide perspective (due to fragmentation of planning authorities), traces of rational comprehensive planning are found in 'guides plans' or land use zoning schemes prepared for these different planning authorities. Although they were often independently prepared, all these schemes followed the policy designed by the central government. Generally these schemes, despite who prepared them, served as master plans for

future development. However, because of fragmentation and other policy constraints, their impact on land value and ownership seem to have been divorced from the planning stage. By their nature of being legally-binding, such schemes allowed no flexibility and offered no alternatives. They formed the basis upon which local authorities responded to private development proposals. This was done based on fixed standards governing the shape and density of permitted development.

Concerning planners' roles, planning officials viewed planning as an uncontroversial technical activity. Planning problems were primarily related to the spatial scale rather than to any wider political economy (Hague, 1984). Likewise, solutions were regarded to lie in the manipulation of land by expert planner. Influenced by technocratic ideology, planners adopted a role of apolitical technicians in which their image of serving all equally has been buttressed by the language of functionalism. They played a role of technical-administrator. Planners are regarded and regard themselves as "technical experts at the service of the elected officials of the public institution" (Laburn-Peart, 1991:11). They were perceived as doing their tasks objectively "without involving their political and social values" (Catanese, 1984:59).

In theory, technician planners can exercise a great deal of power and be effective if the organisational context in which they work accords them enough autonomy to decide, or if the decision-makers are dependent on the technical expertise of the planner or delegate authorities to them. Frequently, however, this situation is the ideal rather than the reality. The expected relationship between planners and politicians break down or never even develops. In particular, "the constraints placed on planners by the central government through legislation and the subordinate position of the local authority in relation to regional and central government, have severely restricted the independence of the planner in his or her decision making" (Laburn-Peart, 1991:11).

The context in which current planning practice in South Africa takes place is different from that characterised by technocratic ideology. It is moving away from control and constraint towards one of greater choice and participation by all (Laburn-Peart, 1992). Its scope is becoming broadened to encompass many more third world development problems than have been tackled by the profession in the past (Muller, 1992). This takes into account the expectations of the less-advantaged groups raised by the political reforms although their conditions of daily life continue to deteriorate. This requires legitimate political structure and innovative planning strategies to address the formidable housing backlog, decayed services, low skill base and wide spread poverty (Turok, 1994). Muller (1982), argues that the appropriate planning perspective in this context, would be one that promotes the attainment of democratic attributes (of human dignity and liberty) and the advancement of the deprived groups in our society. It is more likely that the current planning mainstream will move towards this direction particularly at local levels. The fundamental question here would be whether the profession as a whole could keep up with this mainstream. Which roles should planners play to keep up with the time? For planning to be relevant and effective in this regard, present several challenges of which those used for this study are discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 THE NATURE OF PLANNING CHALLENGES AND PLANNERS' ATTITUDES

The inclusion of disadvantaged groups into nearly all areas of decision-making -- including that concerning planning -- amplifies challenges and problems associated with public policy formulation and application. For planning, these challenges include planning for positive economic development; economic empowerment, capacity building and development of the previously disadvantaged areas and people; delivery of various goods and services which amount to enormous backlogs; changes in the planning system to respond effectively to urban expansion and other development processes.

democratisation of the planning process; and transformation of the planning institutions to reflect the demographics and our social realities. Thus, planning requires a framework intended to respond to changes and provide strategies to ease change in beliefs, attitudes, values and structure of organisations so that they can better adapt to new changes. It requires a framework within which the profession can successfully display its own unique contribution to societal development.

Planners may not be the most powerful in the development process; nonetheless, they wield tremendous influence over planning; they influence outcomes through routine decisions with high policy content and through the structuring of the agenda of policy making. They exercise day-to-day control over the allocation of resources (Pahl, 1969 in Knox and Cullen, 1981). Although they have a major role to play in initiating processes to establish solutions to problems referred to earlier, based on historical context of planning practice in South African context, this could be an unfamiliar territory for many planners. It presents many problems which relate to attitudes and values planners attribute towards planning and a planner's roles. They are more likely to respond to a given situation in a way that is sympathetic to the ordered and objective world with which they are familiar. This could have conservatively or more likely, a regressive distributive influence on planning functions. This presents at least four challenges about planners' attitudes considered in this section.

First, town planning in South African context has a legacy of being associated with the functions of the state in administering public affairs. Whether implemented by central, regional or local authorities, the policy determined by the central government had precedent over other levels of government. Proponents of planning in these institutions often failed to notice (or they ignored) that the apolitical planning process they supported embodies values that were particularly of the upper-middle class. They assumed that "efficiency and orderly administration ... was a general public goal which did not serve particular social interests" (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1971: 343). In this context, planners were justified to intervene in development process as apolitical officers and making decisions on the behalf of other people. However, for the state to perpetuate itself, planning had to serve its ends, here apartheid ideology. In this regard, legitimacy of the planning authorities had a significant impact on the status and the image of planners and the planning profession in public perspective. Overall, the public (especially the disadvantaged groups excluded from the planning process) have been suspicious of planners and planning activities. They regarded urban planning and planners as instruments to enforce and maintain apartheid. These attitudes should change for the planning profession to be well accepted by all sectors of the population. Only when this perception is cleared from the 'public' opinion can the planning profession be said to have begun (re)establishing its social role and integrity within communities. Planners, therefore, need to restore their legitimacy with the sector of the population which distrusted the profession; regain the trust of those most negatively affected by the past state policy, those for whom planning has far too long had only negative connotations.

Secondly, related to planning being an activity of the state is the notion that planning was not concerned enough with the needs of the poor. John Muller has echoed this by stating that "at best, the profession can be said to have turned a blind eye to the plight of the majority of the population of the country, and to have remained silent when voices should and could have been raised" (1992:29). Also, McCarthy and Smit (1984), contend that the mainstream of the planning profession in South Africa has not only been conservative both with respect to practice and the education of planners, but that it has only recently concerned itself in a "penurious way" with the needs of the poor. Urban planning failed to fulfill its social role; it failed to address issues of social and economic development in the quest of physical or spatial order predetermined by apartheid legislations. Planners produced plans which were some naïve

attempts to change the society through manipulation of the physical environment. Under conditions such as those surrounding us, planners will need to take initiatives rather than waiting for and reacting to circumstances. They need to contribute significantly in the **debates** about the role of planning in creating social order and act as effective pressure group in transforming the atrocities of apartheid. This implies planners becoming advocates of promotive and/or permissive approaches in planning practice.

The third issue relate to the planning process which lacked democratic attributes. Very little communication and understanding between **the state** and the less-advantaged groups existed. Many efforts proceeded on a selective basis and where dialogue or involvement occurred, it was done not necessarily in the interests of the disadvantaged. Muller (1982: 254), contend that “the interface between the predominantly white planning fraternity **and** the black communities has been distant and without mutual discovery; it has been one of least contact and therefore little reciprocal understanding”. In practice, therefore, very few planners have served and planned with various black communities who make up most of the country. To the contrary, however, the vast majority of challenges of improving the quality of life, lie in these communities. This implies that the lot of planners’ **experiences** might be biased and irrelevant to some extent. Also, since the process adopted has generally been one of the dominations following the national policy, it has been responsible for the imposition of unitary solutions and encouraged polarisation of attitudes between communities and planners. It also **institutionalized** dependency on the state by the less-advantaged groups. This dependency which the **system** encouraged and institutionalized, poses a unique need for a planning approach that facilitates self-sufficiency. The challenge for planners in this context is to identify with communities who embrace values different from theirs and plan within such parameters. It is in promoting sound planning principles while effectively addressing core problems in communities. As Peter Marris asserts, “to engage in planning on someone else’s terms, you have to give up the autonomy of your purpose and understanding, forced to interpret them in the context which you do not altogether share” (1987:65). Planners, therefore, need not be told but taught by the local population of their aspirations and capabilities and verify this through continuous dialogue.

The fourth issue is related to the planning system which controlled the growth and development of our cities. It is lacking in dealing with the current issues involved in the processes of urban expansion particularly regarding residential development (Mabin, 1993:10-19). Authorities are relying on *ad hoc* procedures and piece meal planning which rescind the essence of ‘planning’. This also relates to fact that the nature of planning practice tended to be “more restrictive rather than offering a positive vehicle for economic development and alleviate social problems” (Classen, 1994:16). In fact various planning legislations, for example planning ordinances, restricted the scope of planning practice, especially at local level. They did not allow for integrated approach regarding physical, social and economic development. Planning guides, principles and standards and all other control mechanisms for guiding development were particularly unjust and repressive. It was indicated to this effect, how planning and planners’ public image was generally undesirable as town planning and planners were regarded as instruments of the state to maintain and reinforce apartheid. Developers also viewed urban planning as characterised by ‘red-tape’ and prevention rather than facilitating development. Planners’ roles were also consistent with the system. Laburn-Peart (1991), describe the planning environment under which planners operated as prescriptive. It limited South African planners to the traditional role of apolitical technician serving the interests of a particular group, or of an administrator, working more often than not as an agent of the state. The main problem for planners in this context is to identify the future role of planning in circumstances such as those surrounding us? Dyckman’s (1978), contention that ‘planning is politics, and cannot escape politics, but is not politics’ can be accepted here as a profound and accurate statement of reality. For planners will

struggle with issues which are more political, against their historical perspective of being apolitical and value-neutral technicians. Those social conditions in the inner cities and peripheral areas of our metropolitan areas demand political attention more than application of traditional planning principles. Local authorities are likely to face a fiscal crisis in these areas as demands for social provision of housing, education and other social services increases, while their resources diminish. Any decision for development in this context has immense political connotations. Planners are, therefore, faced with the challenge of influencing the current planning roles to move from largely physical planning to more social planning roles. They need to intervene in the development process to balance the need of capital accumulation or wealth creation with equity and equality in the provision and distribution of good quality and quantity of public goods and services.

2.4 TOWARDS PLANNING PRACTICE BEYOND THE APARTHEID ERA

With the broad political changes and social integration comes conflicts and tensions which such changes bring. For urban planning, these tensions are grossly manifested in conflicts associated with the social and private uses and value of land. Even the most conservative of planners operating in this context would admit that decisions in planning are inherently political because they involve allocating scarce resources. For, the main purpose of urban planning is to distribute rewards, opportunities and resources, whether these are urban land, housing, recreational facilities and so on (Cherry, 1982; Kiernan, 1983). It has become important, therefore, that planners understand and assess the political undertone and the impact of planning decisions on various groups, especially the poor in the society. They can no longer plan as if their interventions cannot exacerbate existing social inequality or much less creates new ones as the traditional planning model implied. Their practice should be relevant to existing social and economic needs; it must contribute to the development and reconstruction of local communities by adapting to the day-to-day socioeconomic and political realities. Implicitly, this means that the process of decision-making should be "responsive to the preferences and needs of the people who will be most affected by the implementation of plans or policies resulting from the process, if they are to have confidence in the planning system" (McConnel, 1981: 104).

Some authors (Kirk, 1980, Catanese, 1974, Kiernan, 1983), argued that recognising that urban planning is an intrinsically distributional activity exposes the fallacy of a pure technical, value-free and an apolitical stance in planning practice, to which supposedly many South African planners were stuck. It implies the abandonment of the myth that planning can be all things to all people. Seen in this context, the question is whether planners should (individually or as a group) overtly advocate for particular interests or remain disinterested in the politics of planning. Despite this, if planning really has the social and economic interests of communities, and the less-advantaged groups in particular, planners cannot be disinterested. They may need to assess public policies, planning projects and programmes based on how much good does the poor benefit, and therefore, the need to adopt a political stance.

It is also important to realise that changes which appear from time to time to ripple the surface of professions are sometimes superficial and transient. In urban planning practice, these are more changes of style than substance, more a replacement of goals than their fulfilment (Fagin, 1970). This suggests that the scope of the profession does not necessarily change as factors such as social movements, political upheaval, economic adjustments and so on influence the nature of changes taking place. In other words, the profession goes through a stage of 'metamorphosis' in an attempt to adjust to new cultural developments. Yet its area of influence remains unchanged. That is, the distribution and management of the use of scarce environmental resources. In a context where methodologies and the content of planning

practice changes, emphasising justifiable substance and fulfilment of goals than their mere identification becomes very important.

It was pointed out that the legislative frameworks confined urban planning practice in our local context to concerns with spatial development. Planners were preoccupied with planning standards which supposedly measure the desirable physical arrangements and from which they derive the proximate goals of the plan (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971). However, application of these standards was biased and influenced by value judgement. The state action through various legislations legitimises planning practice in this context. For example, planning ordinances which control planning activities in our local context did not facilitate integration of social, political and economic issues with planning for physical development. Such legislation did not only prescribe the scope of planning practice, but also roles which planners can play. In other words, legislation limit the 'freedom' of planners in role choice to predetermined activities or roles. Indirectly, this legislation also influences or determines the skills and techniques that planners require for their practice. Planning legislation in our local context did not only limit the scope of planning practice. It also facilitated the planners' alienation from the planned by limiting the scope of public participation to a consultation process, especially among the disadvantaged barred from the planning process. Although planning frameworks developed as a result includes a notion of promoting the general welfare of the community, they did not attempt to address the social and economic problems, which determine political power and social relations.

The context in which current planning practice can take place is different from that characterised by technocratic ideology and influenced by apartheid policy. Urban planning is becoming more democratised. It is moving away from control and constraint towards one that emphasises greater choice and participation by all. That is, the way planners go about practising planning is changing. The commitment to serve all equally, broaden its scope to encompass many more third world development problems than have been tackled by the profession in the past. John Muller (1982), argued that the appropriate planning perspective in this context, would be that which promotes the attainment of democratic attributes of human dignity and liberty and the advancement of the deprived groups in our society. A truly democratic planning approach may be an illusion and the quest for human fulfilment by means of town planning can be elusive. Nonetheless, Muller claimed that the premise that planning should seek to promote democratic ideals is a fundamental principle in planning for the disadvantaged. This notion is also embedded in the Development Facilitation Act (Act No. 67 of 1995) as its underlying principle of land development. It encourages participation in planning process by those whom the development will affect. It also emphasises skills development and capacity building of the disadvantaged persons involved in land development.

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) can be recognised as a bridge between the past practice and the content of current and future planning practice. It provides for a unified, single intermediary legislative framework for all sectors involved in land development. The DFA envisages integration of social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development alienated in past planning practices. It provides a scope for empowerment through participation in that it encourages development of skills and capacity of disadvantaged persons involved in land development. Importantly, it advocates for active participation by those affected by land development. Thus, it opens the door for possible influence of decisions by those who may otherwise have no access or power to influence planning decisions. Implicitly, the Act places local authorities (or the state) in the position of being *enabler or facilitator* of development rather than the *provider* and *controller* of resources and development. This shifts the function of urban planning from control orientation into maximising development potential. It

brings urban planning into a context where it plays a role of facilitating negotiations and compromise over distribution and use of scarce environmental resources.

Nonetheless, spatial ordering of the built environment is still and will always be a significant element of development at local levels. Planners need to get an understanding of how the built environment works in relationship to social reproduction; they should appreciate how everything relates to everything else in an urban system (Harvey, 1978). However, they should see spatial ordering as a reflection rather than a determinant of the social relations. This implies seeing urban planning as more of a process than a mere production of a static plan.

The Institute of Planners identifies the primary role of urban planning in a context of rapid growth as an innovation: "to place before society an improved set of possibilities about urban living and the accommodation of urban activities" (SAITRP, 1994). This noble idea implies that, beside its spatial orientation or its physical pillar, planning has a humanistic backbone in that 'planning thought' is based on the understanding of human activities and human needs, both material and nonmaterial. It is based on an understanding of how planners can help people in their ongoing quest to carry out and to satisfy these needs. Paul Davidoff (1982), recognised and observed this 'human-face' of planning as a major direction for planning and called it a redistributive function of planning. The notion that planning should ascertain the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' becomes appropriate and relevant in this regard.

2.5 SUMMARY

Our contemporary society is living under dire disparity in income and other social services. It is characterised by a myriad of conflicting interests. Planning interventions could exacerbate, perpetuate or improve them. In a context of varied needs and interests, planning intervention will always cause some to gain and others to lose. Since planning in this context cannot satisfy diverse needs simultaneously, justification of any planning activity becomes extremely important. In other words, planning does not only need to be responsive, but planners also require justification and legitimation² of their actions when intervening in the urban system. Most often planners achieve this through the state (Alexander, 1979). However, planning legitimacy should "spring from the society and [*then be*] fixed within the political and institutional framework" (Cherry, 1982:38). The society, in an attempt to perpetuate its existence, should accept planning as an appropriate way of managing its resources. Planning should see planning as providing opportunities and solutions which market forces left alone cannot produce. Since it became "... an activity of the state in an attempt to shape and guide the forces of environmental change *to comply with apartheid policy*" (Cherry, 1982:6 -- *italics added*), the issue of planning legitimacy and justification emanating from the society is very important. It has become one of the most controversial issues in the development process. It is also the core of transformation in the planning process which requires negotiations and bargaining process in resolving conflict over interests derived from use and value of land.

Planners in this context claim to reconcile conflicting interests. They resort to the idea of the potentiality for harmonious balance in society to effect reconciliation and restore that balance which perpetuates social order. Ideology becomes a window through which planners evaluate or assess all planning proposals. However, as the pillars of conventional planning practice collapse, planning runs into the crisis of ideological basis. David Harvey argues that:

²

A set of powerful arguments with which to confront warring factional interests and class antagonisms.

"... we find each of the major turning points in our history, a crisis of ideology. Past commitments must obviously be abandoned because they hinder our power to understand and most certainly lose their power to legitimate and justify ... And as pillars to the planners' world slowly crumble, so they search for a new scaffolding for the future. At such junctures, it becomes necessary to planning the ideology of planning" (Harvey, 1978:229).

It is in the changing political contexts that planners face an obstacle of implementation and struggle for survival in the face of transformation. The challenge is to recognise change and develop capacity for years ahead. If urban planning is to be relevant to the current social issues, planners should be accountable to the community; strive to involve those people not well organised or have little influence in decision-making in the planning process, attempt to empower disadvantaged communities and fostering planning awareness and so on. These issues form part of the Institute of South African Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP, 1991) credo. They underlie the values and attitudes urban planners would need to uphold to tackle current challenges effectively. Practising what they preach become much more important in determining whether or not the profession becomes an activity which most South Africans hold in high regard, than the lofty statements of ideals.

There is no doubt that planning can and should play an important role in the development in our contemporary society. Yet the measure of how much it can achieve its noble ideals depend on values and perception that communities have about planning and planners. Planners besides acquiring appropriate attitudes about planning practice, need to win the trust of the community, especially those who were previously excluded from the planning process. The main challenge for planners in this regard is appropriately adjusting their roles to suit current cultural and political developments and further to influence the direction that these processes should go. It is only in this context that planning and planners could actively influence the public policy rather than the other way round. To influence public policy to benefit the greatest number, Fainstein and Fainstein (1982), argue that planners must become activists prepared for protracted participation and focal intervention in decision-making process. Muller (1982) and Wilmot (1973) argue that they must be willing to plan on terms outside their traditional planning ethos. They must also offer something that decision-makers want and can relate to (Catanese, 1974). The extent to which planning can play an important role in social and economic development at local level depends on whether planners regard planning as purely technical activity, pure political activity or both political and technical and their willingness to function accordingly. The next chapter looks at the possible role relevant to the current situation that planners could play.

To reiterate, this chapter highlighted that planning can never remains static in changing political, social, cultural and economic environments. It was argued that since planning is deeply political, planners in practice need to recognise this to align their roles in society appropriately. It was also suggested that planning is never free of ideology about a good or bad social order. Therefore, planners' roles, despite being constrained by legislative and other procedural frameworks, is also influenced by personal ideology. The extent to which planners exercise their roles within a given limit is dependent on what they regard to be their roles within the activities of a local state. It has also highlighted that, for urban planning to play a major role in the reconstruction and development of our society, communities should regard it as part of the strategy to meet present and future needs. To be useful in the current socio-political context, communities should see planning as fulfilling the democratic ideals/process within communities. Planners, on the other hand, need to portray attitudes and values which reflect their usefulness in meeting society's needs. It was suggested in this context that many problems confront planners. These included adjusting to and influencing changes rather than have themselves taken over and dictated to by changes. The issue

of value and attitudes towards planning and the development process becomes particularly important in this regard. Thus, the issue of addressing planners' attitudes and the public perception about planning is a critical one. It should be interrogated if planning has the ability or will to address community's social problems effectively.

CHAPTER THREE

ROLES OF URBAN PLANNERS IN THE SOCIETY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The conceptual explanation of the purpose of urban planning is important to understand planners' roles. All theoretical perspectives which purport to provide some explanation of urban planning are, as cited by Kirk (1980:55), "concerned directly or indirectly with the distribution of power in the society and the mechanism of effecting possible changes in the existing power relationships". They focus on people, institutions or structures which are assumed to constitute the locus of power. Each perspective offers different conceptualisations of the planner's role and suggests various possibilities for professional practice. The previous chapter has, in this regard outlined the general context in which urban planning is undertaken and its relationship to the state mechanism. It related this to the peculiar historical context of South African political culture. It also pointed out that, for its professional integrity, the society must believe in and accept urban planning as its best way of allocating and managing environmental resources for present and future use (Thompson, 1990).

Social and political transformations apparently cause transition in urban planning practice and the role of planners in society. As South Africa undergoes the process of political transition in the 1990s, new challenges and new contexts, in which planning must operate are emerging. While these contexts are often beyond their influence, planners must respond to the changing circumstances if they are to remain useful and effective. Their roles also need adjustments to adapt to the new political and cultural trends.

Many authors have developed categories which can be used to distinguish various political perspectives within which to understand roles of planners. Fainstein and Fainstein (1971), use the headings of Technocratic, Democratic, Socialist, and Liberal political perspective. Kirk (1980), uses Bureaucratic, Pluralist, Reformist and Marxist as her categories. McCarthy and Smit (1984), vary these slightly with their Managerialist, Pluralist, Advocacy and Radical perspective. These categories are used merely to impose some structure within which different contribution can be made. As Kirk (1980: 56) indicates, they do not apply to clearly articulated body of theory since "between them there are areas of overlap and areas of divergence".

This chapter focuses on the role of planners in the society, particularly in a context of current political changes in South Africa. It uses some political perspectives referred to above, especially the democratic and reformist perspective, to conceptualize possible roles for planners in our local situation. Thus, planners' roles in this chapter are discussed under their political or technical context. The work of Susan Fainstein and Norman Fainstein (1971), Catanese (1974), Klosterman (1978), Kirk (1980), Kiernan (1983) and Laburn-Peart (1991) have been particularly influential in this regard.

3.2 THE PLANNING PROFESSION

We can distinguish planning as a profession and as an activity or a discipline. The main element which suggests distinction between the two is the mechanism for evaluation. Looking at planning as a profession, we draw attention to the established professional roles and put emphasis on peoples' capabilities as practitioners or the levels of competence planners have reached in the performance of their essential professional roles. This situation is reversed when evaluating planning as an activity.

Here the focus is on issues it addresses rather than the competence of professionals (Fagin, 1970). However, we cannot easily isolate the two when looking at the changing role of the profession. This section looks at the general view of the planning profession in order to establish a basis for the discussion of planners roles from a professional point of view.

A diversity of activities which change with context, scale, and location characterises urban planning. While the purpose is likely to remain the same, the distinctive characteristics in scale and context change drastically as the activity content varies from one level to the next. Thus, a planner can play different roles depending on the various working environments. At local level, however, planners tend to be divided along the traditional lines of working on preparation of development plans, development control or detail designs and administration. Obviously, a planner's position in the planning agency, the type and vision of the planning agency, experience in the profession and so on influences individual roles in this context.

Distinguishing roles of planners which make urban planning a unique profession is a much debated issue in the planning literature. The central argument of the debate is around whether planners should be specialists or generalists in their role (Lucy, 1994). Either way, a conceptualisation of planners' roles is crowded with the controversy of theoretical debate (Alexander, 1984; Beauregard, 1990). In its development, planning theory adapts and borrows many ideas and methodologies from other discipline (economics, political science, and the social sciences) such that conflict and sharing (duplication) of functions or responsibilities with other professions occurs (Levey, 1990; Lucy, 1994). Despite this dilemma, as far as the ills of the urban environment is concerned, fingers are quickly pointed to planners as 'midwives' of the city form even on matters which are far from planners responsibilities (Eversley, 1990). This could be a result of planners being regarded as objective professionals who can provide (or create) spatial interpretation of social, political and economic issues which affect city growth. Planners should, therefore, be innovative in their roles and establish approaches which could defend or strengthen their position in changing environments. The problem inherent to the traditional planning is that urban planning tends to be in a position of prescribing future scenarios without power to carry them out.

The obvious factor which gives urban planning integrity as a profession is the technical expertise and knowledge in spatial or physical development that planners are assumed to have (Classen, 1994). However, given the variety of planners' working environment, there are several opinions concerning what it is that planners do and should do. At one extreme it is maintained that planners are merely technical resources for communities and political leaders (Davidoff and Reiner, 1962). At the other extreme, they are regarded as the 'soft cops' of the urban system (Goodman, 1972), implying their managerial role. Eversley (1973) regards planners as the master allocators of scarce resources. Kirk (1980), urges planners to move to the centre stage in local government and develop corporate management structures. Her suggestion requires a new breed of planners not only trained in the traditional land use planning. Henry Fagin (1970), suggests the role of planners as distinguished by the six major functions of the practising planners: an analyst, a synthesizer, a collaborator, an educator, a mediator, an advocate, and an administrator. However, his description of what the planner does, in those six essential roles, is so loosely presented such that they are applicable to almost anyone and certainly to the role of any boss.

3.3 ROLES OF PLANNERS

Different theoretical perspectives on political theories obviously offer various possibilities for professional practice. For example, pluralist approaches to the distribution of power in society allow for an advocate role where the professional role of planners is to “represent and speak for clients, to act as go between or a translator between officialdom and unrepresented section of opinion” (Kirk, 1980: 132). Those perspectives which stress the power of public bureaucracies treats planners as managers of urban system (Eversley, 1973; Knox & Cullen, 1981; Pahl, 1982), where the role of planners as public officials is to allocate resources in a way that perpetuates the system. The Marxist perspective view public employees as state agents in the process of capitalism and criticizes the role of planners as managers of the urban system as a mere effort of maintaining the status quo.

The choice of an appropriate role is a fundamental decision for any planner. It has a strong ideological dimension because it corresponds with the planner’s world view. Choosing a role involves deciding what kind of behaviour is appropriate for a planner. Howe (1980) identified three major influences in planners’ role choice: social background (race, social class, sex, and political view), education and pressure of work setting. Regarding social background she identified political view and race to have some impact while Nadin and Jones (1990), found the social class to have spacial influences especially in physical planning. Howe found that education has a short term influence since many planners may not remain as they emerged from planning school. Pressures of work setting affect the planner’s attitudes and behaviour thus influencing and determining role choice.

Playing any role does not only involve attitudes and personal orientation but also training and skills appropriate to that role. Section 2.1.3 has attempted, though not comprehensive, to highlight the main ideological premise of urban planning practice used for this study. The most important issue being that the ethics of the planning profession unlike other professions is more of the public interest than stressing fidelity to the client’s interest -- usually in the private domain. The most important issue is to recognize roles which are relevant and can adapt to the current socio-political and economic context, notably the emphasis of democratisation of the planning process. It is to identify roles which are responsive and adaptive to the changing social context in the urban environment (both physical and social integration of the urban sphere). This context requires roles which planners can play to contribute in social reform or to improve the quality of life of communities ravaged by poverty, and to reaffirm the profession’s status in public spheres.

Debates which deal with the question of planners’ roles often use a technical-political model, each presenting a different view of the field. This model regards planners’ role as a one-dimensional variable, ranging from more to less political, the two being the mirror-image of each other. Howe’s (1980) research has shown that these are not the only models available to planners. She introduced a ‘hybrid role’ which combine elements of both technical and political models. Based on the discussion in chapter two, where it was argued that planning practice in South African context adopted a technical role, the three models of planning roles are regarded as appropriated in identifying other roles for planners in the current context.

3.3.1 PLANNERS AS TECHNICAL MANAGERS

The technical role of planners follows the managerialism perspective as outlined in chapter two. Planners in this context are supposed to be objective in the sense of keeping their policy view to themselves. Their objectivity is based on application of recognised professional principles, standards

and techniques common to the profession, techniques for research, codification, analysis, synthesis, projection, and plan formulation (Erber, 1970). The appropriate role of a planner in this context is to be a value-neutral advisor to decision makers about the best way to serve the public interest without promoting particular policy position.

The ideological underpinning of planning in this context, is the belief that there is some unified public interest or general welfare which is the special responsibility of the planning profession, at least in the field of environment. Planners believed they are best qualified to evaluate land proposals because they are experts in the interdependencies of land use; they have a general or comprehensive view point and they can coordinate specialist plans for the benefit of all. The planning process adopted in this context encompasses some form of public participation. In practice, however, plans are drawn up by an elite group of some kind, put through formal policy hearing procedures, and then adopted as though they reflect community-wide views. As a result, the process disregards the interests of those whose needs cannot be well articulated by outsiders (worse so, at a distant), those who may require the service and assistance of advocate planners of some form.

Many authors who have been very critical of the dominance of the technical role in planning practice argue that it is ineffectual and irrelevant to social needs and thus harmful to the field (Catanese, 1974; Davidoff, 1965; Kiernan, 1983; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1981). Central to their arguments is the suggestion that the assumption that planning is a technical process, politically neutral and appealing to some public interest enable planners to divorce themselves from political conflicts associated with planning activities. For, they legitimise planning action based on scientific rationality. This argument generally supports a political role. Indeed, to be both more coherent and more socially relevant planning requires a political epistemology.

The technical roles of planners are manifested in most of the planning functions at local level. While the roles of planners at this level also differ, traditionally they involve implementation of policies and control of development (land-use planning). Planners occupy themselves with designs for improved civic appearance, parks, with traffic movements, subdivision of land and zoning, location of schools and other public facilities. Traditionally, this includes sticking to some inflexible regulations which affect distribution of resources and opportunities. Although considered as part of the in-put data in the planning process, planners often divorce socio-political and economic issues from the results of planning process. Clearly, the technical-administrator role of the planner depends on manipulation of the physical environment to control social, political and economic problems. Whatever influence they have on land-use planning, their decisions are based on technical criteria; land and building surveys, an appraisal of various opportunities for development of particular sites, a consideration of capacity of the existing infrastructure, assessment of the kinds of development likely to appeal to the private development and so on. Unfortunately planners in this context seem to function like robots; if there are regulations governing safety, density, control of effluents, protection of historic buildings and conservation areas and so on, then these had to be enforced -- no question of who benefits. If developers want to build, demolish, enlarge, change land use, the planner merely ensures compliance with regulations. These actions nullify the real purpose of town planning as spelt out by Eversley (1990), 'the redistribution of real income'.

The problem with this role is that planners undertake the task of formulating policy of regulating the use of land without any real power or resources for implementation them (Kirk, 1980). Surely, by effectively controlling the urban system, planners could affect people's lives and opportunities (Pahl, 1982). Their effectiveness diminishes because technician-administrators depend on political leaders' decisions to delegate authority or use the planners' expertise. In practice, this

situation tends to be an ideal rather than a reality (Catanese, 1974). Relationships between technical planners and politician do break down and sometimes never get established. To some extent, this validates the fact that under nearly all social circumstances in which planners work, the acceptable way is necessarily the result of political process. For there are no scientifically or technically correct answers, but only political ones.

Another problem which reduces the effectiveness of technical planners to influence the direction of social development is that private ownership of land and capital including private initiative in development seriously constrained land use planning, the focus of planning practice at local level. Too many pressures for change originate outside the planner's control. Much routine development control revolves around planning applications for extensions to existing dwellings, design and layout of housing schemes, and the renewal of short-term permissions for temporary uses. Planners in this context operate in a reactive mode and have very limited chances to be proactive, such that they do not necessarily control the urban system (as the managerial perspective suggests). Their capacity to influence social and economic changes based on their technical expertise is, therefore, very limited. Jim Claydon argues that "these activities [*private initiative in development*] bring planners into contact with actors and agencies who have the power and resources that planning authorities lack" (1990:11). This puts planners in a position to try to win acceptance of solution from conflicting interests. It introduces the question: for whose interest should a planner lobby in the development process?

The value of the technical model is that it provides the basis for professionalism in planning practice because it focuses on the development of techniques and methodological approaches. It emphasises how proficient planners have become in the performance of their essential professional roles. Technical expertise and cognitive skills also anchor other more politically inclined roles. As the planning profession adapts to rapidly moving urban development, it begins to undergo transition in roles, functions and methodology. The urban crisis increases the planners' awareness that the roles in which are called upon to play today are more political oriented such that planning can no longer be simply cast into the language of technicalities.

3.3.2 THE POLITICAL ROLES OF PLANNERS

Political roles of planners spring from the recognition that society is characterised by conflicting interests; the basic structural inequality of power, influence, income and wealth; and the need to reform these persistent inequalities. Unlike the technical role, the political model takes more value committed, activist, political orientation, favouring advocacy of particular policies and attempting to ensure their accomplishment.

Howe (1980), describes a pure political planner as the one who is (should be) an open participant in the planning process allowing his or her values to influence his or her work and openly advocating a particular position. Catanese (1974), distinguishes between overt and covert political activist-planners. Like Howe, he identifies the former as planners who vigorously and openly argue to neutralise opposition to their plans and lobby to defeat proposals they think are bad. He describes the covert activist as politically conscious planners who work within the system they oppose. They establish links with external organisations such that they could give information which would aid to oppose official planning proposals. This conforms to the role of a progressive planner as suggested by Fainstein and Fainstein (1982). Some authors (Alexander, 1979; Goodman, 1978; Kirk, 1980) uses the term guerrilla-activists to refer to such planners. The argument suggested by a political role is that since planning is inherently a political activity, planners must be deeply involve in political discourse.

Regardless, planning in this context must reflect the prevailing values of the society.

Since the ideological basis of various political environments within which planning operates influences planners' roles, placing these roles within their corresponding political context would be useful. The following discussion is based on the understanding that the planning context in South Africa is becoming democratised and that there is a need for reform in planning and planners' roles. It draws from the democratic and reformist perspectives as outlined by Kirk (1980) and Fainstein and Fainstein (1971).

3.3.2.1 THE DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVE AND PLANNERS' ROLES

"Democracy means that citizens have a significant influence over what happens, have equitable rights to exercise influence, and are entitled to know why policies have been adopted and that actions taken are in line with these" (Healey, 1990:14). Unlike the technocratic perspective, democrats emphasise the fact that society should control decision-making and that people should be able to organise themselves around issues that concern them. They believe that the state "... responds to the pressure brought to bear in this way" (Kirk, 1980: 55). Planning approach in this context encourages provision of choice, on redressing the perceived imbalances in the planning process. It generally equates the public interest with the interests of the majority of the public. The function of the state is to "ensure that democratic process and principles are adhered to, thereby creating 'the better society'" (Laburn-Pear, 1991).

McConnell (1981), identified the three contrasting models of democracy, which provide legitimacy of the planning process in different ways as representative democracy, pluralist and populist democracy. Representative democracy might be more appropriate for planning at levels other than local planning. Planning which intends to involve and encourage community self-reliance is more likely to adopt a pluralist model, where a broader coalition of interests is constructed to decide, and populist model, where the public is directly involved in decision-making through referenda and public participation. More precisely, the distribution of power between authorities and members of the public in plan-making will reflect the particular model of democracy in operation.

Fainstein and Fainstein (1971), refer to planning in a democratic environment as 'user-oriented', the term first used by Herbert Gans (1968), to describe planning which takes as its goal the desires of the clients for whom planning is undertaken. It suggests that the planner rely on the public as the ultimate authority in the formulation of plans. The client is clearly "the public rather than special interests or the power structure" (Godschalk, 1967 in Fainstein and Fainstein, 1971:344). Gans argues that once the planner discovers the community's needs and desires, it is his or her duty to "implement them in relation to the available resources" (Gans, 1968: 102-103). Fainstein and Fainstein (1971:344) argue that "the planner" in this context, "does not recognise the interests or values of a particular segment of society as more important than any other, and he attempts to attain the general welfare through satisfying the individual needs of as many people as possible".

Those who argue for a reformist role contest this position. They argue that planning which does not target specific groups will always be regressively distributional (refer to section 3.3.2.2). Those who have professional representation will always influence the plan formulation to their benefit. As a result planning will continue to encourage widening of the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Democratic planning is sometimes referred to as collaborative planning or citizen participation in planning. It seeks to bring planners face-to-face with citizens in a continuous cooperative undertaking which could not only educate and involve community in planning, but also educate and involve planners in their community. However, by accepting the right of other actors to participate in the planning process, planners find themselves forced to make political judgement which the insulated, traditional planner never had to make. Thus, the democratic planner must contend with the problems of conflicting interests and must judge the legitimacy of the representatives of various clienteles (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971).

Although this kind of planning in the South African community is not new, very few planners and planning organisations have explored democratic approach for planning in this country. While the occupational consciousness of planners in a democratic planning context centre on providing or creating choice in planning and redressing perceived imbalances in the planning process, the kinds of roles which planners can adopt vary widely.

3.3.2.1.1 PLANNERS AS MEDIATORS

The idea of mediation applies to situations involving competing interests where it is assumed that some 'highest' level of compromise can be attained in actions collectively taken that affect diverse interest groups. Essentially, mediation is a political process and the major responsibility is placed on politicians. Nevertheless, the planner has a special role in the mediation process concentrated on raising the quality of what is debated and therefore decided and done.

The notion of mediation among differing interest groups, rather than service to an abstraction called the public interest, squarely recognizes and addresses the fact of cultural, social, and economic diversity among people, and the perpetual presence of validly particular interests. The idea of the planner as a mediator is very different from the idea of the planner as the master designer who alone can perceive the one best plan to fit the situation that he alone grasps. Fagin (1970) argues that the planner's special contribution to the mediation process is the systematic discovery of previously unseen options which he or she offers through described, examined, and compared as to their respective potential impact. It implies that the planner applies professional expertise to the analysis of issues to identify salient problems; develop proposals to reduce, reconcile, or eliminate these problems; and wins acceptance for solutions from conflicting groups through skilful manipulation of personal and institutional relationships (Alexander, 1979).

The mediation role is appropriate for bridging the gap between bureaucracy of the past and the disenfranchised communities, to consolidate the needs of the capital in the urban environment while effectively addressing the socio-economic needs of communities. The past spatial, racial and other divides need mediation. It is therefore, the duty of planners to use their professional expertise to influence political discourse where this role is needed. Conflicts which arise from the crisis in 'production politics' and 'consumption issues' at spatial level are one major problem for planners. Planners can in this context function as 'facilitator or managers of change' (Kraushaar and Gardels, 1982). Their main role being to ensure a democratic control of investment and production decisions or to maintain a balance between 'production politics' and 'consumption issues'.

To be effective, this role relies on accurate information which implies that planners also act as communicators. It requires planners to develop additional skills useful in resolving disputes and effective intervention in the political process. Skills such as mediation, negotiation and bargaining,

community organisation, gaming and role playing, basic management skills, group dynamics and interactions, basic commonsense of politics, strategic policy analysis and other technical techniques such as cost-benefit analysis, opportunity cost analysis, and quantitative methods.

3.3.2.1.2 PLANNERS AS COLLABORATORS

The collaborative role is not so different from the role of the mediator as discussed above. It has its roots in the late seventies when planning started to take the centre stage in management of bureaucracy, and planners were seen as corporate managers. It emanates from the dramatic shift in viewpoint concerning the planner's potential subject matter that led to the changed definition of the general role of the planner (Lucy, 1994).

This role recognises the multiplicity of actors in the development process. It suggests that "the planner ought to operate as part of the collaborating structure with many other specialist speaking in other tongues" (Fagin, 1970:129). This includes role players such as: (1) other important disciplinary and professional contributors -- economists, ecologists, lawyers, statisticians, engineers, political scientists, etc.; (2) administrators and functional specialists in each organisational division used to make the total government task tractable; (3) other planners in the whole intricate web of planning; and representatives of the scores of interest groups that make up planners' clientele with whom and for whom the planning process is conducted and plans are made. This role assumes a process and structure of collaboration and a capacity to cooperate.

3.3.2.2 THE REFORMIST PERSPECTIVE AND PLANNERS' ROLES

A reformist role follows the tenets of reformist political perspective. Laburn-Peart (1991), argues that humanitarian and egalitarian aims characterise the reformist perspective. Its strength, according to Kirk (1980), lies in its recognition of the basic structural inequalities of power, influence, income and wealth in society, and the need to reform these persistent inequalities. Thus, reformists focus their attention on the explanations of how inequalities have arisen and how they are perpetuated within the existing institutions in society.

Reformists who favour advocacy approach to planning particularly emphasise the issue of power and its distribution in the society. They believe that power is unevenly distributed such that "even in a society with a universal franchise, the political process does not necessarily lead to a democratic solution" (Laburn-Peart, 1991:13). They suggest that change in the distribution of power in a reformist environment, (as opposed to revolutionary overthrow or radical change), comes about by political activity by disadvantaged groups, but are ultimately also dependent on the government's willingness to make changes (Kirk, 1980). In this context, planners try to use their experience and position to secure benefits for groups disadvantaged by the market. This context seems to agree with the intentions of the government in the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

In a reformist context, roles which planners can play emphasise enablement of the disadvantaged communities to gain access to the planning process from which they have traditionally been excluded. Practising planners try to use their training, experience and position to secure some benefits to the groups disadvantaged by the market in the view that 'planning must be compensatory' (Gans, 1968). Kirk (1980), argues that a reformist role involves working out and carrying out variety of administrative proposals or arguing for 'planning gains' before planning permission is granted. In this context a planner may use his or her position, experience and training to negotiate with developers in the interest of the community.

3.3.2.2.1 PLANNERS AS ADVOCATES

Advocacy planning is based on the criticism of the pluralist approach which accentuates 'choice theory' of planning, where planning means a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices, with the ultimate objective of widening both individual choice and the efficiency of the urban system (Davidoff and Reiner, 1962). The role of a planner in this context is to show as many varied ways as possible of widening the choice of facilities and amenities available. However, choice is only meaningful provided one can afford variety of goods and services. For example if one can afford more than one type of housing or if there are equally convenient neighbourhoods to live in, or several suitable jobs to choose from. Yet, this is obviously not true for very many people. Advocacy planning as proposed by Davidoff and others in the 1960s, advances the notion that more planners today ought to devote all or part of their lives/time to the service of particular interest groups not now adequately served with professional advice; the poor, the victims of racial or other prejudice, the aged, the physically disabled, the young, women and so on. In this context, their choice could also be enhanced. Thus, proponents of this perspective regarded advocacy as an extension of the democratic process.

An acknowledgement that people who are poor, unskilled, unemployed, or educationally deprived do not have the same ability as other groups to permeate the political system provide the basis and opportunity for an advocate role for planners. Thus, advocates are employed to represent the interests of those people who are either unrepresented in the official political system or insufficiently articulate for some reasons. They represent people who might otherwise not put their points of view through the formal channels of communication in the political process. The assumption is that if people are given the opportunity to be heard, then their opinions will influence the outcome of government decisions.

In practice, however, the commitment to serve and represent the interests of these groups is severely constrained regarding who employs the planner and commissions planning projects. A planner can be a faithful advocate of the community interest if he or she regards the community as his or her immediate client. In other words if the community has employed him or her. In practice, however, many planning projects are commissioned by planning authorities which advance their own official agenda. Also, communities lack resources (in terms of capital and often land ownership) to can employ and administer their own planning programmes to be ratified by authorities. Even in context where they could establish community trusts, those who fund projects lay down principles which should be followed, sometimes leaving communities as powerless participants. In this context, planners are pressured to succumb to official policy or to be loyal to those who fund projects.

The priority for an advocacy role is that planners will identify with the values, views and priorities of the people with whom they work. This leads to a demand for 'real' participation in the planning process, not merely consultation of almost tokenistic nature. The assumption is that a planner will present the view of the community without mingle it with personal values or ideology. However, planners are not free of ideological premises as discussed in the other parts of this document. Therefore, planners' representativeness and their ability to reflect faithfully wishes of their client group without losing or adding anything in the translation is questionable. The temptation here is for an advocate planner to educate his or her client organisation with his or her perception of their situation and present such a version in the planning process. Nonetheless, this role is advantageous as a means better informing the public of alternatives. As Fagin (1970) argues that planners are professional visionaries payed to dream with very open eyes, the value of advocacy role lies in that planners can also

function as educators. Nevertheless, until the planner's insights come to suffuse the outlook of the larger community, the planner's plans remain inert, possessing no power to inspire action. The ideal of social justice, of equity and equality in access to resources and distribution thereof will remain ideal until planning has become well accepted by all citizens. It is in this sense that effective planners should play a role of an educator as well.

Noting that the pluralist perspective of advocacy planning in its original sense is severely limited both in theory and in practice is important. Robert Goodman's (1972) account gives a better perspective why planners who try to play advocacy roles in its original sense are limited in succeeding to bring a better society they intend to cause. He argues that advocacy allowed the poor 'to administer their own state of dependency' without breaking away from the vicious circle of poverty. He summarised his own experience as follows:

“In a highly technical society, we argued, the availability of technical help to all groups was a critical requisite for true power sharing. The use of their own experts in planning and architecture was going to give the poor a strong voice at the places where decisions about their lives were made. Indeed, we were able to delay some urban-renewal and highway plans. But we were to learn the limited extent of our influence” (Goodman, 1972: 211).

Without the political commitment or an official policy meant to be vigorously implemented to advance those who are needy in the society, programmes which require public participation will only mean that “the poor could direct their own welfare programmes, have their own lawyers, their own planners and architects, so long as the economic structure remained intact - so long as the basic distribution of wealth and hence real power, remained constant” (Goodman, 1972: 212). The official programme under the RDP may be one step forward towards advocacy for the have-nots within the official planning system. However, its credibility has not yet tested. So there is the possibility for planners to apply themselves to an advocacy role within the official planning system.

3.3.2.2 PROMOTIVE ROLE

John Muller (1982), calls promotive planning a context where a planner becomes a catalyst in the process of human development. He contends that the sole purpose of a promotive planner is first to make sure that planning is seen as promoting the attainment of democratic attributes of human dignity and liberty. Such planning which would promote these ideals and the advancement of the deprived groups, “calls for an attitudinal stance that is consciously promotive, not of planning perceptions or palliatives, but of priorities of the disadvantaged as defined by the disadvantaged.” (p. 255). This implies acceptance of solutions generated from within the affected community that may be at variance with those of rationally deduced through planning method. It requires the planner's willingness and indeed humility that enables him or her to withdraw from involvement when the dictates of independent advancement of the people demand withdrawal.

A planner in this context is not seen as playing an advocate role. Rather, he or she enables the affected community to produce their desired scenarios and decide on implementation. The important factor may not be the achievement of planning results in the traditional norms, but the discovery of self-sufficiency, dignity and accountability derived from a sense of involvement and achievement in deciding the content of development for present and future purposes. It is the opportunity to let people decide their destiny and set themselves goals and strategies to direct them to reach their destiny. Urban planning in this context can be said to be deeply involved in and informed by the public affair rather

than the other way round. That is the community and planners being involved in and informed by planning palliatives.

This approach is related to what Weber (1978), calls an idealistic conceptual planning approach which he called **permissive planning**. This approach discards scientism, social engineering, authoritative expertise and goal-setting preoccupation in planning and is sensitive to the diversity of aims that characterize the plural politics of society. This model is “conceived as a subset of politics, its central function being to improve the process of public debate and public decision” (Webber, 1978: 156). Weber argues that permissive planning model seeks procedurally acceptable solutions to problems rather than “correct answers” and judges the quality of decision on the sole basis of application of acceptable procedures. It aims to open the doors of government to all parties. By that it ensures consumer preference rather than centrally determined prescription. The professional roles of the planner in this context are, inter alia, that of a negotiator, broker and facilitator of debate, and a formulator of procedures.

3.3.2.3 **PROGRESSIVE ROLES**

The radical perspective criticises planning for being an instrument of the state; something used by the state to further its own interests and its own power base. Progressive planners relate urban planning to social movements in the political front. They regard urban planning as a means to perpetuate social or class structure through managerialism. Thus, they confront the basic planning structures of society, working towards their transformation, either from within these structures, or from the outside. Kraushaar (1988), argues that the challenge progressive planners set for themselves is to break down the institutional barriers that distort society’s perceptions of urban problems and prevent planners and communities from working together to resolve problems that they share.

It is therefore, apparent that progressive planners seek to transform society into something other than what it is. Beauregard (1990), argues that progressive planners are dedicated to moral purposes and a reassertion of planning’s reformist and progressive tendencies. They try to point out that urban problems are not accidental, but are systematically related to the country's economic and cultural systems. Thus, this kind of approach result in planners regaining their occupational consciousness and a sense of identity and purpose.

Since this approach is critical of how the state operates in the capitalist society, those who stick to conservative political ideals can find it appropriate to support arguments intended to maintaining existing structures and to protect themselves where privileges apartheid policy protected are threatened. On the other hand, the mere fact that recent political changes brought the collapse of many structural orders progressive planners advocated for, does not mean that the need for progressive planners does not exist any longer. On the basis that the need for reform and social justice in urban affairs underpins progressive planning, planners committed to these values would find it appropriate in criticising the role of urban planning and its practice in our society. They stand a better chance of directing urban planning into clearly defined social and economic goals rather than the tenets of the elusive public interest. Considering the fact that planning focus in the capitalist environment, and particularly one characterised by juxtaposition of formal and informal economic activities of the third world type, progressive or radical initiative in urban planning is inevitable. Perhaps the most ponderous challenge here would be for urban planning to direct market behaviour rather than the opposite. However, considering the current humanistic ‘flavour’ of the government policy, progressive planners’ role would be to pave for initiative to influence the direction of state planning from within rather than emphasising

independent planning agencies.

In view that urban planning in a progressive context is closely related to social movement in the political front, the most important role planners can achieve in this context is that of preventing urban planning from falling into the trap of being overridden by pure (party) political ideals. That is, replacing the apartheid ideology with another form of politically defined ideology. For example, for urban planning to be purely driven by the ideals of the RDP, noble and desirable as they are, can suggest the weakness of the profession to initiate and take a lead in the field of human development since such principles are overtly politically inclined. However, since urban planning is largely a servant of the state, changes in the politics of the government affect the manner in which urban planning operates. The challenge here is for urban planning to develop some clearly defined and implementable objectives underpinned by the needs for social justice.

3.4 REFLECTION ON THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

The common issue evident in the discussion on planning ideology, planners' roles and the challenges for the urban planning profession as a whole is the influence of society's values and attitudes on planning practice. Perhaps the most pertinent question would be how do values and attitudes of community come to bear into the planning process, and how much influence do they have on planning results? This and other factors which affect the environment in which planning operates raises the issue of public participation. Indeed planning which is intended to improve the quality of life, especially of the poor, in a democratic environment, needs to adopt a participatory approach. Also, in a context where exclusion of people from all areas of decision-making was an official practice, public participation automatically becomes relevant and potentially effective planning approach.

Community planning has come to enjoy a particular role within the institutional process of modern communities. Grant (1994), argues that it is established into our understanding of how communities should operate. Some argue that it represents a step towards rational and democratic control of the urban environment. Its central pillar is the need for citizen participation in planning. The importance of citizen participation in the community planning became fashionable in the 1960s and early 1970s, as North America resounded with protest marches and demonstrations. Citizen action in planning became closely linked with participatory democracy. However, the recession of the early 1980s pushed 'citizen participation' out of the foreground and planners turned their attention to 'strategic planning' and 'Economic development. While concern about local democracy did not disappear, increasingly it took a back seat to economic prosperity. Nonetheless, acceptance of public participation as a tenet of democratic planning penetrated deeply into planning theory and discourse during this period and remains evident today.

The rationale behind the calls for public participation is the philosophy that in a democratic society, ordinary people should have the maximum opportunity to participate in actions and decisions which affect their lives. Early proponents of community participation, saw planning as a democratizing process. Planning would give citizens power to shape their community into wholesome place to live and work; it would enhance equity, encourage civic action, and change the balance of power in community so that collective rights take priority over individual rights. Merle (1994:20), argues that the value and advantage of participation go well beyond serving the democratic goals; it provides valuable information and insight into local condition, community needs, values and preferences. Participation in issues which directly affect one's life, develops a sense of self-worth, responsibility and empowerment.

Few would disagree with the premise that people should decide the future of their communities. The rhetoric of democracy in our local context has penetrated the planning discourse. Planners and politicians acknowledge the need to allow citizens a role in decision making. We, however, do not know whether citizens find their role workable or frustratingly ineffective. Regardless, everyone talks about 'democracy', yet people do not agree about its problems or prospects. We are also not certain whether we can find the consensus on implications for democracy in community planning practice.

The philosophical and democratic foundations of the participatory ethic, and the various levels and processes of citizen participation, are common cause and knowledge among planners. Yet, public participation always means different things to different people. To some, the establishment of statutory bodies through which consensus of the public can reach the policy makers form public participation. To others the notices and comments as required by various legislation such as town planning ordinances and others, provide a platform for the public to voice their concern. For those who fight for participatory democracy, participation means citizen direction and decision-making process in which case the central question is the extent to which communities influence decision-making. However, actors in the planning process participate as individuals with different values and expectations. Participatory programmes, therefore, have potential problems which may arise largely from the conflicting political values and expectations of the actors involved, and the exigencies of bureaucratic and political processes through which we make decisions. This poses the concern whether participation is only easy to advocate but difficult to practice.

As pointed out in chapter two, the role of planning in a society characterised by conflict of interests is largely to 'manage' conflicts through the process of adjustments, alteration and concession. Automatically this points to participation as bargaining process involving authorities and organised interest groups. This raises the question of how can the voiceless disadvantaged communities bargain and negotiate, with authorities and developers. It also points to the issues raised previously that the statutory planning process seems to inherently favours interest of developers and suppresses the poor. One reason for this is that developers have an easy access to planning process, and the other very contentious is that, competition for development in local authority areas compels authorities to succumb to the demands of developers to attract capital investments. If one accept the view that those who, through the lack of education and technical sophistication, are ill-prepared to handle the presentation of technical issues, arguments supporting presentation of planning proposals serving the interests of disadvantaged groups are compelling. This points to concerns with social justice, resource redistribution and the eradication of poverty raised by Davidoff in his advocacy planning and pluralism (Davidoff, 1965; 1978). However, in irksome conditions such as those surrounding us, the efficacy of planners using their technical expertise in helping presenting, the view point of the disadvantaged in the planning process is in question.

Perhaps the central question is whether communities' view carries weight in decisions about urban development. How much power planners and planning authorities are willing to confer to community? As Muller (1982), suggests, to be of value, planners should guide negotiation and citizen participation on the basis other than the general professional expertise and experience, but on specialised understanding of the community itself. After all, how can planners plan to improve the quality of life of the community they do not understand.

3.5 **CONCLUSION**

Having outlined the general theoretical framework of this study, the key concepts that have thus far been employed can now be articulated, specifically for empirical research. Such concepts are identified to include: the role and ideology of urban planning, the context of planning practice, conception of the role of planners by the community and attitudes of the community and planners about planning.

3.5.1 **URBAN PLANNING IDEOLOGY**

The conception of planning ideology is important in determining roles of various players in the development process. It underlies their expectations from the planning process. Some expectations are idiosyncratic while others are shared among the participants. The traditional conception of urban planning practice has been one identified by Foley (1960), as “the reconciliation of ‘competing claims for the use of limited land, to provide consistently, balanced and orderly arrangement of land uses’, provision of ‘a good (or better) physical environment ... essential for the promotion of healthy and civilized life’, and thirdly ‘as part of a broader social programme’ to provide ‘the basis for better urban community life’” (Foley, 1960 in Kirk, 1980:131-132). This forms the bases for planners to intervene in urban development.

However, planning is not simply informed by explicit physical manifestation, but also by the processes inducing such forms. Therefore, the functions it performs generate explicit and latent results. This suggests that the manner in which planning is perceived, in terms of its goals, objectives, scope of action or its philosophy, is contingent on the explanatory and normative theories of the urban affairs. This brings into the fore the issue of the justification of planning intervention. There are various ways that this is done. It can be justified based on its social function as promoting the interests of the community, protecting the interests of society’s most needy member, harmonising and considering the external effects of individual and group action, and improving the information base for public and private decision-making.

At least, most will agree that the main purpose of planning is to advance human conditions. Transition from this ideological concept into practical application forms the centre of contradictions. There are two perspectives in this regard. One is that planners can use their technical expertise to advance the agenda of the state. The second is the suggestion that planners can use bureaucratic offices and technical skills to create different kind of society: the ‘good society’ they aver. The two perspectives differ in that the first is run and controlled by planners and politicians and see planning as a technical activity; it excludes civic actions and the state sets priorities (authority). The second one suggests the process run by the people for the people and sees planning as a democratizing process which would provide citizens with power to shape their community into wholesome place to live and work. It would enhance equity, encourage civic action, and change the balance of power in community so that collective rights take priority over individual rights.

To undertake empirical research, a conception of planning ideology is scaled down into categories which may imply a conception of planning as technical activity or planning as a political activity. First is the general notion of improving the quality of life. This is used to imply increasing access to resources to fulfil basic needs, creating opportunity and increasing choice for individuals and communities. The next one is making the best decision. This conception is treated to imply use of technical skills to evaluate various alternative. However, its ideological base is on achieving a technical objective (product oriented) which will then be interpreted into social comfort rather than

evaluation based on social values (people oriented). The next one is regulating competing land uses and the conservation of natural environment which are direct planning function in the traditional sense. Categories which imply politically oriented function are redistribution of wealth/resources and maintaining political balance. Redistribution of wealth implies value based planning activities where planners are committed to a particular course of action on the behalf of a specific sector of the community. Maintaining political balance refers to activities of planners in which case they act as mediators. They bring into mediation process, new knowledge and ideas that make the decision making process more comprehensive.

3.5.2 ROLES OF PLANNERS IN COMMUNITY PLANNING

Planners can play different roles depending on their conception of the planning aim, their personal values, working environment and the dictates of the planning frameworks, legislation and any other factors which influence the planning environment. Some roles are more useful to certain situations than others. Depending on the conception of planning ideology and content of activities, planners' roles are divided into technical and political roles.

Planners involved in a technical roles are objective both in the sense of keeping their policy view to themselves and in the sense that their primary source of effectiveness is based on their reputation for doing objective and accurate analysis based on scientific rationality. They are value-neutral-advisors to decision makers about the way best to serve the public interest without promoting particular policy position. They base their decision or recommendation on application of recognised professional principles, standards and techniques common to the profession; techniques for research, codification, analysis, synthesis, projection, and plan formulation. Planners in this context believe that there is some unified public interest or general welfare which is the special responsibility of the planning profession, at least in the field of environment. They believed they are best qualified to evaluate land proposals because they are experts in the interdependencies of land use; they have a general or comprehensive view point and they can coordinate specialist plans for the benefit of all.

Their activities with the planning institution involve implementation of policies and control of development (often includes following some inflexible regulations); designs for improved civic appearance, parks, with traffic movements, subdivision of land and zoning; location of schools and other public facilities.

Unlike the technical role, the political roles take more value committed, activist, political orientation, favouring advocacy of particular policies and attempting to ensure their implementation. These planners are prepared to participate openly in planning process and allowing particular values to influence their work and openly advocates for a particular position.

Planners who play political roles are those who fit the description of planners as mediators, collaborator, advocates, and those playing a promotive or permissive roles as described in this chapter. All these ideas carry a political connotation, for planning in this context is not about unitary public interest, but involving competing and often conflicting interests. These roles are considered appropriate for bridging the gap between the official bureaucracy of the past and the disenfranchised communities. They are appropriate to consolidate the needs of the capital in the urban environment while effectively addressing the socio-economic needs of communities. In other words planners in this context function as 'facilitators or managers of change' (Kraushaar and Gardels, 1982)

However, these roles are dependent on the technical expertise that a planner has. To be effective, political roles rely on accurate information analysis. Technical skills alone are inadequate. They require planners to develop additional skills useful in resolving disputes and effective intervention in the political process, because they also act as communicators. They require skills such as mediation, negotiation and bargaining; community organisation; gaming and role playing; basic management skills; group dynamics and interactions; basic commons sense of politics and strategic policy analysis.

Political roles largely consider the values and aspiration of the planning community. Thus, the community becomes a role player in the planning process. Yet actors in different roles in the planning process come with particular views of the world, partly shared and partly idiosyncratic. They have divergent perceptions of the planning process. They use different tactics to promote various ends. Citizens for example may see the plan as shield that they wield to defend their neighbourhood from enemy incursions. This metaphor of 'plan as shield' captures a host of values, beliefs and meanings: protection of families, heritage, and tradition through formalised community policies and regulations. Their attitudes about planning are considered under the context of the ideology of planning as defined in this section under planning ideology.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE STUDY: BOTTLEBRUSH INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING PROJECT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A case study area, Bottlebrush Informal Settlement, which links the role of planners in society and community attitudes towards planning was chosen to test some ideas explored in previous chapters. The researcher's attitude that informal settlements currently constitute the most contested area in urban development, motivated the choice of the case study on informal settlement upgrading. It comprises one of the most critical areas concerning planners' roles in housing provision. It also has a wider social and political connotations. Different groups have different interests which range from concerns with tenure rights and depreciation of property values, insecurity of property owners, land invasion and ownership thereof, a dire need for place to live by new residents, problems of providing services by authorities, planning principles, norms and standards, and so on. Traditional planning underpinned by the technocratic perspective can no longer adequately address these problems. For a planner in this context is not faced with issues which traditionally relate to design on the physical environment only, but it include an understanding of the social dynamics in the area. It is with provision of housing, employment opportunities and general social upliftment that planners in this context need to be familiar with.

The planning process adopted in this project and community satisfaction (with the whole project) is important to understand and assess the nature of attitudes of the community about planning. However, the purpose of the case study is not to assess the effectiveness of the planning process and how far the project satisfied the community. The overall aim is to draw comparative assessment of attitudes of Bottlebrush community about planning and planners' roles with those of planners, based on its involvement in the planning process and its understanding of the role of planning.

This chapter comprises three sections. The first section provides background information and puts the case study area into context. Issues covered in this section include historical background, socio-economic characteristics of the people in the area and the significance of this area in the study of planners' roles and community attitudes in urban planning. This section also puts the underlying assumption about the case study area and participants in the research process in perspective. The second section explains, in detail, the methodological approach adopted in this study. This is linked directly to the nature and interpretation of the research problem. It considers reasons for posing certain questions in the survey, the procedure and method for conducting the survey in general and techniques used to derive survey questions. The third section reports on the finding from the analysis of the data collected.

4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BOTTLEBRUSH

Bottlebrush, found 40 km south of Durban, is sited between Shallcross (to the North), Damarsa (to the South) and Crossmoor (to the East) . Figure 4.1 indicate the location of the are within the context of Durban Functional Region. It has been the site of an ongoing struggle between the residents and the authorities (Durban Corporation) over some years. This area initially comprised two portions: one portion formed part of a farm owned by a Mr. Naidoo during the 1960s and early 1970s. By the time

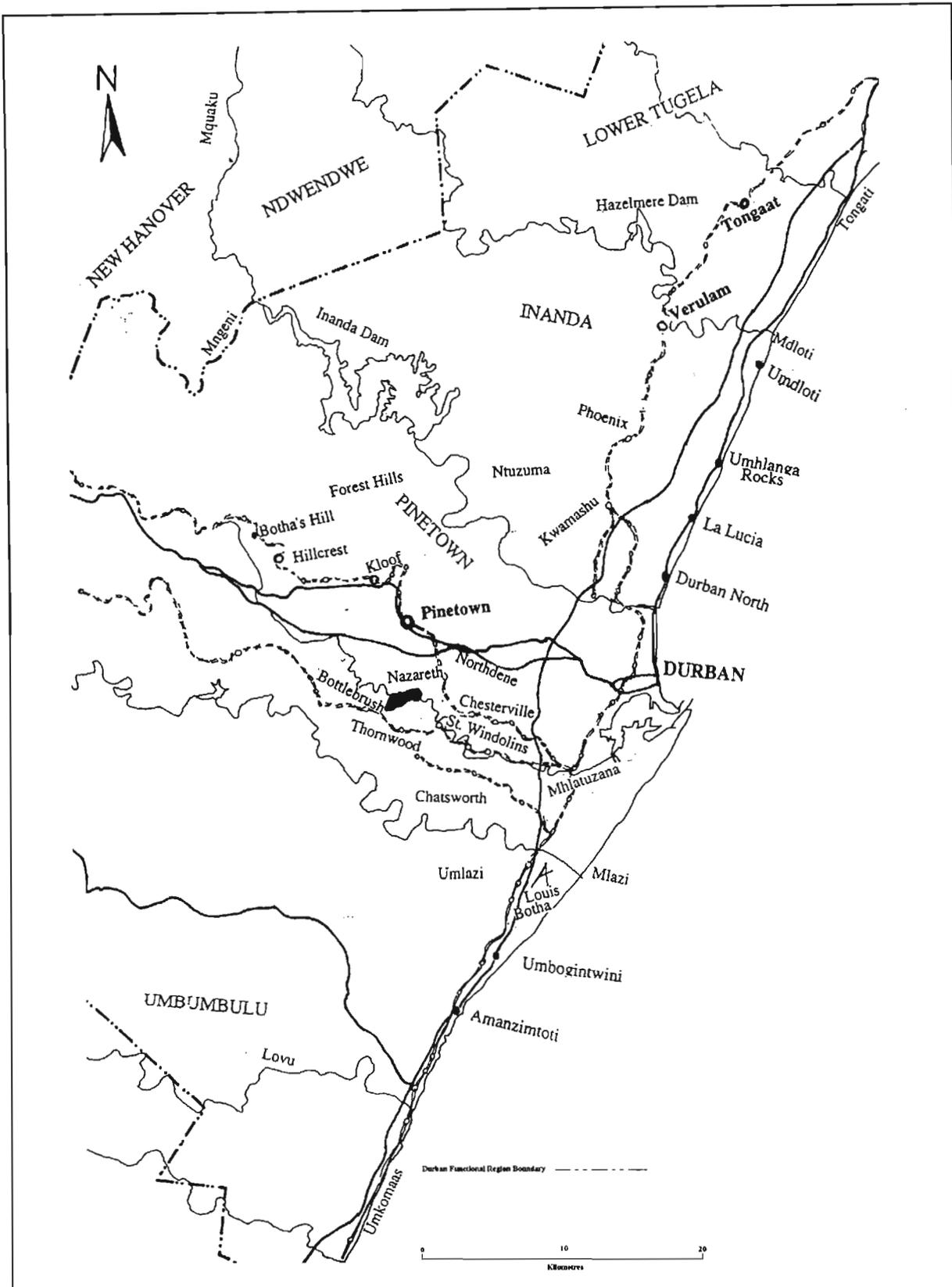


Figure 4.1 Location of Bottlebrush in DFR Context

the decision to upgrade the area was taken, parts of this land were owned privately by individuals and other organisations (mainly church land). The other portion belonged to the Durban Corporation (Stavrou et al., 1991). When people began to move into the area, they were allowed to settle on the privately owned land. They were not allowed to settle on the land controlled by Durban Corporation. The police destroyed shacks which spilled over into this land during the 1980s without warning. With the influx of more settlers over the years, it became difficult to control the overspilling of shacks into this land as the part (mainly the farm owned land) was becoming overcrowded. Eventually, the Corporation legalized shacks which existed on its land. However, it attempted to prevent further growth and the expansion of these structures by numbering all existing units. The police staged regular raids to destroy all unwanted shacks which settlers had subsequently built. This action had very little effect in discouraging influx into the area.

Continued harassment incited people to organise themselves. They sent a delegation of community members to the Durban Corporation offices and protested against the restriction of shacks on the behalf of those residents living on Durban Corporation land. The venture was successful and they were given the right to occupy the area. By the end of 1991, when the socio-economic and socio-political study for planning purposes was conducted, Bottlebrush had a population of about 520 households which amount to approximately 2350 people (Stavrou et al., 1991).

To address the problem of occupation by the settlers in the area, discussions were held between the Durban City Council (DCC) and the Development and Services Board (DSB) of the Kwazulu-Natal Provincial Administration. It was decided to excise a portion of Shallcross and handed over to the City Council for the in-situ upgrading. The City Council appointed the Urban Foundation to act as its agent in upgrading the settlement. In turn, the Urban Foundation appointed a private planning consultancy firm (Rob Kirby & Associates) to prepare a layout plan of the area. The actual planning operation began in 1992 and was completed by the end of 1993. By the time a survey for this study was undertaken, the authority, in collaboration with the Local Development Committee, had completed a site allocation, and was engaged in negotiations for housing assistance.

While progress in the physical delivery of services (roads, water and electricity) was noted in Bottlebrush upgrading process, the project was not free of problems. It was reported that some residents were showing the signs of discontent with the upgrading project mainly due to their dissatisfaction with the process regarding participation (Moodley, 1993).

4.2.1 REASONS FOR CHOOSING BOTTLEBRUSH

This area has been selected because planners involved in the project were from a public sector, private sector and the non-governmental organisation. While planners from these institutions may adopt similar planning purposes, their roles and interests in the project would obviously be different depending on the mission of their organisations. Also, given the background of a top-down approach in most planning projects, the project has through community involvement, attempted to follow a democratic planning process. Thus, people in this area have experience regarding problems and the benefits that can be derived from this type of planning. Their experience can provide lessons regarding user-oriented-planning and community involvement in future.

Bottlebrush has also been chosen based on its history of struggle and the resistance by its people against removal from their residential area. Its location within the proximity of somewhat affluent community signifies the controversy surrounding its growth and development. The fact that various

parties owned the settled land (private and public) also complicated its growth and planning. This community's attitudes could represent those whose confidence in planning has diminished. Its experience is one among many stories of development contestations in our cities and around metropolitan areas. It is assumed that this community's experience and history of struggles have partly laid the foundation to build upon community participation in determining 'people-oriented' environments.

The areas' appropriateness for study was also judged based on the time during which its planning was undertaken-- the transitional period in our political history (1991- 1993/4). Authorities' undecidedness and community resistance demanding participation in the planning and implementation of development projects characterised this period. This period also signifies improved efforts to gain an understanding of community aspirations in the planning process rather than imposing premeditated 'public needs'. Smit (1989), gives an account of instances where the state carried out informal settlement upgrading programmes trying to silence communities (to bring stability) rather than liberating and empowering them. However, community empowerment and capacity building has become chart words between communities and the development sector. Under these conditions, one would expect that planning and implementation of development projects will take community needs and desires more seriously than in previous attempts. This project depicts the controversy in a participatory approach which arises from the ideals of local democracy and community planning in practice.

The area was also deemed suitable in that Durban City Council has administered it - the city's zoning and other development policies apply. Another reason for choosing the area was those low-income people whose survival activities closely mirror those of the majority of the South African urban population, for whom major planning programmes now and in the immediate future need to be directed to, predominantly inhabit the area. If people get tired of seeing researchers in 'over-researched' areas, the advantage of this area, concerning the research process, was that very few studies have been undertaken in Bottlebrush community.

4.2.2 ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE CASE STUDY

The empirical study seeks to assess, based on planning ideology and the current planning environment, what planners think their practice entails; be it on a theoretical or practical level. Included are problems of the experiences of the professional, the effects of bureaucratic organisations and attitudes of communities on planners' thinking. It seeks to distinguish the relationship between the attitudes of planners and the low income community about urban development process. Questions posed in the survey relate to issues of planning aims and decision-making and application of planning principles or standards in the development process. The reason for pursuing these questions is contained in the theme that planning is often considered as apolitical and technical in nature; it relates to the view that failures of planning practice in the past relate to the subservience of the planning profession to dominant economic and political interests (Piven, 1975).

Another aspect that the empirical research looks at, is the issue of planners' roles. Roles of planners may be defined by planners themselves or by society and may change along with changes in societal values and standards. Common sense would support that some roles are more effective in certain context than in others. The empirical research looks at the relationship between attitudes towards these roles, expressed as planning functions defined by planners and the community. Definition of planning functions in this context is related to expectations by communities regarding the

extent to which urban planning can satisfy their needs and for planners, the extent to which planning practice can influence social reform.

4.2.3 ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE CASE STUDY

It was hoped that the location of the case study, the time during which the area was developed and the planning process adopted in the upgrading process would be suitable to show the extent to which planning is ever more becoming part of the community mechanism for meeting basic needs. It was also hoped that the case study will aid in showing how values and attitudes of planners and communities are split or converging towards a reciprocal understanding.

There were some limitations as far as the case study could achieve all the objectives. In practice development of informal (squatter) settlements often comprise different conflicting interests. Although it was evident in this case, due to time constraints and costs involved in running the project, the research was conducted only to test the values and attitudes of the people presently residing in Bottlebrush. Views of the community (a section of Chatsworth-Unit 11) surrounding the study area were not included in the research process. Also, some non-governmental organisations which were involved in the upgrading process (mainly construction) were excluded from the whole research process. Therefore the emphasis in this study was on assessing the extent to which attitudes and values of planners do parallel or vary from those of the Bottlebrush informal settlement community rather than a comprehensive 'public' attitude. While issues raised in the survey were not specific to the area, it is recognised that the experience the community obtained from the project however influenced the responses.

Certain assumptions about the case study underpin the research, its analysis and interpretation of the findings presented in this document. These are outlined below.

- It is assumed that the case study area is representative of most of the low-income areas, especially informal settlements, regarding the socioeconomic characteristics of the people, physical character of the area -- difficult terrain, remote location, located next to middle-high income residential development and so on.
- It is assumed that the community of Bottlebrush, especially members of the development forum, have had enough exposure to planning issues (process) such that they have an informed view of what planners and other involved in the development process do. It is assumed that their concern with local social issues has influenced their view rather than political ideology. That is, they have underplayed the influence of their political association.
- It is assumed that the Bottlebrush community represents communities whose confidence in urban planning has diminished and whose attitudes towards urban planning and planners have been negative.
- It is assumed that the planning process, through public participation/community involvement in decision-making in the whole project, had adopted a scope which embraces democratic ideals appropriate to impart the basics impression or knowledge of urban planning and planners' roles to the community, especially the committee members.
- On the basis that the planners' attitudes survey used a sample drawn from those corporate members of the SAITRP around Durban, it is assumed that they represent all the variety of planning ideologies including those who were not registered with the Institute. That is, their inclusion will have no significant effects to alter the interpretation and findings of this research.

4.3 THE PLANNING PROCESS ADOPTED FOR BOTTLE BRUSH

The Bottlebrush upgrading project was mainly a result of initiatives by the community and funded by the Durban City Council (DCC) as highlighted above. The Urban Foundation (UF) acted as facilitators and project managers of the upgrading process. Rob Kirby and Associates (Urban Planning Consultants) acted as technical managers and planners regarding preparations of town planning layout. The community was largely, through the development committee, a source of information regarding its needs and aspirations. Figure 4.2 presents a summary of the whole process. The main aim of the project according to the DCC was to provide appropriate land tenure for each unit and the provision of basic services such as roads, water, electricity, toilets and other community facilities. The intention was to ensure that people can have access to the government housing subsidy scheme.

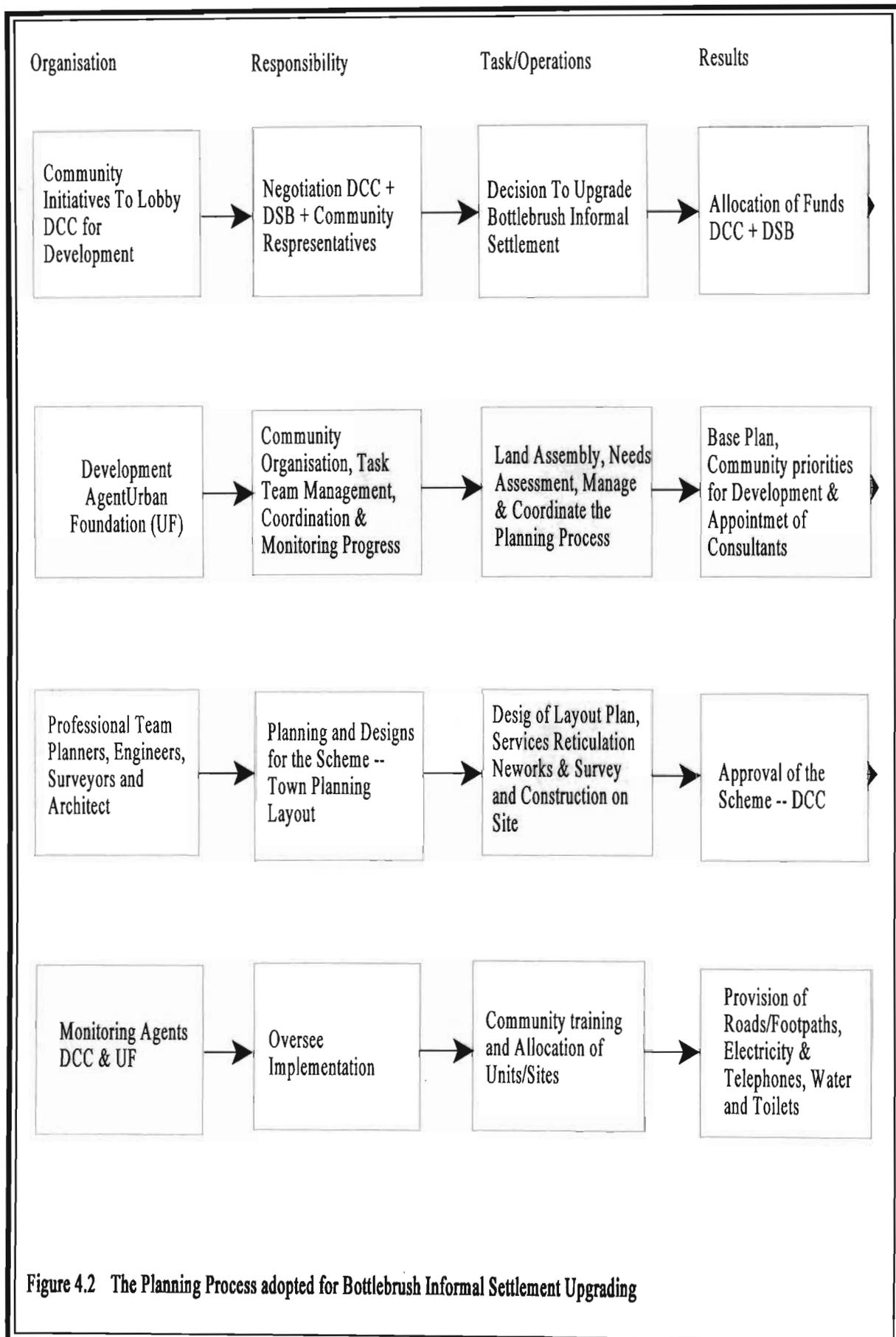
The discussion on the planning process is now continued under the main roles of the four major role players in the project. That is, the Urban Foundation, Rob Kirby and Associates (planning Consultancy firm), the Durban City Corporation and Community Organisations.

4.3.1 THE ROLE OF URBAN FOUNDATION

James Copley, a planner and a project manager from the Urban Foundation, acted as a project manager and coordinator of the whole project. He was helped by Nathi Khumalo and local people in the establishment of the development committee. Members of this committee were elected by the community from various community organisations/structures that existed. In collaboration with DCC personnel, they were involved in the negotiation which led to identifying the boundaries of the project area. This involved, assembling parcels of land that were privately own. In some instances land was donated (the church land) for the project. In December 1991, the Urban Foundation commissioned a socio-economic survey in the area to identify community needs and aspirations.

The involvement of the Urban Foundation (UF) in this project was restricted purely to issues relating to project management. They were not involved in any planning in a technical sense. However, given the project manager's planning background, he believes they were planning driven or influence by planning principles and developmental approaches rather than pure project management. Their main roles were to ensure that the process of community participation was functional, to manage consultants (planners, surveyor, architect, and engineers -- most were from DCC) including management of the constructions process. They were also responsible for the overall coordination of the whole project including linking with any other outside groups interested in the project. They also acted as a link between the planning consultant and the community regarding technical matters.

The mandate given by the City Council, the financing body, restricted the scope of activities of the UF. For example, regarding community organisation, the project manager said that they favoured a context where the community establishes a Development Trust that can, with technical assistance, manage and account for the whole project. This model was however, unacceptable to the the funding institution, the City Council. Nonetheless, the UF envisaged a bottom up strategy and established a local development committee to act as the link between the professional team and the rest of the community. Their intention included imparting skills to the community. They entertained the idea of capacity building and community empowerment.



The process of involving the community in all phases of the project (community participation) was not without problems. First, regarding identification of the community needs and aspirations, the process was limited to clarifying the main purpose of the project as envisaged and sanctioned by the financiers of the project. The UF played a role of facilitating and explaining to the development committee and the community what can be done within the limits of the budget. That is, the provision of sites, water, electricity, toilets and access roads or footpaths. The only area where the community and the UF influenced the project was in determining the **strategy** of developing the area; that is *in situ* upgrading. The community was against the idea of being moved to give way to upgrading process. Even here, the ideas came from the socio-economic survey rather than from the active participation of the community. The other problem was the continuity **and** stability of the local development committee. The development committee was dissolved several times during the project due to a power struggle in the community. At one stage, nobody wanted to be in the committee for fear of their lives. In this situation the project manager had to decide whether to carry on with the project or to abandon it. The decision to carry on with the project was taken at the community mass meeting. However, the process then became one of consultation rather than participation.

Regarding plans, the consultant handed over both the draft and the final layout plan he prepared to the project manager. These plans were presented (by the project manager) and thoroughly discussed in the Development Committee meetings and the community mass meetings. The project manager in collaboration with the planner from the city council presided in all these meetings. The project manager would then advise the consultant regarding amendments to the plan. Workshops and a training programme were held in preparation for the construction phase. The community was fully involved in this stage. Also, Urban Foundation with the assistance of the housing section of the City Council facilitated allocation of units.

4.3.2 COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AND THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

As indicated, the community elected a Local Development Committee (LDC) comprised twelve of members. Members of this committee were elected from leaders in the community and other organisation (Political parties, church organisations and cultural groups) in the area. The committee acted as a link between the wider community and the task team which comprised the planning consultant, the Urban Foundation and the Durban Corporation personnel. It helped in providing information regarding existing situation and use of land that could not be picked up in orthophotos and the survey under taken by urban foundation. Its function was to negotiate and endorse all agreements reached during each phase and transmit these to the community.

As pointed out the process of identifying community needs was restricted to the agenda set by the financiers of the project. Also, much of what the community regard as their higher priorities were identified through a socio-economic and socio-political study of the area undertaken by Data Research Africa for the UF. The only area where discussion with the community took place was regarding the standard of services to be provided and weighing costs of different alternatives. Even here, it was largely a matter of clarifying to the community what can and cannot be done within the existing budget. The process was, therefore, more of a consultation rather than participation.

The community was not directly in touch with the planning consultant who prepared the town planning layout. His work was present to the community through the UF and DCC planners as pointed out above. There were other technical meetings that the development committee was not directly involved. These were meetings regarding the design of roads, designs of water and electricity

reticulations and other technical issues. Planners and engineers involved in this regard took decisions. The project manager then reported these to the community through the Development Committee. The project manager used community mass meetings and *ad hoc* committees to report progress at times when the community has dissolved the development committee. The only time the community was directly involved in technical issues was at the implementation stage where a training programme was set up to train members of the community to be involved in the construction phase.

4.3.3 THE ROLE OF THE PLANNING CONSULTANTS

Urban Foundation requested the planning consultant (Rob Kirby & Assoc.) to prepare a scheme (subdivisional layout) for Bottlebrush. They were requested to upgrade the area following the normal planning process (providing individual lot for proper land tenure, providing access to each unit, considering the functional aspect of the design and natural features, the existing pattern and so on). The main constraints other than working on a tight budget, was that the area was settled and the community was against the idea of being resettled. The consultant was requested to move as few units (households) as practicable.

The consultant (Neil Taylor) functioned mainly as a technical draughtsman because he was not involved in community participation. The planning task involved having the area flown to get areal photographs that could show (updated) positions of all existing structures and footpath networks. From the detailed information collected, he could then identify houses on the site; he could get vehicular access from Chatsworth into the area and link the area with Shallcross. All units were provided with access either by road or where the terrain does not allow (steep gradients) footpath accesses were used. The major constraint in the planning of this area was that it was fully developed such that the planner had to be guided by what was on the ground already. It left very little choice of putting things like roads and other facilities as could be done in a Greenfield situation. However, the planner also provided other community facilities that the community needed. This included facilities such as a community hall, play lots, creche and the cemetery³.

The whole scheme comprised about nine hundred units or plots. Normally, with the low-income development, the city council has a special residential zone which has minimum plot size of 180 square metres. Because this was an *in situ* upgrading, they could not apply such regulations *in toto*. The way people had settled and how close to each other they had built their dwelling units largely determined plot sizes. Depending on slopes the minimum lots size was a 150 square metres. The planner created some infill sites in the process. These were useful in absorbing those who may need to be moved and providing additional sites.

4.3.4 THE ROLE OF DURBAN CITY COUNCIL

The City Council, the main financier of the project, acted as a monitor of the whole planning and implementation process. It was also responsible for approval of the scheme once all the design processes were completed. In this regard planners from the City Council investigated the viability of the project in terms of the planning and engineering design principles applicable within the council area. Also, most of the detail design work regarding reticulation of services such as water, roads and electricity was done internally by the relevant section of the Corporation. It also monitored the survey

³

Located under the power-line

process. The council circulated plans to relevant sections for comments/recommendations prior to approval by the council. As the City Council had declared the area a "Development Zone", following special regulations for upgrading schemes, it monitored the application and approval of the town planning layout and the development of the area.

Regarding provision of services, the community was involved in discussions about the type and level or standard of services to be provided. As in other areas of planning, the costs of providing services including the maintenance costs, were the main constraints. The intention was to keep these costs as low as practicable in order for people to have enough money to erect top structures. Thus, for roads, they provided a hard, durable surfaces (concrete) which required less maintenance. Regarding water, people were provided with individual connections to their units at a specific connection fee laid down by the Metro water board. Electricity was supplied using the 'ready board' or card system (they supplied a board with plug and one light). The community was involved in negotiation about payments of these services. For stormwater, planners used the road surface and footpaths where possible to control storm-water runoff. They also used the valley lines to channel the storm water into the existing streams.

4.4 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Research ethics and research dynamics play a critical role in the research process. Peil and others divide the question of research ethics into issues of 'access' and 'consent' on the one hand, and the 'after effects' on the other (Peil et al.1982). Access to data collection raises two specific concerns. The most obvious concern is that of access to both primary and secondary data needed. The second concern is that of creating a positive atmosphere and obtaining an adequate response from respondents. In this research primary data collection was limited to the use of an interviews and a questionnaire survey as indicate in chapter one. All participants in the research were made to feel comfortable with the process. While encouraged to respond to all questions faithfully, they were at liberty not to answer questions they were not comfortable with.

Ethical and technical problems were encountered in the running of the research process. Technical problems encountered were minimal except the failure of the tape-recorder (it stopped halfway) to record the full conversation with one respondent. Another technical problem experienced, related to the sample of the beneficiary community. As some areas were inaccessible on foot (slippery after rain), field-workers concentrated and conducted interviews in households around accessible roads and footpath on a given stratum.

The ethical problem encountered include one where the informant to the study decided he could not be interviewed. The main reason he gave was his displeasure with some questions in the questionnaire and the interview script. He felt that some questions were politically inclined such that to give his response would be against the policy of the institution or his employer. He suggested that the researcher should seek a written consent from his superior (another lengthy and cumbersome process). After some deliberation, he finally agreed to answer questions with which he was comfortable. The researcher staged other informal discussions with the respondent to get additional information about the project and his personal view on planning practice in the current contexts at other three occasions (18 November and December 1995 and in 22 March 1996). Another ethical problem was gaining the support of and participation by members of the local Development Committee (Bottlebrush). Since most members of this committee were recognised leaders in the area, they were also responsible for giving a consent to conduct the survey in the area. Due to the political activities

which preceded the local government elections, community leaders were suspicious of the purpose of the survey since it was conducted when preparations for the elections were looming. It took much effort and discussions in their regular meetings to explain the purpose, contents and objectives of the survey and to persuade them to participate.

Another area of concern regarding research ethics is the socio-economic characteristic of the researcher; it surely shapes access to data collection and nature of responses. Dress was always neat and formal. Language and university origin were perhaps the two most alienating features, but being an 'African' was probably a plus factor. The researcher encountered problems regarding the language when interviewing those members of the local development committee who preferred their native language. Much time was spent translating (with outside assistance) questions into Zulu. The frustrating aspect of the fieldwork is encountering the fears, biases and prejudices of respondents, especially when they are rooted in the historical legacy of our country. Johnson (1990:137) argues that "the field researcher cannot avoid encountering people's myths. In fact, he wants to learn about them". Hearing them and not refuting them feels as though one is agreeing with them. Yet it is normally not for the field researcher to refute any of the informants' view. Those views and perceptions are data. The researcher's job is to be detached and a dispassionate collector of data, but such situations can be very tiring. Nevertheless, generalising this concern can be unfair since this occurred in a minority of cases.

4.4.1 PLANNERS' SURVEY

The primary research conducted among planners principally includes an attitude survey conducted through a series of self administered questionnaire and interviews with the informants on the case study. The interview was designed to obtain substantive issues about planners roles in the upgrading process of Bottlebrush and other informing data regarding planning practice in this context. The attitudinal survey was mainly conducted to included planners who were not linked in any way to the case study project. It intended to glean a general view of planners' opinion about planning and the ideology of urban planning. That is, information about planning practice not directly related to the project but still useful for the research. Although the results from this survey reflect values and attitudes of few planners in Durban, they are considered an indication of the overall feelings of planners about their professional roles. Details of the type and content of questions asked is discussed in section 4.4.1.1 below.

A sample of twenty corporate members of the Institute for Planners (SAITRP) was selected for attitude survey using simple random sampling method using a list of registered planners obtained from the Natal Branch office of the Institute. The sample comprised 55% of planners in the private practice, 25% in public sector and 20% from non-governmental organisation. The proportions occurred purely by chance as the planner's register did not say where planners worked, except those who used work addresses. At least 53% of the sample was of the age between thirty-one and fifty years (refer to Tables 4.1). Eighty percent of the sample was male. The sample represents a variety of respondents who have considerable experience in planning practice such that its reliability cannot be questioned. As table 4.1 shows, at least 63% of the sample had more than ten years of professional experience and most these planners hold senior positions with at least 40% in management positions. Of the twenty-three questionnaires distributed (including three informants interviewed), three (3) were not received, one (1) was received by post and the remainder (19) were personally collected as planned.

Table 4.1 Composition of Planners' sample according to Age, Position at work and experience in the planning profession

Age	Relative Frequency (%)	Position in the Institution	Relative Frequency (%)	Number of Years in the Profession	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Relative Frequency (%)
21 - 30	32	Chief Planner	10	21+	26	26
31 - 40	16	Partner	30	16 - 20	21	47
41 - 50	37	Principal Planner	5	11 - 15	16	63
51 - 60	10	Senior Planner	25	6 - 10	11	74
61 +	5	Planner	30	1 - 5	26	100
TOTALS	100	TOTALS	100	TOTALS	100	100

4.4.1.1 THE BASIS FOR SURVEY QUESTIONS

In assessing planners' attitudes, the researcher had to derive certain questions to draw out particular phenomena. The phenomena required for this assessment has been the subject of discussion in the background to the research problem and the conceptual framework. What now remains are to describe questions or set of questions in terms of its specific occurrence in the survey. While the overall framework of the survey stems from independent reasoning, certain questions have been borrowed from other sources to enhance the quality of the survey. Where this occurs, more detailed discussion is necessary.

Questions in section A of the questionnaire (refer to the appendix I) are largely self-explanatory. In dealing with social and occupational characteristics, respondents were asked to record appropriate response. No problems were encountered in this section.

Section B of the questionnaire covers a variety of question types and areas of analysis. The categories presented in the first three questions (questions 1, 2 & 3) on planning aims, decision making and attributes of a good planner respectively, partly originated from the results of Knox and Cullen's (1981) survey. Although the latter contained more categories in each question, the project included only those appropriate to South African context and useful to this study. The purpose of asking planners to respond to these questions was to get as clear an understanding of the planners philosophy, self-image and attitudes as possible. Question one (1) in particular required planners to describe their professional aims by ranking particular planning functions developed from text. To probe further on planners' role and ideology and professionalism, each respondent was asked to rank a series of attributes in an order of importance to their significance towards an 'ideal' planner. Each rank is treated as an indicative of planners' attitudes as influenced by personal ideology.

The phrasing and structure of some questions could have led to uncertain response. Unfortunately, the researcher did not conduct a pilot study among planners. It could have provided information on the interpretation and ambiguity in response to questions. The problem of ambiguity which could be introduced in questions such as questions one and two of section B (appendix I) was partially overcome in that the questionnaire provided an opportunity for planners to qualify their response in such questions. In as far as 75% of the respondents used this opportunity, finer meanings could be learned. Question two requires further explanation. As outlined in the questionnaire,

categories referred to are in terms of political implication in decision making. Thus the phrase 'acting as a neutral advisor' assumes no political content. Similarly, 'based purely on assessment of social needs' is also free of any political or ideological concept in that it is essentially a pure 'social work' function. The use of "mixture" in the statement 'based on the mixture of social and ideological content' can be confusing. Although it was meant to represent a hybrid role, it could as well represent a political or a technical role. Some statements in question four were not clear or had indirect meaning. This problem was overcome at the analysis stage by the fact that rather than simply choosing an alternative most of the planners (54%) gave additional comments regarding their opinion on such statements.

In question four (5), planners' attitudes towards four salient substantive issues in the field are investigated. These issues are about community or public participation in the planning process, environment issues, development process and development principles, and quality of life and low income concerns (redistribution of resources). Some questions in these categories originate from the results of Howe and Kaufman (1981). The reason for choosing these issues was that they relate to the public interest argument in supporting planning intervention. They follow the assumptions that planning is committed to social reform and that planners have a comprehensive view and can articulate issues of social, economic and political concerns into spatial form. Regarding citizen participation, though it is an old phenomenon, there has never been a time when it matters most than our current epoch; it is relevant and desirable for both communities and planners alike. Also, careful analyses of current debates in planning issues are around efficiency, equity and sustainability in the development process. Another factor considered was that historically, certain principles and procedures which need to be tested and verified for relevance in particular situation and context characterise urban development. The basis for investigating issues related to quality of life and concerns for the low-income groups and the environment was partly developed in the conceptual framework as alleged roles and concerns of planners. Other issues were not included to keep the questionnaire at a manageable length to influence response. It was also meant to increase validity of the response for these issues by probing more deeply into several aspects of each issue, using several questions for each instead of only one. To measure attitudes about each issue, respondents were asked to respond to five strongly worded opinion statements (four in case of development principles), using scales where scores would range from 'strongly agree' (1) to 'strongly disagree' (5).

Detailed results of this survey process are presented with that of the information collected from the community surveys and interviews together. The presentation of the results is arranged according to subheadings reflecting response to particular issues or topics investigated in the research process. This is done simply for a better comparative assessment of the response between planners and the community on similar issues.

4.4.2 COMMUNITY SURVEY

Similar to planners' survey, the primary research conducted among the community also included an attitudinal survey conducted through the series of questionnaires among the recipients and interviews with members of the local development committee.

The attitudinal survey questionnaires administered among the recipients (community) took place over a period of two days (between the 2nd and 3rd of December 1995). Two field workers, who had considerable experience in social surveys were employed to administer the survey. (One worked for Data Research Africa and the other was an honours student in social science - UND). Beside their

experience, these field workers were also familiar with the area as they had previously conducted social surveys in the area for Data Research Africa on the behalf of Urban Foundation. The author was involved in managing and monitor the process. Questionnaires were checked at the end of each day of the research and were again thoroughly checked before being coded and punched for computer analysis.

It is an acceptable practice, in order to accommodate for both deliberate interviewee errors and the interviewers mistakes, to undertake a sample of at least 10% of the population (Hudson, 1988). According to Stavrou et al. (1991), Bottlebrush community comprise some 520 households (approximately 2350 populations). If a sample of 10% is envisaged this would account for ± 52 households. Due to financial and time constraints, a total of thirty questionnaires was administered. Thus, the survey resulted in 30 completed questionnaires, amounting to $\pm 5.8\%$ of the purported total household in the area.

Stratified random sampling method was used to select the sample. The area was divided into three zones or strata using natural features (stream) and existing roads. Ten households were then selected at random from each stratum. The main purpose of using stratified random sampling method was to get as much representative sample as possible. It was also aimed at including all perspectives from the community because in the past, the area has been divided according to political affiliation (with ANC member residing on one side and IFP on the other). Although it was suggested that there were no tensions among community members (Stavrou et al. 1991), it was deemed useful to get strata from which representative sample can be drawn. Field workers were instructed to accept response from adult members of the household (people of age 20 years and above).

More than 70% of the sample population have been living in Bottlebrush for more than five years and at least 47% came from the townships while 20% came from other informal settlements. Fifty percent of the respondents were males. Table 4.2 represent age composition of the sample.

Table 4.2: Age Composition of the Sample Population

Age	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
20 - 29	15	50
30 - 39	7	23
40 - 41	5	17
50 - 59	2	7
60 +	1	3
Totals	30	100

4.4.2.1 THE BASIS FOR SURVEY QUESTIONS

Efforts were made to pose similar questions to both planners and communities. Questions in section A are also self-explanatory (refer to appendix II). The only exception is that questions five, six, seven, and eight were intended to establish whether respondents have any idea about the planning project undertaken in the area and to identify if the respondent was in any way involved in the process.

Questions one, four and five of section B are similar to those in the same section in the planners' questionnaire. Questions two (2) and three (3) in this section intended to establish community attitudes towards planners' roles and decision-making in the planning process. The wording

'remaining at a distant' and 'be involved' (in decision-making) in question two was misleading. 'Remaining at a distant' was initially interpreted as lack of dialogue between community and planners. This was clarified that it referred to giving professional advice and leave the actual decision-making to the community while 'be involved' referred to both giving advice and lobby to influencing decisions made.

4.4.3 RELIABILITY OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

When analysing the data from this process, recognising that a 'one-off' survey has limitations is important. Data collected at any point in time, is a description of the conditions and facts of that given point. It presupposes a static universe and does not give an account of the dynamics of the social and economic situation; it is unable to give an accurate account of effects that possible future condition could have. However, the distribution of and the size of the sample, is conceivably the principal aspect of the research which warrants concern with respect to the reliability of the study.

Although the sample drawn, especially that of planners, is somehow small, the results can be regarded to be a fair representative of planners' and the community's attitudes towards the role of planning and planners in practice. Overall, despite the limitations of data used and non-specificity of some questions in the questionnaire, sufficient information is available to gauge the values and attitudes of planners and the community. Like with any other sample the researcher of this dissertation regards the views of the respondents only as an indication of what the entire population might or might not feel about issues researched.

The ordinal scale was used as some measuring phenomena in this study. This scale, however, shows the relative difference between phenomena such that a limited inference can be made from the sample as a whole. More often ordinal data are used and average values are calculated and used as indicators of relationship among variables. Peil et al (1982), suggest that this process is acceptable provided the limitations are pointed out or sensitivity tests are conducted. Various sensitivity tests were done in the analysis of the data. However, as the sample size was small, particularly that of planners, the significant of running these tests were negatively affected first based on statistical techniques applications and secondly in the presenting the accurate picture of the phenomena investigated.

Ranking of phenomenons investigated followed the normal statistical ranking except ranking of the 'attributes of an ideal planner'. Planners were asked to rank attributes on a scale of one to fourteen. It was recognised that this does not give a clear picture of how respondents value different attributes. Thus, ranks were reorganised accordingly by labelling one to four (1 - 4) high ranks, five to ten (5 -10) medium rank, and eleven to fourteen (11-14) low rank. The weight of each attribute was then determined depending on the frequency or number of planners occurring specifically to these ranks.

The results of the survey are now discussed in the next chapter. Because the study emphasizes the comparative aspect of attitudes of planners and the community, presentation of this results is arranged according to issues/topic considered rather than presenting planners's views separately and then the results from community survey as done in this section.

4.5 REPORT ON FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

This section gives a brief overview of the findings from analysis and interpretation of the survey results. It examines and evaluates the influence of attitudes of both planners and community on planning practice and planners' roles. The analysis undertaken in this regard must be viewed through the apolitical or value-neutral themes developed in the theoretical debate. The results should also be interpreted considering the assumption of the limited roles of planners in the society. They do not portray views of planners and community in such a context; they only represent results of particular questions emanating from the survey.

To reiterate, the survey had two fundamental goals. One was to get an overview of what planners think of planning or its function and their roles in society. It intended to identify or verify the belief or conception and attitudinal structure which make up the world view of the average planner. The second aim was to get the views of Bottlebrush community regarding urban planning and its attitudes towards planners. These views form the basis of comparative assessment of community and planners' attitudes in the rest of this document.

4.5.1 THE PURPOSE OF PLANNING AND ROLE OF PLANNERS

Certain issues to refer to when doing a comparative assessment of attitudes of planners and the community towards planning emerged in the construction of the realm and ideology of urban planning and planners' roles in theoretical debate. These are included in the theme which *among others* comprises the traditional ethos of planning; the apolitical nature of planning practice which points to the technical-political debate; and the role of planning in maintaining status quo via technical expertise and neutral professionalism. Considering their relative autonomy at local level and not disregarding the influence of various legislations and pressure of work in bureaucratic conditions on planners' roles, the assumption that attitudes and values do impinge on planners' work in practice forms a significant basis for interpretation and synthesis of the results of the survey.

The analysis and comparative assessment of community's attitudes with those of planners in this study depends on the presumed clarity and understanding of the attitudes subject by the community. The analysis and synthesis of the results about community attitudes, draws much emphasis from responses of the community leaders who were assumed to carry much influence over how things are done in their area by virtue of having the political clout in the community and that they were involved in the local planning project from its beginning.

People express personal and professional values in their interactions. Individuals develop values through general socialization, educational training, and personal experience. Transmitted through language and other behaviour, values build on assumptions about the self and others (Grant, 1994). An analysis of planners' opinion about their role and purpose of planning should, therefore, also viewed in the light of personal characteristics and ideological background. Personal values and ideological background, influence decision-making (whether consciously or not) in planning practice. Many studies (Knox and Cullen, 1981; Nidan and Jones, 1990; Bardenhorst, 1994; Schwartz, 1986) have shown how social background, race, sex, pressures of work situations and so on, influence planners' roles in practice. Regarding the profile of professional planners, results of these studies conceded that a typical planner is predominantly white male (70% of the sample in this survey), between 35 and 45 years of age (39% of the sample) and emerge from the professional and managerial classes in society. He or she is thus expected to display values consistent with the social background of this class. The instrumentalist view of the local state supports this view in that it advocates for the maintenance of the existing structures such that those people employed by the state are from this social

background and are committed to maintain its attributes. Though the sample of planners drawn was somehow small (20 responses), the results can be regarded to be a fair representative of planners' attitudes towards the role of planning and planners in practice. The findings and results from analysis and interpretation of the survey data are discussed next.

4.5.1.1 PLANNING AIMS

To get an understanding of their views on planning and planners' roles, planners were requested to show the relative importance of the main role or purpose of urban planning by ranking six planning functions. By ranking these statements they were in a way showing their attitudes about what could be the ideal purpose of planning which planners should strive for in planning practice. Besides identifying the general planning purpose, members of the community of Bottlebrush were also asked to indicate how they view the professional role of a planner in the community. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 represent results of responses to the question on planning aims (Refer also to tables 7.1 and 7.2 in appendix V).

4.5.1.1.1 ATTITUDES OF PLANNERS ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF PLANNING AND THEIR ROLE

It is possible to present a clear picture of planners' view on the purpose of planning in the community from the combination of the results of this survey, comments by other planners in the questionnaire, and results from other sources. A clear picture revealed by the results of this survey is that, although planners surveyed are in practice, they all represent the idealism of the traditional ethos of planning despite the practical reality in the field. Their response to planning purposes indicated in an order of importance that 'improving quality of life', 'conservation of natural environment', and 'making the best decision' is the main goal planners should strive for in planning practice.

Table 4.3: Planners' opinion on the role of planning according to ranks

PURPOSE	Overall Rank	Mean Rank	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
Improving Quality of life	1	2.10	1.619	0.362
Conservation of Natural Environment	2	2.65	1.871	0.418
Making the best decision	3	3.40	1.501	0.336
Maintaining Political Balance	4	3.85	1.694	0.379
Regulation of Competing Land Uses	5	4.50	0.587	0.131
Redistribution of wealth	6	4.65	1.309	0.293

The obvious factor from table 4.3 is that most planners (60% of the sample) regard improving the overall quality of life as a commendable goal of planning. This verifies the idealistic view of planning and its commitment to reform and social justice referred to in chapters two and three. Regarding the manner to achieve these ideals, their conception varies. Most of the planners surveyed (90%) are committed to advancing human condition through design on the physical environment, coordination and management of development projects. Others (10%) believe planners should, through their practice, influence policy decision that have major political content and affect redistribution of

wealth. For most planners, it seems that the context where they have no powers in decision making, a normal situation in traditional planning, is deep rooted within their scope of planning activities. They emphasise the fact that planners do not necessarily take decisions, but make recommendations. Without disregarding the bureaucratic constraints on planners roles, this conception seems to dampen planners' concerns with the distributional effect of planning; their effectiveness is at the mercy of their political master. The ranking of 'redistribution of wealth' at the lower end of the scale is evidence of this phenomenon. Ranking of this item and their emphasis of the absence of decision-making by planners may also suggest that most planners would be content with the ideals of planning purpose and leave the practical reality to politicians to attend to. It would appear as if they are less concerned with the distributional effects of planning. However, following the assumption of the traditional planning model, this is not surprising because the issue of resource distribution is regarded as a political activity. It does not fit in the scope of apolitical planning practice. Thus, their perception could be a reflection of the dominance of the reform tradition in planners' ideology where the commitment to a single public interest clearly prevailed over competing private interests.

It is also evident from the table, that planners' traditional concerns with regulating competing land use as the most important priority received little support (70% gave it rank four). Again, this can be a reflection of the influence of social concerns and the critiques of technicist view of planning or the influence of the theories regarding mixed land use in urban reconstruction. However, planners are very sensitive to environmental issues which in away covers the traditional concerns with competing land uses. This is evident in that they regarded conservation of the natural environment as the second most important priority (refer also to section 4.5.3.4). On the other hand this can also be a reflection of their sense of future perspective of planning intentions. The most surprising fact is the ranking of "maintaining political balance" higher than the traditional land use control. This is in spite of their overwhelming support of planning as a mechanism for making the best decision. This can be an indication of the fact that planners do recognize that planning practice is undertaken in a political and social context and possibly rejecting the idea of sticking to the notion of apolitical and technical objectives. However, expressing these attitudes does not necessarily imply practising them since there are institutional connotations attached thereto.

It was evident from their comments on the questionnaire and interviews that planners hold an idealistic view about planning characterised by the traditional ethos. One respondent regarded planners as "central figures in the urban and regional development process involved on one hand in the formulation, preparation and implementation of development proposals for future growth and on the other, in the control of development in existing urban and rural areas". He believes planners should "strive to achieve and maintain living environment, direct and shape development, answer to needs of people and environment, providing physical plans, political and social policy making and create an environment in which people can live and work productively, usefully, happily and healthy". This notion puts urban planning as a consensual activity rather than one riddled with conflict of interests where decisions are a matter of judgement and influenced by power relations (economic and political). It also ascertains the widely accepted perspective that planners must take a holistic view of their actions to ensure maximum benefit for the community they are serving. Thus, placing planners in an ideal position to manage development in order to improve quality of life.

The perceived role of planners in the society is evident in the frequent use of terms such as comprehensive view, holistic view, systematic approach, coordination and facilitation. This implies the role of specialist coordinators playing integrative role, or managers playing a creative role. It is

therefore, apparent that planners' view of improving the quality of life of the lot in our society is not in the reform mode with social reform as the objective, but through organising urban development (in spatial terms) to guide the society to a better future. From this perspective, planners, including those who apparently advocate political roles, emphasize the technical character of planning to cause changes. They suggested that planners must be sensitive to politics, but their main role should be to plan for the general good of the majority in the society; it is to advise decision-makers on matters about development and environment. Regardless, most planners (at least 60%) seem to denounce the political contexts in which planning operates in practice. A remarkable comment came from one civil servant who commented that "as a civil servant, a planner should aim at improving the area for all people, and not be biased to one specific group". This is a well-accepted position by most of the planners (60% of the sample) and is not surprising since it follows the notion of a unitary public interest.

Overall, most planners agreed that while the role of planners is very complex and diverse, the key role in the current development context has remained to be coordination, facilitation and technical design. However, an interesting point to note from the results of this survey is that, while there is an overwhelming support to improving the quality of life as the priority of planning, concern with the issue of distribution of resources seems to be very low in the agenda of planners. This might be the result of the idea that planners regard resource distribution as not necessarily being a planning but political function where the planner's role is to be a technical advisor instead of actively influencing the direction of decision-making. This is evident in the appearance of the 'redistribution of wealth' and 'maintaining political balance' at the lower end of planners' assessment of planning priority. It is interesting that, while there were some (30%) who regarded 'maintain political balance' in planning as a desirable goal (rank 2 in table 7.1, appendix V), the issue of redistribution of wealth featured low among planners' priorities. More than 64% of the surveyed sample ranked this category second to last. It is also apparent from the comments received, that this category received a mixture of feelings among planners based on the conception and interpretation of redistribution of wealth as a planning function. Despite this, comments from other planners were forthright that redistribution of wealth is not directly the responsibility of town planners.

Of course, the practicality of resources (wealth) redistribution depends much on political decisions. For example, a planner can do nothing if the authority decides (for whatever reasons) to withhold benefits from poor areas. Yet planners, in their daily activities of planning control, plans and projects recommendations and approval in all planning agencies do encourage redistribution of wealth, polarisation or stagnation in certain areas directly or indirectly, though not substantively. For example, plans which encourage departure of commercial activities from the city centre to suburbs, leave the central areas occupied by the poor and encourage spontaneous decline in the urban fabric, a low tax base, and so on. Though location of such commercial activities is based on other factors beyond planners' influence, planners should use their initiative to devise strategies aimed at maintaining such areas as central cities with very little negative effects, if any, on the disadvantaged.

Another interesting phenomenon about planners' attitudes towards planning shown by their ranking of the planning function, is the equal proportion between those who view maintaining political balance as the second important role of planning, following improving quality of life, and those who ranked it to be last priority (rank six in table 7.1 in appendix V). The interesting factor here is the correlation between age and allocation of these ranks, with those who are between late twenties and mid-thirties favouring political connotations of planning while other groups uphold the technical trend.

Beside the reflection of socialisation patterns of these group, this can also be a reflection of the general changes of planning education in the seventies and eighties to emphasize the social impact of planning as opposed to emphasis on the spatial or physical design of the sixties and decades before that. Again this could be an indication of the different perception about the political nature of planning practice and planners' roles.

4.5.1.1.2 COMMUNITY'S ATTITUDES ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF PLANNING AND PLANNERS' ROLES

Table 4.4 (next page) present results of the community in response to the same question on the purpose of planning. The results suggest that communities are more concerned with survival in the mist of fierce socio-economic conditions; they do not idealise the issue of quality of life and resource distribution. Like planners, however, they overwhelmingly (80% of the sample) agree that improving the quality of life is the priority which planning and planners should strive to achieve. The only difference lies on the means of achieving this aim. Planners regard ordering or organising and controlling development and growth as a mechanism of improving the quality of life. The community took a more precise 'route' which entails redistribution of resources and maintaining political balance. These two issues are on the lower end of the planners' scale while they appear as second and third most preferred option on the community's ranking. At least 40% of the sample ranked 'redistribution of wealth' the second priority after improving the quality of life while 50% rated 'maintaining political balance' the third priority (table 7.2 in appendix V). This can be interpreted as an indication of the community's belief that planning should be actively involved in resource redistribution which may entail bias towards a particular sector of the population as discussed under the advocate role of a planner in chapter three.

Table 4.4 Community's opinion on the role of planning according to ranks

PURPOSE	Overall Rank	Mean Rank	Standard deviation	Standard Error
Improving Quality of life	1	1.23	0.504	0.092
Redistribution of wealth	2	2.50	0.937	0.171
Maintaining Political Balance	3	3.067	0.980	0.178
Making the best decision	4	3.400	1.075	0.189
Regulation of Competing Land Uses	5	5.20	0.664	0.121
Conservation of Natural Environment	6	5.6	0.621	0.113

The response of the community shows that there were two schools of thoughts regarding how planning can maintain political balance as one of planners' roles. There were those whose response implied that planners should maintain balance by being neutral professionals in dealing with communities. Their concern was that planners should not only take the policy of their institutions and impose them upon communities, but they should consider values and preferences of communities. There are similarities between the technical role of planners and the view expressed by this group as far as professional neutrality in planning is concern. On the other hand this view would agree with the collaborative role of a planner, who tries to win support from various role players. Evidently, beside

emphasizing the technical role, the community envisage that planners should play the role of mediator, that of consolidating the community's values and preferences with the formal policy of the state.

The other school of thought was that which implied the advocacy role of planners. Their view of maintaining political balance was expressed in that planners should first consider the needs of those who are not well represented in the decision-making process, to bring them into par with other role players. Their version, however, accords a planner a limited role in that, his or hers is to bring them into a position where they can do things by themselves. Again this view restricts a planner's role mainly to concerns with technical issues in planning. They also accord a planner a role of an educator or the manager of information. Cross-reference with the community's view of the role of a professional planner also shows that the community emphasizes the technical role (refer to section 4.5.1.2.2).

Attitudes of the community regarding the political nature of planning and redistribution of wealth were not surprising considering the developments in the political arena⁴ and the experience under repressive planning mechanisms. The issue of capacity building, community empowerment, self-reliance and so on, is an everyday song. These are the fundamental ideas which seem to shape the attitudes of the community. Commentents from the questionnaire indicate that, in general terms, ordinary members of the community were mainly concerned with general problems of everyday survival. Things such as higher rates of unemployment, their inability to pay for services such as water, electricity and so on, which validates their concerns with redistribution of resources. Ranking issues such as 'conservation of natural environment' and 'regulation of competing land use' to be the least in what they regard as the major priorities of urban planning or what planners should try to do shows their concern with meeting basic needs.

Apparently, planners have the preference for the sound ideals of planning while communities are more into the 'brick and mortar' of planning. They showed their need of seeing improvement of the living conditions through better access to resources and power (economic and political) to decide how development should take place in their area. Planners have, in the past, been accused of concerns with 'brick and mortar' of planning but this was due to their concentration in environmental or spatial issues as though people do not matter. Their presumable disinterest in practical planning tasks suggests that they want to tackle the 'broader' issue based on their specialised training. Presumable because there are contradictions between what planners envisage through their mission statements and what they do in practice. This may be the underlying difference in the attitudes and ideological orientation between planners and the less-advantaged groups. Planners' conception of planning purpose seem to reflect attitudes more concerned with the idealistic notions of planning and a better society on a comprehensive scale than with the rigidities of planning practice; they seem to emphasize what they feel they should be doing than what they are actually doing. This is the evidence of influence of ideological premises on planners' world view. It suggests that ideology have a strong influence on planners' attitudes towards planning.

⁴ Note: Although the influence of their political ideology is not considered as an indicator, it is important to note that this analysis is largely based on the interviews held with members of the local development committee who are also members of political parties.

4.5.1.2 BASES FOR DECISION MAKING

The issue of ideology in planning was pursued based on the question which required planners to show how they would respond to a given situation which may or may not require political judgement. The main purpose was to identify if planners will regard their decisions to be influenced by some form of ideology or technical analysis. This follows the technical-political debate in the role of planners and the assumption that planners are concerned with improving the quality of life. While planners were asked to respond to questions from which to derive their attitudes towards planning, the community was asked to assess how they would cooperate with planners in practice. It was a request to respond to a scenario which implied planners applying ideological premise in planning for the community. The purpose was to identify how the community is likely to respond to the professional advice from planners on issues which concern its livelihood.

4.5.1.2.1 PLANNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS PLANNING PRACTICE

Statements in table 4.5 were used to identify planners' attitudes towards planning. These statements were meant to indicate whether planners are technically or politically oriented in their decision making. The statements 'acting as neutral advisor' and 'based on specific ideology' are straight forward. They imply technical and political orientation respectively. As indicated in section 4.4.1.1 of this chapter, problems can arise if the other two statements in the table are compared. It was assumed that the adjective 'purely', in the statement 'based purely on assessment of social needs' signify technical orientation. 'Based on a mixture of social and ideological content' was regarded to imply ideological basis. If the two statements represent technical orientation as assumed, then most of the planners (68% of the sample) are technically oriented. The persistence of technical orientation in planners' attitudes is also evident in the lack of response to the statement 'based on specific ideology'. This results are not amazing considering the assumption about planners as technical managers and the results of other studies locally and internationally.

Table 4.5 Basis for planners' decision-making

BASIS FOR DECISION-MAKING	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
Acting as a Neutral Advisor	8	42
Based on Specific Ideology	--	--
Based on a Mixture of Social and Ideological Content	6	32
Based Purely on Assessment of Social Needs	5	26
TOTALS	19	100

The fact that planners in practice seem to emphasize technical skills is also evident from the ranking of attributes of an ideal planner. While analysis of these attributes is complex as they are influence by other factors, drawing some conclusion about the political and social awareness of planners in practice is possible. The overall ranking of these attributes is presented in **table 4.6** It is clear from the table that attributes which imply objectivity and professionalism based on technical efficiency -- attributes such as 'sense of vision for the future', creativity, spatial awareness, professional

integrity -- are rated high on the scale while attribute such as 'political awareness' which implies ideological basis is rated among the lower ones. The ranking of 'political awareness' attribute at a lower end of the scale corresponds with poor response to 'influence of ideology in decision making' in table 4.5. The fact that 'a sense of vision of the future' features as the highest rank again signifies the idealistic view of planners based on the assumption that planning is primarily future oriented. Though planners are apparently showing attitudes which are technically inclined, they justify planning intervention based on social quality. The ranking of a social awareness attribute close to the mid point of the scale is the evidence of this phenomenon.

Although most planners opt for a neutral position in planning matters, in their comments, they said that they cannot divorce politics and planning from each other. Yet, they emphasized that a planner must strive to achieve what is best in the public interest and not a political ideology. One planner commented that "ideology is wonderful as a frame of reference, but often people regard it to be important to the detriment of reality and people's needs". Pointing to the negative effects of adhering to ideological premises, he cited the atrocious city structure created by the apartheid ideology as bearing testimony. Many planners were clear that being a neutral advisor is an ideal position a planner should uphold in serving the public interest, but they pointed out that it is very difficult because a person is always influenced by his or her background. Generally, many planners seem to avoid the influence of specific ideology in their decisions in planning practice; they resolve to be objective. One planner interviewed commented that "I would strive to be objective but would take into account the social and other influences that prevail". His argument was that "one tends to dissociate oneself from politics and would like to believe the decision one makes or advice one gives is based purely on assessment of social needs". Still, the objectivity perspective in itself is consistent with the technocratic view of planning which usually function to maintain the existing setup.

Table 4.6 Attributes of A Good Planner As Seen by Planners

Attribute	Overall Rank	Mean	Std Error	Attribute	Overall Rank	Mean	Std Error
A sense of vision for the future	1	1.789	0.292	Leadership	8	7.421	0.702
Creativity	2	4.473	0.594	Sense of public mission	9	8.158	0.663
Spatial awareness	3	5.059	0.615	Political awareness	10	9.157	0.730
professional integrity	4	5.105	0.625	Sound legal knowledge	11	10.053	0.521
Problem solving skills	5	5.158	0.589	Technical draughtsmanship	12	11.263	0.596
Social awareness	6	5.588	0.753	Emotional sensitivity	13	11.473	0.672
Management ability	7	7.353	0.675	Ability to follow orders	14	12.473	0.521

All the planners interviewed said that they would approach planning from a non-political point of view. With comments from other planners, this gives a clear picture that planners believe that planning decision should not be based on political ideology. However, they pointed out that logically the planner in coming to a recommendation must weigh up all the 'pros' and 'cons' of each proposal or alternative and then advise the client of these factors. "One has to keep in mind political, economic and social implications of one's decision or what the advice might suggest and produce", said one interviewee. They also emphasize the point that a planner will not normally decide but suggests a recommendation; which indirectly, gives a comfortable cushion to exonerate themselves from the practical socio-political and economic implications of planning decisions.

An interesting phenomenon about planners' attitudes is that even those who view planning in a political context qualify their position in the 'social' context of planning. It seems as if planners are not ready to play political roles overtly. Comment by one planner (in his late fifties) signifies this point; he asserts that "at no stage should a planner express his or her political view in speech or written form, his or her pronouncement or reports must be professional and evenly balanced". Apparently, planners, whether they view planning in technical terms or in political perspective, their basis is particularly on its social context, though their attitudes suggest shortcomings as far as redistributive role of planning is concerned.

This results do correlate with results from other studies which considered the role of planners within the technical-political debate. Howe (1981), found that majority of the planners were technically oriented with the hybrids making the second largest group. The results from Schwartz's (1986) survey also showed that most of the planners (56% of his sample) see planning in technical terms while those who feel that making decision is based on ideological content also qualified their position in terms of social context of planning. Smit (1989) also found that most of the planners in practice regarded their role to be a pure technical activity without values or political judgement. However, an important factor to note is the overwhelming recognition of political and the social context of planning. One would assume that given time, they can transform this into what Howe regarded as 'hybrid role' of a planner. That is, planners who can play both technical and political roles effectively.

4.5.1.2.2 COMMUNITY'S ATTITUDES ABOUT THE ROLE OF PLANNERS

Attitudes of the community towards the role of planners are shaped, among other things, by the experience in the planning process, in this case Bottlebrush upgrading project. It is therefore, important to first present the impression of this community about the project before analysing their attitudes towards planning and planners' roles.

The overall impression is that the community was delighted about the project. Asked if they approve of what organisations which were involved in the project were doing, 77% of the sample was positive and pointed out that they are better off than before. This is a result of the fact that they have access to water, electricity, their sites were surveyed and are individually owned. There is a consensus among the recipient community that by upgrading the area, the local authority was trying to improve the quality of life of the residents but the process is very slow. The common comment was that the community wants to see the area developed and having facilities like those in the formal areas. The other 33% pointed that their dissatisfaction with the manner in which planners ran the project. They allege that the process had been a top-down approach. Planners and other role players in the project took decisions and then presented them to the community. One respondent said that "our needs were

not addressed, in fact we needed housing and not the toilets they have built for us". Asked about the whole process adopted in upgrading the area, 57% of the sample was dissatisfied because communication with the community during planning was inadequate. Another important factor to note is that the general community had a reliable experience in the participatory process through effective participation in the training programme in preparation for an implementation phase of the project. Thus, the impression of the community regarding participation is based on its involvement in the construction phase of the project.

It is clear from the community impression about the project that the issue of how decisions are made in planning is an important one. This issue was followed up by asking the community to give their views about community participation in the planning process (discussed in section 4.5.3.2) and what they see as a role of a planner in their area. This was particularly aimed at finding out attitudes of the community towards planners' advice and his or her role in the development process.

Although the community was involved in meeting where technical decisions were made, it is clear from the responses that the community have high regard of planners regarding technical expertise. This might be a result of the influence from their involvement in the training programmes including discussions about the level or standard of services provided in the area. Clearly, this impression also arises from their high regard of the planners' education. Based on his or her education, the community regard a planner to have special expertise it requires to participate meaningfully in the process of decision-making. Beside the problem associated with the question on involvement or remaining at a distant in decision-making referred to in section 4.4.2.1 of this chapter, most of the respondents (73% of the sample) agreed that planners should be involved in decision making on issues that affect the community. What is interesting is that there seem to be an overwhelming consensus on the specific role a planner should play in this regard. The community response suggests that a planner should be involved only as an advisor or a facilitator of the process in areas which demand his or her expertise. Among those interviewed, the most common view was that a planner should come only to give technical advice and leave the rest to the community to solve. The Chairperson of the Local Development Committee put it this way "we as the community are the ones who experience all problems and we can better articulate our experience and make proper decisions about our lives. Planners should therefore be involved only to facilitate and give contribution according to their expertise. They should carry out what the community has decided". Some emphasized the experience a planner could bring into play from other sources in order to get a common idea in development and for the community to be able to decide how they would like to see development taking place in the area.

When the community was asked if they would accept an advice of a planner even if it is against their views or ideology, the response also showed an emphasis on technical roles of planners. Most of the respondents (55%) said that they could compromise their own views. They emphasized their regard for a planner's educational qualification, knowledge and experience in planning field and technical skills, as qualities which can influence them to compromise their opinions. Those whose responses were negative said that they would not agree to be misled. They argued that an advice which is in contradiction with the community's understanding or ideology may not serve its interests and as such they will resist by all means. The underlying point is that they emphasized that a planner should listen to the community and address the existing needs. It is apparent therefore that if the community is suspicious of the intentions of the planning proposals, they may disagree with it, despite planners' good intentions. Some members of the community saw planning as a means of imparting knowledge and empowering them. They indicated that by accepting ideals and principles they do not understand,

as propagated by planners and accepting a decision contrary to their ideology without understanding the planner's point of view, they may not know and understand the technicalities in planning

Most of the respondents emphasize that planners should not take decision alone and bring the results to the community, rather the **community** should be part of the process of developing alternative plans. The community was opposed to the traditional top-down approach where planners take decisions without consulting members of the community. (68% of the respondents cited this as one of the reason they would consider planners' advice totally unacceptable). Regarding planning regulation and planning standards, members of the community indicated that they may not accept any advice from planners which conform to standard regulation if it goes beyond their means.

4.5.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

Attitudes of planners and the community towards four salient substantive issues in the planning field were investigated. These issues are: redistribution to low-income and quality of life, public participation, principles of development process and environmental issues. This section reports on how planners and the community **feel** about these issues.

There were differences in the responses of planners and the community towards environmental issues and quality of life and redistribution to low-income. A significant difference exists on issues raised under quality of life. The community supported these issues more strongly. They have an average mean score of just below two points (1.99, and 3.24 for planners) on a five-point scale⁵ where 3.0 is the midpoint or neutral position (Table 4.7). Although differences on environmental issues were not that significant, planners were more positive on issues relating to control of development and conservation of the environment. This is represented by an average mean score of 3.39 and 2.51 for community (representing negative attitudes). The responses of the planners and the community towards community participation and the principles of development process were almost similar. They each had an average mean score of 2.67 and 2.94 for the community and 2.91 and 3.18 for planners respectively.

⁵

Normally, a high mean score indicates negative attitudes, but this is also dependent on opinion expressed in each statement.

Table 4.7 Means of substantive scales and items

Item or Scale (Planner/Community)		Planners		Standard	Community		Survey
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
Low-Income and Quality of Life							
73/38	Poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of wealth	3.65	1.04	0.233	1.27	0.45	0.082
64/66	Planners have responsibility to redistribute resources to the have-nots	3.20	1.15	0.258	2.20	0.81	0.147
74/86	Planning is too concerned with low-income concerns	3.70	1.03	0.231	2.87	0.90	0.164
75/69	Planners do not assess the impact of planning programmes on the low-income	3.75	0.97	0.216	2.46	0.96	0.182
62/34	The Government ought to guarantee a living to those who cannot find work	1.90	0.64	0.216	1.13	0.35	0.063
Community Participation							
76/139	Planners know the needs of the community better than residents.	3.80	0.83	0.186	4.63	0.81	0.148
49/36	No one can better define community needs than residents.	2.45	0.95	0.211	1.20	0.76	0.139
64/51	Community should have veto over plans.	3.20	1.23	0.277	1.82	1.06	0.120
52/85	Community participation should be moved beyond communities being heard to having them participate in technical judgements.	2.60	1.14	0.256	2.83	1.09	0.198
50/86	Community should be kept aware of planning but not deeply involved in the technical work.	2.50	0.95	0.212	2.87	1.04	0.190

Item or Scale (Planner/Community)	Planners	Survey	Standard	Community	Survey	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
Developers and Development Process						
85/105 The principle of Planning, Servicing, Building, and Occupation (PSBO) should be replaced by Occupation, Building, Servicing and then Planning (OBSP.)	4.35	0.67	0.150	3.50	1.67	0.213
72/88 New development should not be allowed until local facilities such as schools, roads, water, etc. are deemed adequate.	3.60	1.05	0.234	2.93	1.48	0.271
50/100 Growth and new development should be limited if certain standards relating to waste disposal, water and sewage disposal availability are not met.	2.50	1.05	0.235	3.33	1.30	0.237
71/90 Planners should have a tighter control on private development.	3.55	1.02	0.223	3.00	0.98	0.179
38/58 Private ownership of property is necessary for economic progress.	1.90	0.64	0.143	1.93	0.94	0.172
Environment Issues						
78/80 Planners are too concerned about protecting environment.	3.90	0.72	0.161	2.67	1.03	0.188
48/62 Concern for environment are important but other objectives may be more so.	2.40	0.75	0.169	2.07	0.37	0.067

Item or Scale (Planner/Community)		Planners	Survey	Standard	Community	Survey	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
54/87	Preserve environment even if development is slowed.	3.55	1.01	0.179	2.90	0.99	0.182
74/72	Developers have little or no concern for community good. They are only concerned to make money.	3.70	0.92	0.260	2.40	1.10	0.201

1= Strongly Agree, 2= Agree, 3= Undecided, 4= Disagree, and 5= Strongly Disagree

4.5.3.1 REDISTRIBUTION TO LOW-INCOME AND QUALITY OF LIFE

Table 4.8 shows how the two groups responded to the survey items measuring attitudes about quality of life in low-income areas. There is a significant difference in the responses of planners and community regarding poverty and quality of life and how these issues should be addressed as indicated by the coefficient of correlation (phi coefficient) equal 0.864. The community felt that poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of resources and it is the responsibility of planners to redistribute resources to the have-nots. Most of the planners (70%) were opposed to this view and partially divided on the issues of redistribution of the resources to the have-nots with 40% positive (45% negative) about the issue. This is not surprising given the view that most planners do not see redistribution of resources as a planning but a political responsibility. This notion is further manifested in that most of the planners (55%) are neutral on the issue of the responsibility of the government providing a living for those who cannot find work while the community strongly agree with this statement. The neutrality of planners in this regard can be an indication of their attempt to be objective or neutral and unbiased to a particular sector of the population as note in their attitudes towards planning ideology.

Table 4.8 Response to quality-of-life issues by group

(A) Poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of wealth

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	100%	15%
Neutral	—	15%
Disagree	—	70%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 37.36, $\phi = 0.864$

(B) Planners have responsibility to redistribute resources to the have-nots

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	63.3%	40%
Neutral	33.3%	15%
Disagree	3.4%	45%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 13.09, $\phi = 0.512$

(C)	Planning is too concerned with the interests of the low-income groups	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	15%
	Neutral	10%
	Disagree	75%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 18,33, $\phi = 0.605$

(D)	Planners do not assess the impact of planning programmes on low-income groups	
	Community Survey (N = 28)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	15%
	Neutral	15%
	Disagree	70%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 13.29, $\phi = 0.526$

(E)	The Government ought to guarantee a living to those who cannot find work	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	20%
	Neutral	55%
	Disagree	25%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 32.536, $\phi = 0.807$

An interesting factor about planners response in this section is that they are overwhelmingly positive that planning is not concerned enough with the interests of the low-income groups (mean 3.7 in table 4.7). However, they disagree with the issues raised that planners do not assess the impact of planning programmes on the poor. This signifies the contradictions of what planners believe planning should achieve and what they actually do in practice. It signifies the conflict of the idealised purpose of planning and practical implementation of social programmes. On the other hand, the community felt that planners are not concerned enough with the interests of the poor, implying that they do not assess the impact that planning programme has on the poor. This may have some negative effects on planning practice if it results in lack of cooperation between planners and the community. Attitudes of the community in this regard are not surprising for two reasons: first, the disadvantaged groups have been on the receiving end of the 'negative' planning programmes for a long time, second, this community's experience with the upgrading project was in their view unsatisfactory. This signifies the importance of planners winning the trust of communities for cooperation in the planning process.

4.5.3.2 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The responses of the community and planners about community participation are shown in table 4.9 (next page). Both planners and the community agreed that communities should play an important role in planning at local level. They all agreed that communities should be involved in all phases of the planning process. The relationship about their attitudes is also indicated by different mean scores ⁶ in table 4.7. Considering different phases of the planning process, planners felt that communities could best define their needs (mean 2.45), while strongly opposing the view that planners know the needs of

⁶

Any reference to mean score in the rest of this discussion relates to figures in table 4.7

the community better than do its residents (mean 3.80). The community indicated its desire to have more power in decision-making by strongly supporting the view that it should have veto power over plans (mean 1.82) while planners were opposed to this view (mean 3.2). Both groups strongly agreed that participation should be moved beyond communities being heard to having them participate in technical judgements. However, both groups were ambivalent about how much the community should be involved in making technical judgement. On one hand they agree that community should be involved in making technical judgements, on the other hand they felt community should not get deeply involved in technical work (mean 2.6 and 2.5 for planners and 2.83 and 2.87 for the community respectively). Perhaps the difference is one of degree, since the first statement (table 4.9D) speaks of community 'participation' while the second (table 4.9E) speaks of having them 'deeply involved'.

Other information about participation was collected from the interviews. Members of the development committee voiced their great doubt about their ability to influence decisions and their willingness to persist fighting for the image of their area. They feel that planners (or decision-makers) don't listen to them. Their powerlessness to influence the outcome undermines their faith in the efficacy of democracy. Planners though indicate that they welcome community participation. One planner respondent commented that "citizens should get involved to defend their interests, to make their views known. I think the public is badly served when decision-makers won't do anything until people come out and tell them what to do. I think it's extremely important that they make decisions, make good decisions, make informed decision, and that they be in charge of making them". While planners respondents welcome participation, it apparent from this respondent that they do not respect those (politicians or other planners) who let people tell them what to do. They emphasise that citizens should attempt to direct, but decision-makers should not be directed. This apparent contradiction occurred in all planners' remarks.

Table 4.9 Response to Community Participation issues by group

(A) Planners know the needs of the community better than residents

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	7%	10%
Neutral	—	15%
Disagree	93%	75%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 7.308, $\phi = 0.382$

(B) No one can better define community needs than residents

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	97%	65%
Neutral	—	15%
Disagree	3%	20%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 10.915, $\phi = 0.467$

(C) Community should have veto power over plans

	Community Survey (N = 28)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	75%	35%
Neutral	14%	25%
Disagree	11%	40%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 8.632, ϕ = 0.424

(D) Community participation should be moved beyond communities being heard to having them participate in technical judgements

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	40%	55%
Neutral	33%	20%
Disagree	27%	25%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 1.897, ϕ = 0.192

(E) Community should be kept aware of planning but not deeply involved in the technical work.

	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
Agree	47%	60%
Neutral	23%	20%
Disagree	30%	20%

Statistical Summary: Chi square = 1.880, ϕ = 0.194

It is apparent from these findings that planners have indicated the readiness to learn from the community about community needs and preferences. However, it is also important to note that planners ranked public participation higher (mean 2.91) than redistribution to low income groups (mean 3.24). This may suggest that planners are reluctant to advocate for particular interests overtly. They are relying on the notion of public interest to justify planning activity. This suggests that although planners recognise the fierce socio-economic conditions among the less advantaged groups, they are somewhat less committed to the idea that as planners, they should be concerned centrally with low income problems. Their attitudes are consistent with the traditional view which assumes that planning intervention cannot exacerbate prevailing socio-economic conditions and is therefore unable to create new 'avenues'.

4.5.3.3 PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Making sure that development is serviced by public facilities is probably one of the purpose of land-use planning. This implies applying certain standard to limit or control growth in one way or another. The survey responses of the community and planners about development process are shown in table 4.10. Questions posed in this section were intended to find out which group, in the face of inadequate public facilities, would favour limitations more strongly.

Table 4.10. Response to the Development Process issues by group

(A)	The principle of Planning, Servicing, Building, and Occupation (PSBO) should be replaced by Occupation, Building, Servicing and then Planning (OBSP)		
		Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	17%	10%
	Neutral	33%	90%
	Disagree	50%	
Statistical Summary: Chi square = 9.592, $\phi = 0.438$			
(B)	New development should not be allowed until local facilities such as schools, roads, water, etc. are deemed adequate		
		Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	46.7%	20%
	Neutral	6.6%	5%
	Disagree	46.7%	75%
Statistical Summary: Chi square = 3.383, $\phi = 0.260$			
(C)	Growth and new development should be limited if certain standards relating to waste disposal, water and sewage disposal availability are not met.		
		Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	33%	75%
	Neutral	7%	25%
	Disagree	60%	
Statistical Summary: Chi square = 9.088, $\phi = 0.425$			
(D)	Planners should have a tighter control on private development		
		Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	30%	20%
	Neutral	37%	20%
	Disagree	33%	60%
Statistical Summary: Chi square = 3.128, $\phi = 0.250$			
(E)	Private ownership of property is necessary for economic progress		
		Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	83%	85%
	Neutral	10%	15%
	Disagree	2%	-
Statistical Summary: Chi square = 2.750, $\phi = 0.235$			

As table 4.10A indicates, planners and the community tended to agree on the necessity to follow the traditional development process of Planning, Servicing, Building and then Occupation (PSBO). A high percentage (33 %) of the community was neutral in this regard, however. A significant difference exists, however, when standards are applied to growth and development. While the community is equally divided (with 6.6 % neutral) on the issue of prohibiting development until local facilities are deemed adequate, planners strongly supported the view of embarking on development before such facilities are available (table 4.10B). This can be interpreted as a reflection of the current trends in the implementation of housing projects in low income areas or a desperate contempt about the failures to contain land invasions. Some inconsistency exists concerning planners' response regarding control of development. Although they agreed (mean 3.6) to the fact that development should be allowed even if local facilities such as schools, roads and water are deemed inadequate (table 4.10B), they (75% of planners) also strongly agreed (mean 2.5) with the view that growth and new development should be limited if certain standards relating to waste disposal, water and sewage disposal availability are not met (table 4.10C), the opinion strongly opposed by the community (mean 3.33). It appears as if planners supported strong measure of control in favour of public interest. Nevertheless, they refute this notion in that they were also strongly opposed to applying tighter control

over private development (mean 1.9). Planners may not recognise the extent to which their practice reflects their own values, but their remarks in the questionnaire indicate that they see development as highly desirable. This is also evident in that, while most of the community was somehow disappointed and expecting more from the case study project (Bottlebrush), planners are calling it a success.

4.5.3.4 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

The results of the two groups about development and environmental issues are shown in table 4.11. Both groups were consistent in their response in favour protecting the environment. Planners, did however, seem to go against the grain of support for environment on one item, strongly agreeing that planners should temper their concern for environmental protection by recognizing that other legitimate objectives may be even more important (mean 2.4). The community in particular was strongly in favour of the notion that concerns for environments are important but other objectives may be more so (mean 2.07). This does not imply that planners are anti-environment, but it probably simply means that they are receptive of other objectives such as economic development. Both groups expressed their concern with the environment by endorsing the view that preserving environment should get high priority even if development is slowed. Planners also rejected the notion that they are too concerned about protecting the environment (mean 3.9). Compared with the needs of improving their quality of life, the community felt that planners are surely too concerned with protecting the environment (mean 2.67). Another interesting issue is that planners seem to favour developers, in that they were strongly opposed to the view that developers are not concerned with the needs of the community but only interested in making money (mean 3.7), the notion which the community fully supported (mean 2.4).

Table 4.11 Response to the Environmental issues by group

(A)	Planners are too concerned about protecting environment	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	46.7%
	Neutral	26.6%
	Disagree	26.7%
		5%
		15%
		80%
	Statistical Summary: Chi square = 13.509, $\phi = 0.520$	
(B)	Concern for environment are important but other objectives may be more so	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	90%
	Neutral	10%
	Disagree	
		75%
		10%
		15%
	Statistical Summary: Chi square = 6.395, $\phi = 0.358$	
(C)	Preserve environment even if development is slowed	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	40%
	Neutral	33%
	Disagree	27%
		50%
		30%
		20%
	Statistical Summary: Chi square = 0.532, $\phi = 0.391$	
(D)	Developers have little or no concern for community good. They are only concerned to make money	
	Community Survey (N = 30)	Planners Survey (N = 20)
	Agree	60%
	Neutral	17%
	Disagree	23%
		10%
		30%
		60%
	Statistical Summary: Chi square = 12.526, $\phi = 0.501$	

4.5.4 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Response to the questions used in this study to assess different attitudes towards planning practice between planners and the community shows that the community, at least in Bottlebrush, regards planning as a necessary activity for resources distribution. This suggests a shift in community attitudes about planning. In other words, the supposition that community have negative perception about planning as suggested in chapter two does not reflect the true views of the community in this research. This does not suggest that the community is happy with all aspects of urban planning, however. Most respondents believed planning does not sufficiently address the needs of the poor in the society. This reflects the notion that urban planning does not necessarily resolve but manage the contradiction on the urban sphere.

As expected, both planners and the community emphasise the role of a planner as a technical expert based on educational training and experience in the profession. For the case study community, beside this being the result of its limited scope of understanding planning operations, it seems to have been influenced by the fact that the participatory process was largely functional when it came to training programmes for the construction process (using local labour). Both planners and the community generally regard planning as essentially a technical activity whose main purpose is to improve the quality of life and striving for the 'public good'. Their attitudes support the notion that planning will lose its legitimacy if it does not improve the human condition. Nevertheless, improving the quality of life may mean different things to different people. As used in this study, it referred to increasing access to resources to fulfil basic needs, creating opportunities and increasing choices for both individuals and the community. Attitudes of the community and planners differ significantly regarding the manner to achieved this goal. This is because of differences in the conception of the role of planning by the community and planners. This is evident in that the community regards redistribution of resources as the second important purpose of planning whereas planners emphasise conserving the natural environment and 'making the best decision'. Thus, embracing the traditional planning idealism, planners regard ordering or organising and controlling urban development and growth as a mechanism of improving the quality of life while the community emphasises actual redistribution of resources.

Planners' attitudes validated the assumption that they are aware of the political context in which planning operates. However, all planners interviewed suggested that planners must be sensitive to politics, but their main role should be to plan for the general good of the majority in the society. They suggested that a planner should be neutral, uphold professional discipline and integrity and offer no politically motivated advice or recommendation. They were all signed up to the notion of technical neutrality in the public interest. Their attitudes towards the redistributive role of the planning professions are that of relying on the initiatives of political figures. Of the surveyed planners, only 40% said that planners should be proactive in matters which deals with particular needs of the poor.

Planners' perception of their roles emphasises the role of urban development manager playing a creative role or specialist coordinators playing an integrative role. They emphasize the technical character of planning to induce changes. Therefore, their view of improving the quality of life is through organising urban development (in spatial terms) to guide the society to a better future and not the reform mode with social reform as the objective. This reveals their confidence in their expertise and untroubled by intellectual doubts about their knowledge, and certain that the values they promote are in the public interest. This is also evident in their view that they do not make decisions but make recommendations and by that, realize the objectives set by politicians. That is, politicians set general

directions and planners realize them. These attitudes also validate the traditional notion that planners' legitimacy rests on the quality of their expertise. Overall, planners agreed that the key role in the current development context has remained to be coordination, facilitation and technical design.

Another thing about their role is that, planners see themselves as not attempting to create some ideal vision of the area in which they work, but are trying to clarify issues before decisions are taken, no matter who decide. The community seems to have rather different expectation of planners, however. They expect planners to listen and to be accessible to the people. In other words the planner should facilitate the citizen's influence on planning. At the same time, however, those respondents interviewed want planners to bring vision and new ideas into the process. There seems something of a contradiction in these two modes: planners as experts visionary, and a planner as facilitator of ideas of others. Perhaps they hope that if planners went looking for new ideas and the latest cultural and social developments, then planners would promote the values that the community or citizens share.

Both planners and the community agree on the issue of community participation in the planning process. They differ regarding community involvement in technical judgement and how much power communities should have to influence planning decisions. The community was particularly doubtful of their ability to influence decisions. This might be a result that the process adopted in this project turned to be more of a consultation rather than participation. The community had very little influence on decisions that planners took. The community strongly feel that planners should carry out decisions reached in forums which include planners and the community. Both planners and the community emphasised the need to prevent frustration associated with the process of participation reflected in advocacy planning approach where it only delayed projects implementation as alluded to by Goodman (1976). Both the community and planners commented on lack of appropriate skills among planners to play an active role in participatory planning process.

While planners and the community acknowledge the need to allow citizens a role in decision making, their expectations from community planning are different. The community wants to use planning tools to enforce their values about development of their area; they argue on emotional grounds. Planners see themselves as dealing with facts and not opinions and values. They see citizens having trouble making a vital distinction between 'fact' and 'opinion'. Their attitudes suggest that they are reluctant to participate in normative debate about particular disputes in planning practice. However, communities clearly experience frustrations sometimes because people have unrealistic expectations of local democracy and community participation. Finding consensus on implications for democracy in community planning practice is difficult. The difficulties of democratic participation in community planning are not simply 'planning problems': they arise out of the context in which our society uses planning to make decisions. This brings the realisation that community planning cannot solve the problems of contention and dispute in democratic society: it simply accommodates the debate. If we hope to overcome those problems, we first must understand their nature in our culture. This makes one realise that the problems that arise during participation programmes derive largely from the conflicting political values and expectations of the actors involved, as well as the exigencies of bureaucratic and political processes through which we make decisions.

Regarding the development process, both respondent favours the traditional approach, that of Planning, Servicing, Building and Occupation. However, their responses suggest sensitivity to practical reality in that they support flexibility to address existing and some inevitable problems. What is significant is that planners favour control mechanisms more strongly, particularly when it relates to public health, signifying the origin of the planning profession. They however, seem to break away from

the traditional concerns in that they rank regulating competing land use at the lower end of the ranking scale. Planners may not recognise the extent to which their practice reflects their own values, yet their comments indicate that they see development in physical terms as highly desirable. While many citizens characterised the case study area as less desirable, mainly because of the appalling conditions under which they live, a planner calls it positive. The community didn't see planners as helping the people but siding with developers or official policy. The community expectation in this regard is to see planners using their expertise to enforce values about development conceived in the area.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS OF ATTITUDES OF PLANNERS AND THE COMMUNITY ON PLANNING PRACTICE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

That urban planning should achieve social justice to be legitimate has been the subject of debate in planning literature and the best part of this document. Some have argued that planners should derive legitimacy from their knowledge and expertise -- often defined by the profession itself (Thomas, 1991). As highlighted in chapters two, the planning profession in our local context lacked a sense of social justice, integrity and social purpose acceptable to all people. It depended on the presumed expertise of planners and the statutory basis for its legitimacy. The profession should therefore, earn social legitimation in the current planning context by identifying or developing social purpose. This implies that besides the technical expertise and cognitive skills important for the integrity of the profession, 'appropriate' attitudes are very important if the profession should be an agent of change in the reconstruction of the past social '*paranoia*'.

This chapter analyses the implications of attitudes of planners and the community on urban planning practice. It evaluates their influence on planning practice and the role of planners in the current context. The discussion in this chapter is based on challenges and issues identified in chapter two and planners' roles as discussed in chapter three. The intention is to argue in a proper perspective if the planning profession is moving towards realising its goals and if not to identify possible problems.

Certain assumptions should be maintained to analyse implications of attitudes of planners and communities in a proper perspective. First, this study largely concentrated on attitudes of the respondents based their feelings about the attitude subject and its value as opposed to what they know (knowledge-based attitudes) or what they are likely to do (action-based attitudes). To analyse implications of these attitudes on planning practice in a proper perspective, it is therefore necessary to assume that both planners and the community are most likely to translate their attitudes into action. On the basis that planners do have a role to play in the society and that attitudes and values do impinge on their work, it is assumed that attitudes as presented in the preceding chapter play a significant role in the world of urban planning practice. They can be a constraint to planning practice (besides structural constraints) in reaching social justification and legitimation. Since they reflect particular ideology, it is appropriate to regard these attitudes as more useful to certain planning roles than others. Thus, they need to be analysed in the context of their source. However, the study does not recommend any particular role. Rather, it exposes the limited scope of planning and individual ideology presents in planning practice. This suggests that on the basis that urban planning should encourage social justice or maintain social purposes, change in planning ideology in the current context is inevitable. The urban community can also benefit from changing their perception of planning idea. In this context, suggesting some alterations in planning ideology and planning practice is possible.

There are three fundamental areas of concerns that guide the evaluation of the implication of these attitudes on planning practice. The first one seeks to find if attitudes of planners and the community suggest or offer any scope to break away from the past practices. In this regard section 6.1, which is related to the planning ideology, try to identify if these attitudes really help achieving the social purpose of planning practice. It relates to the scope and context of planning practice within the

context current theoretical debate. Although it is largely theoretical and attitudinal, it refers to the legislative framework in the Development Facilitation Bill. Within this context, section 6.2 suggests change in planning ideology and proposes some areas of intervention. The third area of concern evaluates roles that are compatible with these attitudes and how effective they are in addressing current planning problems. This is covered in section 6.3 which points out that planners' roles are subjective. The most important issue is for the planning profession to pronounce equivocally, its goals (social, economic, spatial, etc.) in practical terms. Planners as individuals could, within this context, then play appropriate roles consistent with their convictions and abilities.

5.2 THE NATURE AND CONTEXT OF PLANNING PRACTICE

As indicated in chapter two, the prevailing political environment and cultural values and ideas largely influence the context in which urban planning practice take place. These factors are not static, however. The state action through various legislation legitimises planning practice in this context. As suggested, legislative frameworks do not only prescribe the scope of planning practice, but also roles which planners can play. They limit the 'freedom' of planners in role choice to predetermined activities or roles. Legislative frameworks also indirectly influence or determine skills and techniques that planners require for their practice. Therefore, the objectives of urban planning practice as the 'planning system' may prescribe, primarily determine the scope and nature of urban planning. Technical expertises, cognitive skills and 'appropriate' attitudes significant for professionalism also influence the scope of practice.

Chapter two pointed out that the context in which current planning practice would take place is different from that characterised by technocratic ideology and influenced by apartheid policy because urban planning is becoming more democratised. It is moving towards a context that emphasises greater choice and participation by all. As its scope is becoming broadened to encompass many more third world development problems than have been tackled by the profession in the past, it is also changing the way planners go about practising planning. Community needs and values as identified in the case study validates the fact that the appropriate scope of practice in the current context is one that promotes the advancement of the least powerful. The community cast this into the rhetorical concept of local democracy. As pointed out earlier, this notion is also embedded in the Development Facilitation Act (Act, No. 67 of 1995) as its underlying principle of land development. It encourages participation in planning process by those whom the development will affect. It also emphasises skills development and capacity building of the disadvantaged persons involved in land development.

However, urban planning in a democratic context has its own problems. The respect of an individual and minority rights largely underpins principles of democracy. Translated into planning, a democratic perspective would imply that a planning system is based on rights. The dilemma is that a planning system based on rights alone perpetuates those who have more powers, the right to win every time. However, urban planning can be legitimate only if it improves the human conditions. Based on this notion, it follows that the planning system must be based on ethics of care and responsibility, not rights alone. The positive aspect about the theory of the planning system in a democratic perspective is the emphasis on public participation. This offers an opportunity for open decision-making in planning frameworks. Although they differ regarding the extent of participation and decision-making, attitudes of planners and the community in the case study support this idea. However, the formal locus of decision making at all levels of the system is with politically-elected representatives. The influence of communities and planners in decision making is thus subject to

values and opinions such decision makers uphold. The community may feel betrayed when their input seem to fail to influence decisions in the planning process. It is in this context that the community seem to feel that planners or more precisely, decision-makers, do not take planning in the interest of the community more seriously.

Another important factor in determining the context and scope of planning practice is the role and powers of the state (local **authorities**) in urban planning matters. The previous discussions identified certain crucial points useful in assessing the implication of planners' attitudes towards planning practice and those of the community in this regard. These include the view that the role of the state in the planning process will no longer be that of a *controller* and a *provider* but that of a *regulator* and an *enabler/facilitator*. Implicitly, this limits the absolute power of the state to control social processes paternalistically. It is also apparent that under the New Constitution and the Development Facilitation Act (DFA), local authorities will be actively involved in social and economic development. This implies that urban planning practice will involve social and economic development as its primary function rather than treating these issues as mere input factors in the planning process which emphasise physical development only. This is consistent with community expectations from planning as respondents in the survey indicated. More important, this context shifts the function of town planning from control to maximising development potential. It brings urban planning into the context where it plays a role of facilitating negotiations and compromise over the distribution of scarce environmental resources.

In this context, there is a potential for urban planning to match challenges identified in the previous discussions. The challenge that urban planning practice should attempt to balance the need for economic development and social improvements through equitable distribution of existing resources. This encompasses concerns with spatial, social, economic and structural components associated with planning, implementation and management of urban development. The DFA sets this context properly in that it stipulates as a general principle that policies and administrative activities should promote efficient and integrated land development that promote the integration of social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development.

Attitudes of both the community and planners and the nature of planning problems identified in previous discussion suggests that physical design and the need to achieve both social and economic objectives will dominate the scope of planning practice. Some form of environmental determinism will apparently continue to influence physical planning in the post apartheid era. Planners will seek traditional regulatory vehicles to interpret the physical environment and developed planning solutions or planning principles that will mould the built environment. This is consistent with attitudes planners attributes to their roles and skills. Even in the years when planning focused mainly on guiding the physical aspects of development, competent urban planners have always been concerned with the social and economic factors that act on the physical environment, no less than with physical factors. However, the wide spectrum of these issues composed only the input side of the planning process. In other words, the measures proposed by planners have been expected to express policy about "land use and land occupancy and regulation thereof" (Fagin, 1970:125). Yet planners working in this context have traditionally lacked access to decision-making process. They have had little impact on important public policy issues, have tended to be technique-oriented rather than goals oriented, and facilitator rather than initiators. The general, the comprehensive, and the long-range aspects of physical development bounded planners' special sector of competence. They aspired to develop a personal mastery of the survey, analytic, design, and other skills essential to their role as the community's

expert in the design of the 'general plan' and its implementing instrument (Fagin, 1970, Kirk, 1980). Planners and the community in the survey reflect these issues in their conception of the necessary skills and techniques required for planning. Without social and political skills appropriate for effective communication and negotiations in planning practice, planners operating in this context are more likely to continue doing more complicated technical analysis. They will have a limited scope of providing solutions to social and political problems which confront current urban planning practice. Although many planners would admit that planning emphasis should adapt to the current urban crisis, attitudes of those in the survey suggest no drastic change from this traditional position.

The experience of planning practice suggests that the capacity to initiate changes is severely constrained under the conditions characterised by traditional planning ethics and scientific rationalism. Where forward planning proposals are adopted, they tended to be rigid and remain as artistic work pleasant to the eye but never implemented. Plans and reports end in cabinets and shelves, they become 'stale' and irrelevant while development continues under the dictatorship of market forces. In this context planning become the servant of the market rather than influencing the direction of the market process. Unless planners as individuals and as organised professional body embrace the new idealism of pragmatic influence on social issues, they will remain inert reactors to circumstances, offering no proactive actions. To intervene in the development process to create balance between the need of the capital investment and equity and quality of the provision and distribution of public goods and services, planners need to be politically conscious in their role playing. Playing neutral roles as most of the planners suggested will serve no lesser purpose than exacerbating current problems.

Regarding the planning process, it is encouraging to note that both planners and community seem to agree on one important issue: public participation, however defined. Although participatory approach is not a panacea in urban development problems, it offers an opportunity for mutual understanding and identifying common values. That is, it provides valuable information and insight into local conditions, community needs, values and preferences. It provides for ordinary people, an opportunity to participate in actions and decisions which affect their lives. Its shortfalls are that first, the democratic process is immediately confronted with the short-term relative ignorance of the citizenry. Not all citizens take interests in the process. This can be more complicated in cases where the community is not well organised or is riddled with mistrust among members of the community themselves as in the case study. Participatory process often delays delivery of goods/services if prolonged. The concerns raised by all planners and the community that there should be a balance between the process of participation and delivery of goods is important. Also education through participation is a slow process which public policy cannot await. The second problem relates to the apathy of citizens due to perceived lack of personal gains from the democratic process. On the other hand concentration of power among few members in the community can systematically distort or exclude contribution from some parties with legitimate interests in the planning outcome. Even when planners actively seek information and ideas from all parties, some parties may have more or less influence than others. The planner is therefore, left with a small minority with whom to plan. This reinforces the dependency syndrome on the disadvantaged groups. Even the aim of advancing the less advantage groups through training and participation in various programmes can be hampered in that education through participation is a slow process.

Both planners and the community cited lack of appropriate skills in managing the public processes, insufficient time and resources, and lack of total commitment to the participatory process in the case study as problematic. There is no doubt that the desire and ability to communicate with

previously voiceless citizen groups will influence the capacity of planning to contribute to the institution of an equitable society. Whether functioning as a mediator, advocate, or in any other role, the importance of dialogue to the planner, leading to mutual understanding and respect is, and will continue to be, crucial. Attitudes of the community about public participation suggest that, though hesitant to acknowledge fully the integrity of planners, especially on non-technical matters, the community is beginning to trust planners. This is amid the contradictory behaviour which indicate that they think planners are not concerned enough with their needs. The ability of planners to communicate with and be accessible to the previously voiceless citizen groups is essential if planning should ensure that the neglect suffered in the past by most vulnerable sectors of society is not perpetuated trying to develop a just society. Justice, as Rawls (1971) has said, is ultimately measured against the advancement of the interests of the least privileged.

5.3 PLANNING IDEOLOGY

Planning practice cannot be separated from the ideology which underpins its intervention in perpetuating social order. Ideology becomes a window or a scale to evaluate or assess all planning proposals. In instances where the pillars of planning practice crumble as past commitments hinder the power to understand and lose their power to legitimate and justify, planning practice runs into the crisis of ideological basis. In South African context, this suggests that a transformation in the character of our local planning is overdue. Planning practice should acknowledge the political context in which it operates. Social and economic issues need to appear on both input and output sides of the planning (process) for land development. For it is only by recognising the political world in which planning operates that planners can probably improve their ability to understand the problems that people say bother them. They will have "a reasonable chance of helping to create a diverse but more peaceful and fulfilling society" (Baum, 1990:66).

The previous discussion pointed out that legislative frameworks limit the context and scope of planning practice. As pointed out above, personal values add another dimension in determining the role for an individual planner. Values influence the decision people make (whether conscious or not). The previous section identified the context in which planning practice in the current context is likely to operate. It highlighted some legislative connotations in terms of the Development Facilitation Act intended to broaden the scope of planning practice to integrate both social, economic and institutional issues in physical planning. The challenge for any planner in this context is that of coming into terms with the necessary transition from planning underpinned by environmental determinism to one which incorporate variety of attitudes and values. People are used to operate in the ordered objective world with which they are comfortable and familiar. As suggested in chapter two, planners in our context are familiar with and operated within the context of a technocratic ideology. Due to the advanced scope of planning practice, planners may also need to adjust their values in this context. The question now is whether those involved in the case study project have demonstrated attitudes which may suggest a breaking away from the technocratic tradition. Refuting this tradition is important for planning in a context based on democratic ideals.

It is evident from the survey results that, though they acknowledge the political context in which planning (should) operate, planners' attitudes reflect the major tenets of the mainstream planning ideology underpinned by the notion of unitary public interest. These attitudes reflect the continued faith in the roots of urban planning in engineering and an unwillingness to justify urban plans instead in social and economic terms. Their attitudes suggested planners' contribution to the on going apolitical,

technically oriented ideas about planning practice. This ideology hides the distributional effects inherent in urban planning. It also conceals the fact that planners cannot solve planning problems only in a technical sense. Although attitudes of the community allude to the political nature of planning, planners have apparently succeeded to convince the public to perceive planning as a technical activity. This is evident in that though its expectations from planning emphasise political connotations of urban planning, the community accords planners roles within the technical realm. Planning practice in this context can only serve to maintain the present system and diminish the social reform tradition embedded in planning purposes. Urban planning has failed to realise its social purpose because of setting goals which planners cannot realise in planning practice characterised by its current technically orientated scope.

Attitudes of planners about planning purpose and the basis for decision making makes it clear that they see themselves as objectively and rationally reviewing plan policies and applying them to the proposed development. They restrict and regard themselves as operating only on factual matters. This is consistent with the objective, technical world. However, those from the community argue on emotional grounds. They want to use planning tools to enforce their values about development of their area. Planners, however, see citizens having trouble making a vital distinction between 'fact' and 'opinion'. That is, planners deal with facts and the community (including decision-makers) deal with opinions and values. Nonetheless, community planning clearly deals with normative matters. Conflicts and disputes in planning practice are inevitable in this context because role players in the development process have different interests. Planners' remarks suggest that they are reluctant to participate in normative debate in the context of particular disputes. They prefer to enforce values embedded in the conventional planning principles and bylaws (or existing plans where there are any). Their attitude suggests that, where a normative choice had to be made, they would simply accept the verdict of decision-makers (politicians). Apparently, though they seem to 'respect' differences in the way the community treat planning issues (or planners), planners seem to feel more comfortable dealing with those who understand the policy environment within which they operate. Citizens interpret as problematic the unwillingness of planners to support the values that citizens articulate. Thus, cast into the technical world, the ability of planners to influence wider public policy is severely restricted.

Since it cannot have been construed as worthy of a socially sensitive discipline under the apartheid era, the pressure is for the planning profession to come into terms with its own past. Planners must build their future on the cultural and political bedrock of the new authentic democratic order (Muller, 1992). They should ensure that their practice does not perpetuate the neglect suffered in the past by most vulnerable sectors of society. On the other hand, they should also guard against reverting into a position of being another servant of an unjust and untenable system.

This implies that the conception of the planner as a value-neutral adviser, as apolitical technicist or as a paternalistic provider is now as anachronistic as they are unrealistic. For planners' intervention in physical development as happened in Bottlebrush is not necessarily about concerns with unitary public interest, but conflicting interests out of which the planning authority must choose those to be promoted. That is, even in a relatively homogenous community as in the study case, identification of planning goals and setting priorities evokes different values and attitudes within the community. Here, what is unanimous is the community desire for social improvement. Integration of physical development with social and economic concerns (of the community) can address this problem. However, this becomes difficult in fully developed (occupied) areas like the study case. Lack of appropriate space often constrains proposals for additional (local) economic activities. Also, its

location made it difficult to link with other centres of economic activities. Nonetheless, an awareness of the distributional impacts of planning in particular, would move towards uniting planners with the traditional ethos of planning -- its concerns with social reform. This ideology can help planners as individuals to give advice on social or political matters where appropriate. For planning as a whole, a mere acknowledgement of its obvious political content and therefore its constraints, is irrelevant. It should be transformed into policy guidelines to produce positive effect on planning issues.

The concern by planners that a professional planners need to be a value-neutral agents has certain implication. First, this notion serves to uphold the professional integrity of serving the public well. Yet as noted already it can also serve to hide other ulterior motives in the shadow of public interest. Besides, though the ethical commitment of a planner is to serve the public, in a society where conflicting needs are rife, this notion needs to be specific to reflect special or particular needs in the community. Only by understanding the needs, values and attitudes of the community, can planners define the public interest more precisely. Secondly acting as neutral-advisors, largely shifts problems (political, economic or otherwise) associated with planning practice from the hands of the profession to decision-makers. In this context, planners evade all the criticisms and the harsh realities rife in the political nature of planning practice. Planners cannot, under this circumstances, take full responsibility of what their profession should or should not be seen as doing. They are more likely to become spectators in their own game. They cannot effectively accomplish the need to be proactive and acting as pressure groups for a just role as suggested in chapter two, because in a technical context, planners' language differ significantly with that of the community. Planners talk 'factual' language whereas the community relies on values and opinion.

To be implementable or incorporated into planning practice, the planning ideology requires mechanisms to change individual planners' consciousness and the view of the urban community (including **decision-makers**) about urban planning and practice. The structural constraints associated with the **planning system** form the major area of concern. Section 6.1 highlighted major areas of concerns that are apparently covered within the legislative ambit. For the community of planners to be conscientious of the changing context of planning practice, it is important to engage in constructive discourse about the major tenets, strength and weaknesses of the profession in its historical context. This should serve to advance the ideology of planning to reflect current social and cultural values. Theoretical discourse should advance the notion that post-apartheid planning should stand on a new ethical base supported by the spirit of concern and commitment to the development of a just society where the spirit and purpose of planning reflect the needs of the society as it should have.

Planning education is one area in which to instill a new ideology, especially to those entering the profession for the first time in planning schools. However, as noted in previous discussion planning education does not have long lasting impact on planners attitudes and values which influence their role choice (Howe and Kaufman, 1981). Also, an individual's values are established long before the influence of planning education. Traditionally the formal planning education emphasises skills such as conceptualising, drawing and plan evaluation, sophisticated statistical techniques, and more recently computer skills. These are the skills which planners in the survey regarded important for professional practice. However, planners have often treated these skills independently from the ideological premise from which they are rooted (at least in planning education). This only helps to perpetuate the planning consciousness as practised in private and public agencies. It is therefore, important that planning education be made explicitly an ideological activity. At least educators should treat planning techniques in the context of their ideological basis. Lessons from the case study suggests that planning

practice is essentially a communicative task, whatever role planners play. Except in the design process, itself being a communication medium, planners spent most of their time preparing documents and attending meetings (with community or other professionals). However, communication and report-writing skills had until recently been taking the backstage on planners' education. More importantly, the skills appropriate for negotiations necessary for planning practice in the political environment have not received enough attention. Planners' ability to communicate at various levels is very important. It can determine a success or failure of planning projects in practice.

Influencing the attitudes of those long established in the profession may not be that easy. As reflected in their perception of the role of planners, the dominance of the technocratic ideology in the current context may signify the inertia associated with change. It is natural that those who have been in the trade for many years will always resist changes when their basic principles and ideology are challenged. This suggests the need for continuous interaction between practitioners and theorists. Since urban planning is prone largely to reflect values of planners (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971), which suggests that it is not directly responsive to the interests of public, planning theorists should gain a better understanding of the values and interests of planners as a group if they want to understand the nature of urban planning. As one planner suggested, conferences and seminars jointly arranged by practitioners and theorists can help to validate planning knowledge and therefore influence planning ideology. In fact all planners interviewed confirm that they validate their planning knowledge from conferences, planning journals, news letters and so on. It is therefore, apparent that this medium of communication serves a great deal in influencing the ideology which informs planners in practice. Given the delicacy of the situation, care should be taken not to emphasise long term ideals in the disadvantage of the *ad hoc* incremental perspective prevalent in practice or vice-versa.

It was pointed out that attitudes of the community suggest that planning should accomplish some politically oriented functions, equitable (re)distribution of resources. This is also mixed with the inclination to mistrust planners and decision-makers (politicians) to incorporate community aspirations and plan in its best interests. Asked about planners' role they cast it into technical terms. Changing the community's view of planners' roles to one which reflects the social, economic and political context in which planning operates may not be as simple. It is also dependant on planners' conception of planning ideology as suggested above. In other words planners can influence this change if the community sees them as addressing its needs and aspirations. That is, if planners use planning tools to advance community values in the development process. In Bottlebrush, the community didn't see planners as helping the people but as siding with 'developers' (the Urban Foundation and Durban City Council). The chairperson of the Local Development Committee acknowledged, however, that the community may have contributed to the growing alienation between the community and planners by being disrespectful and antagonistic.

It is usual in practical situations that planners are often caught in the centre of the *débâcle* between the state, the public and developers regarding the development process. Kirk (1980), argued that planners in this context may choose to ally themselves with the state or particular 'clientele' on particular issues. This position offers a planner a chance to be a catalyst in changing opinions or attitudes where and if possible. However, choosing sides depend on whom the planner regards as his or her client. Understandably, those interviewed in this study regarded the Local Authority as their client. To influence community attitudes, planners would have to ally themselves with the community. This is possible for planners playing an advocacy role. For those working within the official planning system as it happened in the study case, they are constrained to follow the set processes and planning

parameters. Although they may have the concern for advancing the well being of the community, their actions are largely predetermined. Even so, the planner and the community should guard this relationship against the trap of perpetuating a dependent public which erode the community's self-reliance and perpetuate dependency syndrome. Nonetheless, planners will obviously have to share their knowledge with the community and learning from them. Unless this is made clear, the fact that the community (45%) indicated that it may not accept the planners' advice which it think is against the interests of the community, suggests that communities would, meanwhile, regard any approach from planners with scepticism. This also points out how important it is for planners to avoid using their own value perception in drawing conclusions. They should at least consult as many sources as possible.

5.4 ROLES OF PLANNERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Generally, problems related to cultural, social, economic and physical environment and their effects on the quality of life of the population occupying that environment confront the practice of town and regional planning. This directs planners' focus on preparation and carrying out development policies that deal with the pressing issues of accommodating the population appropriately. In this regard, Dewar and Gasson (1995) argue that, if it is to secure its future, the planning profession must show mastery in its substantive focus: "the management of the impact of human action on natural and cultural land scape, and the creation of new settlements" (p.13). Allegiance to imported models, ideas and approaches without questioning their efficacy in this regard is more likely to frustrate and diminish the integrity of the profession. For these challenges are more critical in upgrading existing informal settlements where their contexts severely restrict the possibility of applying traditional planning principles. Also, their location and contexts make it difficult to think of creating environmentally responsive developments or creating rich and vibrant living environments which are sustainable. Nonetheless, the challenge of putting before the society a new and improved sense of possibilities continue to faced planners involved in the development process on a daily basis. According to Dewar and Gasson, planners' intervention in this regard should be based on sensitive understanding of human needs and of the realities of context at appropriate scales. Due to the complexity of development needs in the low -income groups, interventions should also be based on what is possible rather than what is popular or what people want in the short-term.

Evidently, urban planning practice takes the form it does because of processes of cultural adaptation. That is, planning theory and planning thought, in turn, are themselves partially connected to, and influenced by, developments in the social and cultural trends. Many practitioners, however, find it difficult to bridge the world of planning thought and planning practice. This is indicated by their allegiance to the technical scope of planning practice. This is so in spite of their confirmation that they validate their planning knowledge from various sources such as conferences, news letters, planning journals and other theoretical debates, where the political context of planning practice in the current context is widely publicised. Regardless, cultural and socio-political discourse, including development needs of the disadvantaged groups, the mainstream of community planning focuses on both altruistic and the democratic attributes.

As the political, social and cultural institutions and attitudes that safeguarded planning in the public interests are changing and sometimes becoming obsolete, planners are left very much on their own to work out their accountability dilemmas. They are finding themselves required to play a mediating role between competing interests and on the other hand regulating the protection of the physical environment and other scarce resources. Concerning their roles, while they traditionally work

in spatial terms, planners are involved in a variety of working environments. Clearly, the six major functions of the practising planners will still distinguish roles of **planners**: an analyst, a synthesizer, a collaborator, an educator, a visionary, a mediator, an advocate, **and an administrator**. The emphasis should, therefore, be not much of which role a planner plays but what substantive issues the scope of planning practice covers and attitudes that planners hold in such a context.

The case study project showed that while planners were operating in different capacities, the official agenda of the project financiers largely controlled planners' activities. Also, the community had very little influence, if any at all. Though they would like to be seen as advancing the interest of the community, planners were actually operating within the context of being agents of the state following the instrumentalist view as discussed in chapter two. This is also evident regarding their impression of whom their client was. Although the beneficiary community is the ultimate client, planners in the case study were loyal to the funding bodies. This suggests that while planners have some discretion to put forward their own planning ideas, the context in which these ideas are used in practice depend also on the control of the profession by other interests. These include relying on the legitimation through the statutory process, local political system and the funding agencies. Also, there can be tension between each and the expectations of the various groups that comprise the 'public'. Planners are called on to mediate these tensions, but the outcome depends on their position in relation to the balance of power between the different interests.

Since planners can play different roles, distinguishing between the role of the planning profession in the society and that of the planner within the general context of planning practice is important. Chapter two pointed out that the planning profession in South African context lacked integrity and a sense of social justice. Identifying the substantive issues for the profession is important because of the nature of changes that appear from time to time to ripple the surface of the profession. They are sometimes superficial and transient, more a replacement of goals than their fulfilment and sometimes more change of style than substance (Fagin, 1970). Yet, the profession's area of influence remains unchanged: the distribution and management of the use of scarce environmental resources. Thus, in a context where methodologies and the content of planning practice changes, it becomes important to emphasise justifiable substance and fulfilment of goals than their mere identification. By delimiting its goals and objectives, the profession provides a basis for professional practice. The role of an individual planner is, however, subjective. It cannot be prescribed. This is largely because the choice of an appropriate role, a fundamental decision for any planner, has a strong ideological dimension. It corresponds with the planner's world view and involves deciding what kind of behaviour is appropriate for a particular context. Social background and educational training among other things influence individual choice.

Once the general role of the profession in the development continuum, which cover a wide range of objectives, is outlined, individual planners will, within this continuum, find an appropriate role consistent with their values and convictions. For not all planners can be advocates, not all planners can be good mediators nor technical experts. What role the planner ultimately plays depends largely on personal philosophy about the relationship of man (people) to the society and how that view 'squares' with the community for which he or she works. Clearly, though the contexts of planning environment have changed, it is not necessarily roles planners play that matters, but ultimately the substantive issues that the planning process covers.

The case study project showed that, there is a discrepancy between what the planning initiatives are designed to accomplish (at least in Bottlebrush area) and what the community expected of the planning process. It also highlighted the point that communities sometimes experience frustrations because people have unrealistic expectations of community planning and local democracy. Community planning cannot solve the problems of contention and dispute in democratic society: it simply accommodates the debate. Apparently, the issue is not how inclusive the planning process is, but its relevance to social needs of the community. It is about the capacity of planners to interact with the community and being helpful in creating opportunities for sustainable growth and development. It is also apparent that it is not merely the carrying out of the popular views that will make communities identify with planning ideals, but the development of credible and justifiable substantive goals that will do justice to all. It is by embracing the idea of social justice, its measure being the advancement of those who are weak or poor in the society.

Although the choice of a role is subjective, certain roles are more desirable than other in our local context. From the assumption that planning practice in our local context operated in the technical mode for decades, we can infer that many planners in practice are technical experts. The attitudes of planners surveyed for this study validate this assumption in that, though they justify their activities in social contexts, their scope of planning practice is technically oriented. On the other hand, planners involved in the case study project did not only play technically oriented roles. They were involved in co-ordinating and managing the planning process which included different levels of negotiations and community organisation. Those problems raised by members of the beneficiary community in the survey suggests additional non-technical skills. Also, the social imbalances and other disparities which planning practice should try to redress suggest that other roles are more desirable. Technical roles in the traditional sense cannot adequately address them. It cannot adequately provide solutions to social and political problems that form the core of the planning now.

This does not mean that technical role has become obsolete. Planners will continue to act as technical resources for communities and political leaders. They will continue to play a significant role of influencing allocation of scarcest resources by assessing potential for land development upon which decision are made. Their general comprehensive view and understanding of how elements and parts of the spatial system are brought into relationship with each other **rather** than their performance or how they are arranged will be more valuable. That is, the particular skills of planning in dealing with a whole are valuable for every planner. Technical skills are therefore, important in supporting all other politically oriented roles. In other words, planners can use their technical expertise and knowledge to influence decisions in bureaucratic organisations.

There are many planning approaches suitable for planning practice in reformist perspective in a general sense. Specific planning approaches and planners' roles that fit the peculiarities of the South African situation have been outlined in chapter three. These emphasised the view that social planning as opposed to physical and other form of planning is directed towards the vulnerable communities and therefore has attributes responsive to the needs of the society. Promotive planning as suggested by John Muller (1980) seeks to be directly responsive to societal needs and democratic precepts. It aims at facilitating the involvement of the disadvantaged communities in the decision-making process that impact on their lives, and in so doing foster the empowerment and self development of such communities.

Evidently, professional ethics are very important in planning ideology and therefore in planning practice and roles planners play. While technical expertise and cognitive skills determine the ability of a planner to manipulate and present solutions to problems despite different roles, appropriate attitudes determine the role a planner is likely to play. Often the standard and other tools a planner would apply in various communities would reflect the vested interests and cultural values and biases of the planner himself (Gans, 1968). This validates the notion that planners depend on their individual values in selecting the appropriate course of planning action. Thus, appropriate attitudes require profound restructuring considering the current planning challenges and the suggested change in planning ideology. Since values cannot be changed overnight, the suggestion proposed under planning ideology that planners being aware of the implication of personal values, should consult widely outside areas of where their subjective experiences apply.

It was pointed out that planners' attitudes about planning practice generally reflect allegiance to the traditional idea of professionalism underlain by technical orientation. Heightened by planners' reluctance to serve a specific interest group (especially public sector planners), these attitudes point to the fact that the chance of planners taking up any role counter to conventional practice is highly unlikely. However, as changes in the planning scene become unavoidable, it will compel even the most conservative planners to recognise the unfolding mainstream of planning practice. Thus, other alternative roles are worth considering if the present attitudes to professionalism change as suggested.

A change in planning ideology as suggested give possibilities for progressive planners to act counter to the traditional mainstream planning practice. This is contained in advocacy planning, mediation and promotive planning approaches. Despite the criticism that it continues in the mode of planning for people rather than planning with people, advocacy planning provided a new dimension in planning underpinned by social needs. It moves towards showing that different groups will have diverse and, most likely, opposing interests at stake in the planning process. Its application is however, limited in a context where communities lack resources such as funds and land or rights to land because planners are, as pointed out, accountable directly to their immediate client. However, within the current governmental commitments of **advancing** the lot of poor in urban areas, public official may find opportunities to be advocates of these groups within the official system. However, their capacity to be the mouthpiece of the community in the true sense of traditional advocacy planning would be restricted.

The promotive role takes advocacy planning a step further in that it suggests mutual learning through continued interaction between planners and the community. The problem with this approach as some planners suggested, is cost concerning the time required for a single project and budgetary constraints rather than commitment to the process. It is however, important to note that both planners and the community have compatible attitudes in this regard. The other problem is that these approaches neglect the fact that the state has the power to overrule the interests of the poor and by that are capable of incorporating advocacy or progressive planners into its agenda. Discretionary power is however, important in areas where the planning process might need to be sabotaged in the interest of the deprived groups. This approach has its ethical problem regarding the loyalty of a planner, whether it should be with his or her employer or the community that benefit or suffer from planning actions.

Planners' role as mediators was cited as appropriate in bridging the gap between the community and the officialdom. Attitudes of both community and planners show the importance of this role in the development process. However, mediation being a political process is mainly problems oriented. It can reduce the capacity of planning being an open and future oriented decision making process. For it is

only once interests have vested and disputes have arisen, that it is time for mediation (or judicial process) and it is then too late for planning. Regardless, this validates the notion that urban planning does not necessarily provide solutions but manage existing problems. Since mediation is largely a political activity, it raises the question: who is suitably qualified to render mediation role, urban planners or other professional disciplines? Because most planners are content to play technical roles, other disciplines seemingly take over most of the planning tasks in this regard. Planners are regarded as technical experts in as far as physical development of land is concerned. They perform various technical analysis which determines the potential for development in any given parcel of land. They translate socio-political issues into spatial terms. Surely, they can bring another level of discussion to the mediation process. The only problem in this regard is the perception of those involved in the process about the credibility of the planners' intentions. The community would feel deprived if the planners might be advancing the interests of developers, so will the developers. This also shows that since planning is involved in normative issues the ideological basis of a planner plays a significant role in his or her planning activities trying to advance a harmonious balance in development.

Another problem as already pointed out is the lack of appropriate skills for planners to act as mediators. Also, the planner in this context does not necessarily recognise the interests or values of a particular segment of society as more important than any other. He or she attempts to attain the general welfare through satisfying the individual needs of as many people as possible. Therefore, the role of honest mediator has a danger of being too easily hijacked for purposes of the most powerful in the society.

It should be acknowledged that progressive planning practice has been practised locally by NGOs such as BESH, DAG and PLANACT. Thus, the main question is not whether these roles are relevant to current planning context, but rather the approach or tone and manner in which such practice should be undertaken. For example, many proponents of these roles might be currently recruited by the government in view of the changed policy direction. Many policies which buttressed the need for such practice have taken on a new form. Planning is still functioning on the mirror image of the past practices. It cannot easily divorce itself from them. Therefore, progressive roles in planning practice are still desirable; they can never be outmoded.

Playing any particular role is also dependent on whom the planner regards as his or her client. This issue is closely related to the ethical issues in planning practice. Planners have the problem of whether they should be loyal to their employer, immediate community who benefit from the outcome of **planning** or the wider public and sometimes the unborn generation who might lose certain benefits as a **result**. **The** problem becomes worse when vested interests as the state and other community groups are in conflict. Although the notion of planning for the public interest is refuted as quixotic, clearly under all **conditions**, the ethics of the planning profession unlike other professions continue to be more of the public interest than stressing fidelity to the client's interest. However defined, this suggests that the planner relies on the public as the ultimate authority in the formulation of plans. The notion of public interest should obviously be qualified to prevent interpretation as the 'public'. In cases where planning undertakes a long-term proposal, the client of the professional planner is ultimately the unborn generation who have no say in whatever is done now, but will profoundly be affected by such decisions. However, this may conflict with implementation of short-term desires. Mastery of skill in settlement planning and conservative use of natural resources is therefore very important.

There is a contrasting view among planners regarding the ultimate client depending on the institutions in which they work. Most of the public sector planners do not recognise the interests or values of a particular segment of society as more important than any other. Thus, they attempt to attain the general welfare through satisfying the individual needs of as many people as possible. Those in private sector and NGOs are prone to argue that planning which does not target specific groups will always be regressively distributional and therefore are more likely to play progressive roles.

Another important factor which contribute in the role planners play in practice is their perception about the community. Surely, planners and the community acknowledge the need to allow citizens a role in decision making; they agree with the premise that people should decide the future of their communities. The rhetoric of democracy seems to have penetrated the planning discourse. While everyone talks about 'democracy', people do not agree about its problems or prospects. Their expectations from community planning are different; they have different ideas about democracy and its meaning regarding participation. Thus, it is difficult to find consensus on implications for democracy in community planning practice.

In general, planners spoke circumspectly about their views of the citizen. They divided citizens into two categories: 'activists' and 'the public'. They see the public as disinterested in planning and unknowledgeable about it. They have few complaints and no reasons to get involved in planning conflicts/disputes unless a project threatens their rights directly. Planners see activists as conservatives, diehards and anti-planning. Activists want to test planners and would prefer to make decisions themselves. As already pointed out, planners see themselves dealing with facts while the community deals with opinions and values. They see citizens having trouble in making a vital distinction between 'fact' and 'opinion'. The community on the other does not seem to see planners as helping the people but as siding with developers or official policy with ulterior motive. For the community wants to use planning to enforce values about development conceived in the area.

Apparently, the relationship between planners' attitudes about planning and those of the community suggest complications as far as the role of planners is concerned. This is mainly because they view the role of planning differently. However, change in planning ideology as suggested in this document can move towards bridging the gap that exists. Concerning skills, planners must improve their understanding of community development and create places for uplifting human interaction, rather than just providing a layout plan for erven and streets.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study was conducted under the impression that, urban planning profession in South Africa is faced with the challenge of improving the quality of life of most of the poor in our society. Its underlying assumption was that for planning to reaffirm its social integrity and move towards addressing current problems, communities should be active participants in the planning process. Influenced by the recent developments in the political arena, the scope of planning practice is broadening to include many third world type problems than the profession has tackled thus far. Practicing planners are expected to contribute in alleviating poverty and the squalid conditions and facilitate the integration of the less advantaged people into the urban system. They should try to create and provide access to opportunities and increase choices where there is very little, if any at all. This implied that planners in practice can no longer afford to assume the role of an apolitical, neutral technician and expect progress. This study then only looked at the small part of the greater picture of planning practice.

In their capacity as professionals and based on their conception of the ideology of urban planning, planners have ideas, values and attitudes about planning and development in this context. They also have ideal roles presumably appropriate for current problems at local level. The problems however, is lack of knowledge regarding the relationship in the conception of the purpose and function of planning including planners' roles by both planners and communities, how they use planning tools, and for what purpose? In a democratic planning environment, the conception and use of planning tools result in major disputes regarding use or development of land. Since planning in this context deals with normative issues, finding out how compatible values and attitudes of both planners and the community, are concerning planning goals, products and planning process was important.

This study, was therefore set to gain an understanding of the nature of the characteristics and functions or roles of planners in the context of current political developments; to understand the nature of community attitudes towards and expectations from urban planning. It attempted to deal with the various levels of uncertainties about attitudes of planners and communities towards urban planning and development. It intended to get insight into and to develop a framework to help in bridging the gap between planners and the public in a participatory planning approach (a democratic planning environment). Its precise concern has, therefore, been to gain an understanding of the nature and attitudes of planners and the Bottlebrush community about planning and planners roles. The study assessed the impact of these attitudes on planning practice and planners' roles in order to suggest possible areas of intervention in community-based planning practice regarding values and attitudes of all role players in the urban development process.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Findings from this study show that the community, at least in Bottlebrush, regards planning as a necessary activity for resources distribution. Their conception is to use planning as a tool to enforce their values in the development of their area. The supposition that community have negative perception about planning as suggested in chapter two does not accurately reflect the true views of the community in this research. This does not suggest that the community is happy with all aspects of urban planning, however. Most respondents believed planning does not sufficiently address the needs of the poor in the society.

As expected, both planners and the community regard urban planning as essentially a technical activity whose main purpose is to improve the quality of life and striving for the 'public good'. They emphasise the role of a planner as a technical expert. Its respect of a planner's educational training and professional experience motivates the community's perception. Both planners and the community support the notion that planning will lose its legitimacy if it does not improve the human conditions. However, attitudes differ significantly regarding the manner to achieved this goal. Planners emphasise their role as urban manager playing a creative role or specialist coordinators playing an integrative role. Their view of improving the quality of life is through ordering or organising and controlling urban development and growth (in spatial terms) to guide the society to a better future and not the reform mode with social reform as the objective. The community regards the redistribution of resources and the maintaining of political balance as the appropriate strategy of advancing human conditions whereas planners regard these issues as political rather than planning functions or activities.

Another important issue is that the community expectations from planning are different from those of planners. Again, their conception of what planning should do, might largely influence this. It was pointed out that the community want planning to enforce their values about development of their area. Their conception and activities in the planning process are based on opinions and are emotional whereas planners see themselves dealing with facts and not opinions and values. They see citizens having trouble making a vital distinction between 'fact' and 'opinion'. Planners seem reluctant to participate in normative debate about disputes on particular planning issues. They prefer to deal with people who understand the policy environment within which they work. They see themselves as not attempting to create some ideal vision of the area in which they work, but trying to clarify issues before decisions are taken. The community expect planners to listen and to be accessible to the people. In other words a planner should help the citizens' influence on planning process. However, they also expect innovation or new ideas from the planner's desk. There seems something of a contradiction in these two modes: planners as the expert visionary, and planners as facilitator of ideas of others. Perhaps they hope that if planners went looking for new ideas and the latest cultural and social developments, then planners would promote the values that the community or citizens share.

Both planners and the community agree on the issue of community participation in the planning process. They differ regarding community involvement in technical judgement and how much power communities should have to influence planning decisions. The community was particularly doubtful of their ability to influence decisions. It strongly feel that planners should implement decisions reached in forums which include planners and the community. Clearly, the community find its role in the planning process frustratingly ineffective. However, communities sometimes experience frustrations because people have unrealistic expectations of community participation and local democracy. Community planning cannot solve the problems of contention and dispute in democratic society. It can simply try to accommodate the debate. Both the community and planners commented on lack of appropriate skills among planners to play an active role in participatory planning process.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Community planning has come to enjoy a particular role within the institutional process of modern communities; it is established into our understanding of how communities should operate. Within the context of a promotive planning perspective as presented by Muller (1982), community planning represents a step towards rational and democratic control of the urban environment. It closely links citizens' action in planning with participatory democracy. A planner in this context becomes a catalyst in human development. This calls for acceptance of solutions generated from within the affected

community that may be at variances with those rationally deduced through planning method. A planner should be willing and have the humility that enables him or her to withdraw from involvement when the dictates of independent advancement of the people demand withdrawal. This kind of planning practice requires values that are consciously promotive and alien in the planning practice characterised by a technical perspective.

Attitudes of both planners and the community and their implications on planning practice as discussed in chapters four and five present limitations which may hinder progress and the effectiveness of community-based planning practice. The central problem is that problems which arise during participatory processes are not necessarily planning problems in nature. They are largely a result of differences in values (political or otherwise), different expectation from the planning process and different conceptualisation of concept used in the process. However, through their interactions, people express personal and professional values and they continually construct and reconstruct meaning. Thus we need a context within which we can address normative issues in community planning practice so that planning practice can bridge the gap between planners and the 'public'.

This section presents recommendations which are intended to set a context in which planners and the community could interact and play their respective roles based on mutual understanding. These recommendations are in essence an attempt to give an account of planning practice underpinned by participatory approach. However, an account of planning practice should reveal the values, beliefs, and meanings that actors transact through planning activities. It should inform one of the values actors affirm. An account of practice should articulate beliefs (cognitive knowledge or assumptions) about planning. It should find the meaning (intents signified) embedded within social and political structures and relationships, and those encountered in utterance or written texts. A successful account of planning practice should leave us with the sense that we understand why people do what they do. Even the most thorough discussion of practice will not answer all our questions, but it should convey the complexity of the queries remaining unanswered.

Recommendations

I) Emanating from the conception that planning incorporates both social, political, economic and cultural issues, the content and activity of planning and community planning practice should be seen to be advancing the needs of the less-privileged groups in the society.

The results of this study showed that the community appreciated the improved living conditions because of the upgrading project. However, it also felt that planners did not adequately address needs of the community. Its top priority in the development, building houses, was left unattended. From the planners' point of view, this was a matter of finding a balance between what they could have provided within the limited budget and what the community needed. The community perception that planners did not adequately address its needs also emanates from the view that it was not actively involved when important decisions about the project were made. A lack of mutual understanding between planners and the planned polarised their relationship. This was largely because the process of involving the community in the project became a consultation rather than participatory process.

The results highlight the concern raised in chapter two that planning practice in our context has been less concerned with the needs of the poor. It also lacked mutual understanding between planners and the planned. Although channels of communication between planners and communities are open, lack of proper consultation prior detail planning and decisions about objectives of planning makes the participation process problematic. The communities still see their needs often left out in planning products. This perception can reinforce the spirit of antagonism and discontentment among the community. Planners and urban planning activities are prone to lose their integrity within the communities in the process. For planning practice or planners to be acceptable to the community, the methodology needs readjustment. If planning or planners are to be instrumental in capacity building, advancing democratic ideals and human dignity, its outlook needs readjustments. It is, therefore, important that communities should see urban planning as advancing the needs and aspiration of the poor in the society.

Planners have an important role to play in this regard. They need to seek closer cooperation with the community by helping them in setting up structures (where there are none) for reaching consensus in the formulating goals and object of the planning process prior detail planning. They should advocate for what they deem proper and the community's vision of "the good society". This implies vesting their time and resources in community organisation and meetings, playing interest-seeking and negotiating roles. That is, they should play political community building roles. In the wide range of meetings, planners have to probe, rather than to take literally, the meanings of initially expressed interests and claims regarding 'community' welfare. They must recognise the importance of listening (in both public and private practice), because the interests of a person, groups, or class do not come all worked out once and for all. As particular causes take shape, as particular options are explored, interests and priorities can be practically interpreted and reconstructed, reordered and articulated in new ways. In this context, planners have to decide whether and how to help affected but relatively unorganised groups. They have to gauge how much of the capital in their command to expand to make the uncertain and risky business of "participation" work.

Participation is complex process. It requires skills, resources, money, and time. However, the case study showed that largely, the community lack information, interest, and opportunities they need to participate effectively in community decision making. Planners lack the resources to overcome values and processes that limit the role of citizens play in community power structures. Without the consensus on common ends, planners and citizens can hardly work together to achieve change. However, this does not mean that the planners have no power to improve their practice. Clearly, they need to develop their communication skills so that they can hear what people say to them and avoid boggling people with jargon. They can press their employers for new procedures and regulations, where necessary, to facilitate public participation in decision making. They should examine and explain the distributive effects of planning decisions on groups within the community. Planners must work with community values and community members. Where their values differ from community values, planners must make both sets of values explicit to the community. They cannot impose ideology suggested by planning theory and expect it to ameliorate planning practice in a community with its own agenda. They must strive to be open, fair, honest, and sincere (Forester, 1982)

The professionalism of planners lies in the ability to gather and synthesize a great variety of information to support or oppose a proposal -- information that may be social, economic, legislative, political, fiscal, historical, architectural, graphic (Checkoway, 1994). Neither politicians nor community leaders have time or skills to do this for themselves. Thus, the planners' skill is valuable

if planning has to be seen as advancing the concern of the disadvantaged. This is because facts and figures are the everyday rhetoric of political arguments, in evidence before the community, in legislative debates, in public commentary, and as ground for project approval or disapproval (including the moral force of opposition). In this context, planners play a role of managing information. Thus, planners should not be the mere suppliers of information to various groups; they should be able to help these groups create their own identities. They should develop their ability to connect with varied communities that make up their planning domain so that they could study their basic self-identification. In addition, planners should learn the process by which these self-identifications change. Interview key informants across social class and determine where the community fits. On general terms, planners should study the local economy through more technical processes. In this way they could identify avenues where they can lobby for the disadvantaged groups.

Traditionally, planners operate in the physical or spatial context. However, planning is not simply informed by explicit physical manifestation, but also by the processes inducing such forms. Therefore, the functions it performs generate explicit and latent results. The manner in which planning is perceived, in terms of its goals, objectives, scope of action or its philosophy, is contingent on the explanatory and normative theories of the urban affairs. To advance the aspirations and needs of less-privileged groups in the society, planners need to understand their cultural context. That is, their values and perception about land and development. Planners need to understand the community's character so that they may see the community areas not only in a 'plan view' as spatial pattern of different uses, but as areas covering social dynamics and values closer to the people.

Planners should be accessible by the community, both physically and in terms of their time and expertise. They should serve everyone equally. Their role should include providing direction in 'good community planning' based on the full understanding of community needs and what is possible in the short-term. Planners should advise the community on the best choices possible in developing land. However, when citizens' view of 'best choice' and planners' advice on suitable option differ, then citizens may feel betrayed. They may believe that planners (and politicians) do not take planning for the disadvantaged groups seriously. It is here that planners should expose their values in the planning process for the community to be able to relate to their position even if they differ.

In their daily activities of development control, project planning and recommendations, planners have a chance to influence a pattern of distribution of economic and other resources. They can use their skill and expertise to influence decisions about location of various economic activities to the advantage of the poor as well. To fulfil the needs of the poor in the society, projects can be design to advance their interests by including them in training and implementation and management processes. Generally, the approval of projects may also consider the extent that it will benefit the low-income groups and so on. Planners may apply the 'planning gains' strategy as described by (Adams, 1994), where developers are requested to contribute towards social development on processing or approval of their application for development. These are some mechanisms which planning for social and physical integration should look at to preserve and to encourage viability in our cities and neighbourhoods (communities).

II) Planners need to see physical planning as a participatory process rather than a technical planning process. They should use their technical skills and expertise to enrich the process of seeking both public participation and better planning products through the process of democratic deliberation

Throughout this document it has been argued that the problems and prospects of planning make sense only when examined within the matrix of cultural context. For, planning occurs within a web of social, political and economic relations between people. Planning activities, like other cultural activities, allow people to produce and reproduce meanings and places that reflect deeply held cultural values. The participatory approach let us see planning as providing avenues and processes through which actors argue about the values they connect to places, resources and people. It shows that planning constitutes socially constructed behaviour and interactions. In this context, people make planning into what they need to make community works effectively (Grant, 1994). Planners who think they can shape community planning in their own professional image fail to recognise this reality.

This study confirmed the position of planners regarding conception of their roles. They see themselves as dealing with facts rather than values and opinions. Communities however, see their areas in terms of its value. For example, proposals to change the use of land in built-up areas of a community commonly trigger civic action from citizens concerned about their interests. The battle that results may turn vicious and ugly. It is in this context that planning serves our communities well as a process for mediating conflicts over allocating valued resources. However, it does not eliminate contention, but rather channels it into socially acceptable forms. Planning process provides the means by which community members debate how to achieve communal ends. This offers a fascinating insight into the way our society uses planning activities to manage conflicts over resources.

Design on the physical environment clearly has social, political and economic implications. It therefore cannot be a pure technical activity. It was argued in this context, in chapter five, that physical planning and the need to achieve both social and economic objectives will dominate the scope of planning practice. However, planners in this context have had little impact on important public policy issues. They tended to be technique-oriented rather than goal oriented. They were facilitator rather than initiators. To change this scope, planners should regard their practice within the concept of participatory planning. Planners' activities should be people oriented and not product oriented, they should focus attention on whether their activities are socially relevant and not whether it can be done or merely applicable statutorily. An alternative paradigm is to evaluate plans for the built environment based on these points. Planners should establish the normative posture, whose goal is the promotion of a wider range of choices for those who have few, if any. The planner's obligation in this context would be to point out realistically what is possible and what is probably impossible to accomplish. It would be to advocate the interests of the less affluent residents with respect to the built environment. This means abandoning the notion that a planner is an apolitical professional, using objectively correct professional standards to promote goals widely accepted.

On the other hand, fostering and indeed democratising public debate (including planning for physical development) requires special abilities from planners: diplomatic skills of listening, acknowledging, negotiating, mediating, probing, inventing, reconciling, facilitating, organising, and more (Forester, 1994). The planner's role in this vision of a more participatory process changes from that of a technical adviser to that of 'a technical advisor plus'. However, for public official (planners) operating within the official frameworks, they cannot abandon their traditional concerns, but they can add dimensions to their practice. They can facilitate public discussion of alternatives and impact so that community members recognize the consequences of the choice they face. Planners can help the community (and decision-makers) to move beyond mere 'public opinion' to 'public judgement'. However, this can only improve the quality of discussion. It cannot end the dispute. Planners can expose moral choice so that people understand the values and interests they advocate.

III) Planners should recognise and accept the political context in which planning operates. They should develop capacity and skills required to operate in this environment.

It is clear from the discussion in this document that urban planning is a value laden activity. It is increasingly finding itself in political context. The contexts in which planners are called upon to intervene in land development are increasing politicised. In fact planning does not offer any right or wrong answer in any given situation. Decisions are a matter of judgement and sometimes mutual agreement by those involved in the planning process.

This study has revealed that planners acknowledge that they are aware of the political context in which planning operate. However, they suggest that planners must only be sensitive to politics while their roles remain planning for the general good of the majority in the society. In other words they suggest that planners should be neutral, uphold professional discipline and integrity and offer no politically motivated advice or recommendation. As indicated, this conception confines planners to act in a specialised area of concern. They fail to influence public policy. They cannot actively advocate for a policy intended to advance the needs of the disadvantaged and minority groups in the society as suggested in the first recommendation. Their scope of understanding community problems is limited because these are issue of political values and opinions. Baum (1990), also argue that it is only by acknowledging the political context of urban planning that planners will be in a position better to understand the problems that communities say they have. They will be able to interpret the public interest notion to reflect values and aspiration of the community with which they are working.

As pointed out, planners intervene in an urban development process in a context characterised by conflicting needs and interests. This calls for bargaining and negotiation to find suitable solution. Role players in this context are influenced by perception about other participants and themselves. Planning in this context moves away from the drawing table into streets and community halls. It is no longer technical skill of assessing the impact of development on the environment and other related issues only. Planners are brought into the negotiation table where conflicts, criticisms and disputes are unimaginable. The development of skills appropriate for this context is therefore, necessary.

Theoretically, planning in a democratic context, however democracy is defined, assumes that people have the right to decide issues which affect them. It assumes that people know what they want. However, as indicated there is no consensus on the implication of democracy on community planning. Beside people have different conception of what community planning entails. As indicated, conflicts are inevitable in this context. Although democracy theoretically assures the protection of the minority rights, often those, who have more power than other win. Some people have more influence in the planning process than other. Others find participation in the planning process useless because they do not gain anything out of it.

Those who have no choice are the ones whose plight the concerns for social justice must benefit. Only a planner committed to the idea of social advancement will realise the limitation that planning in this context can achieve its purpose of social development. A planner can then choose to be the voice of the voiceless, however limited. Such planners could offer their advice, expertise for the course they believe and give to the community hope and light in terms of advancing in the social conditions. Programmes directed to this groups are a matter of social obligations.

6.4 RESEARCH EVALUATION

The important factors which influence the reliability of a research study are: in terms of the research process, the size and composition of the sample used, methods used and their efficacy in data collection, the level of analysis, interpretation and synthesis from the collected information. While this study had some problems, particularly in data collection, and size of the samples used, enough information was collected to infer possible scenarios in the research topic. Another factor is related to the interpretation of data from statistical analysis undertaken. Due to the sample being small, some figures in the statistical summary tables might be exaggerated. Regarding the process of data collection this has been dealt within other section of this document.

The objectives of this study were set in chapter one as follows: First, based on the assumption that urban planners in South Africa have operated on a technical mode for decades, the study intended to review and provide a general understanding of planners' attitudes and values about urban planning and their roles in the current context by focusing on their **alleged** roles in the society. This objective was carried through from the conceptual frame work, and operationalised for research. Most part of chapter four and five give accounts of the finding in this regard.

The second and third objective are related to design or planing for physical development. The second object was to assess the nature of planners' roles at local level, particularly regarding the formulation of 'physical' (development) plans. The study intended to assess whether planning in this context can be a purely technical activity or largely a political activity. The third intended to assess the efficacy of planners' technical roles in physical development at local level in environment that require participatory planning approach by using the informal settlement upgrading project as a study case. These objectives were not explicitly conceptualised within a theoretical framework and operationalised for empirical research, particularly the case study. However, roles which the different agents in the case study played were reported. Subjective and implicit information from planners and the community were used to assess these objectives. That **is** the conceptualisation of the general roles of planners and the context of community participation. **However**, these were not discussed within the context of the case study. In the other words, the **community** in the case study only offered information that could have been collected from any other community with similar socioeconomic characteristics.

The fourth objective was based on the assumption that communities that have been at the negative receiving end of planning activities have negative attitudes about planning activity. In this context the study intended to provide a general understanding of the community's attitudes and values about urban planning and planners' roles in local **development projects**. The community attitudes about planning as discussed in this document were found positive on some aspects and negative on others. The negative part related to the process of decision making. However, it can be said that the community regard planning as a necessary activity for **resource allocation** and management. So important were the findings that though they emphasise the role of the planners in technical terms their attitudes imply that they regard planning as a political activity.

The last objective was to compare attitudes of both the community and planners about planning and planners' roles in order to deduce implications of these on planners' roles and the development process in general. This has formed the better part of chapter five and the recommendation section of this document.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has considered the role of planning and planners in general context. From the findings planners in different context play various roles and clearly conceive their role in society differently. This may confuse the community grappling with the role of the planning profession. For example, some community regard urban planning as a branch of civil engineering. Simon Nicks (1995:11), argue in this regard that the professional body should at the very least dispel the notion that “planners are frustrated civil engineers”. Since the main aim is to chart the future role of the profession, more studies in bridging the gap between planners in various context, and covering detailed substantive issues is desirable.

This study leaves some questions about attitudes of planners and their views about the community answered. This is largely because this study has generalised the context of planning practice. It was however, developed in the text that planners in various working environment would respond differently to similar issues. A comprehensive study could be undertaken to investigate this issues through a research focused on practice for a particular group of planners. That is, the focus could be on planning practice for public sector planners within different planning context or private practice including those in educational institutions and non-governmental organisations. The value of public sector practice would be that it comprises all the important role players with whom a planner interacts. That is, the community, developers, and politicians.

Another area of research emanates from the recognition that planners operate within organisations that exist within a complete set of interrelationships of governmental and private groups, public officials and politicians. Understanding of this environment in relation to planning practice and planners’ roles is important. It was pointed out in this study that the working environment influence planners to play certain roles. A research project needs to address how planning practice varies according to the organisational environment, how professional and organisational roles come into conflict or merge, and how to formulate strategies for making organisations responsive to demands for change. Inparticular the relationship between a planner and politicians. Knowlegde and understanding of politicians’ use of planners’ ideas is important in planning practice underpinned by political ideals.

The underlying concern of this study has been the problems or issues of the dissadvantaged groups in planning process. It suggested that, if urban planning is to be just, its principal aim should be the improvement of inequalities as expressed in spatial and opportunity terms between persons, groups and communities. This implies positive discrimination in favour of the most disadvantaged. Since planners’ roles are also value based, it is important for the profession to present a unified vision and develop, besides substantive issue about the profession, develop an ethics based planning practice. More studies aimed at the implication of positive discrimination in planning practice are therefore desirable. Such research should fully incorporate the philosophical idea of justice and equity. It should address the practical question of how planners’ ethics can support or undermine their credibility, influence relations with clients, and affect practice in agency and political environments.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In an attempt to develop more understanding of planners' attitudes and values towards planning and development/growth, this study has compared the attitudes of selected planners around Durban with those of Bottlebrush community. In consistence with historical and understanding of the relationship between the planning profession and those who benefit from development, planners in this study were found favouring control of development more than the community does. The most important variable explaining differences between planners and the community on attitudes were their view on the role of planning and professional role orientation.

However, several qualifications should be kept in mind. First, the discrepancy in attitudes between planners and the community may shift with geographical context and the historical moment. Different communities have varied experiences and conception about urban planning. This may ease or complicate the role of planners. In a context where the political and socio-economic conditions are better, the discrepancy in attitudes of the community and planners might narrow or even disappear. Second is the issue of whether the dependency of planners on technical expertise and their favourable attitudes towards growth suggests that they are without exception and always agents for development interests. Planners' attitudes do not necessarily translate directly into behaviour and professional practice. Nonetheless, a public interest notion has often guided planners in their action, though what is public interest has not, and is not, always clear. Also planners' values are not uniform and political and structural factors vary across time and place, thus planners' action will also not be always the same. The difference in the attitudes of public and private sector planners has been pointed out.

What is important is that, planners, despite the role they play, need to develop the capacity to be sensitive to the different values, interest and contexts which individuals and 'client groups' have in their relationship with 'the planning service'. This requires interactive and negotiating style of practice unfamiliar in the traditional planning context. For its concerns are more than just communication skills or techniques, but emphasise the relationships of communications. Emphasising technical orientation only cannot realise this goal. This idea **again** reveals the dilemma planners have regarding their ideals of what they do and what they should be doing and how. In the Bottlebrush project, planners indicated that they had problems of communicating sufficiently with the community. On the other hand the community felt betrayed that they were merely consulted rather than being involved in the actual project planning. This interactive role of planners with the community is important to improve the conditions of the disadvantaged groups.

Concerning the planning ideology, realistic planners must give up the delusion that they can serve the whole public equally well, that there is an indissoluble social good which they are particularly circumstance to ascertain. The planner who intends to improve the conditions of the deprived must recognize that redistribution of social goods will not take place without social conflict. As an advocate for the poor, a planner must admit, at least to himself/herself, that he or she is acting in support of the particular interests of a particular social group. However, planners need to realise that social change is a long and complex process in which as individuals and experts they can only play a small part.

Playing an interactive role is complex and complicated as there are many role players involved. In this context, planners cannot be reformers nor professionals who are free to impose their expertise and their values on people for whom they plan. As 'public' officials they ought to be servants, helping communities solve their problems and achieve their goals, unless these goals have antisocial and self-destructive consequences. In this process planners ought to propose variety of programmes and solve

problems and achieve goals so that people have maximum choice. In developing alternatives, however, for planners not use their values would be impossible. The central question is what should they do with their values? Planners ought to be free to include some programmes based on their own goals. When it comes to planning for the heterogeneous population, however, and the public interest is difficult to figure out, planners have to take a political stand, and propose the allocation of resources so that the maximal benefits accrue to those people, interest groups and communities they feel are in greatest need of public benefits. Planners, therefore, have an ethical responsibility not only to provide for the diverse choice but to identify those 'in greatest need of public benefits' and to direct public programmes towards their needs. As already indicated this means abandoning the notion that planners promote goals that are widely accepted by using professional standard that are objectively correct. Ultimately, each planner must decide which values and interests he or she will serve. The only problem here would be planners' legitimacy in taking upon themselves the mantle of deciding which clients need special help.

Clearly, planning based on the notion of technical integrity will achieve very little success. On the other hand more responsible roles for planners in the decision-making process have little meaning if they are just carrying out the wishes of the elected officials. The issue of individual values cannot, therefore, be evaded. The planner must bring solid information and advice as a basis for decision for those who must decide. This causes the dilemma of objectivity in technical orientation and biases in political oriented approach. Each planner's competence has its own limitations. The limit to individual intellectual capacity and the differences among individuals must be borne in mind when defining a more responsible role in decision making. Some people are made up to play a very active role in decision-making while others are most comfortable with a passive role. Some can be advocate planners while others cannot. Some can relate well to decision-makers, some will not. Nonetheless, until planners can learn to climb out of themselves and their own values, they will not be able to perceive the needs of others, whether the poor, the elected officials, or society. Until they perceive the needs of others, they will not be able to provide the service that will result in a more responsible role in decision-making that will put the planning profession in the lime light.

Those who hold to the end of the spectrum calling for individual initiatives and freedom to solve urban problems are likely to be frustrated in working for the client committed to a policy of collectivist solution and vice versa. This factor should not affect the profession in the future unless there are many mismatches between people and jobs (Fagin, 1970). Each professional must therefore, continually asks himself or herself; What are my personal values? What is the client's attitude? Are we properly matched?

The concluding statement in this context is that the planning profession must define roles which are more responsive to both the needs of society and its various subgroups as they see current problems. These roles, however defined, must be capable of being carried out in the near term by the mortal who have signed up to do the job today.

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APPENDIX I

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ALLIED DISCIPLINES
DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

A. SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

(Please tick the appropriate option)

In order to learn something about you as a person, I would like to find out the following :

1. AGE:
2. SEX: MALE FEMALE
3. RACE: WHITE INDIAN COLOURED BLACK

4. EDUCATION

Can you tell me something about your educational background?

a) In order to qualify as a Town Planner, did you:

Obtain an undergraduate Town Planning Degree

Obtain a Postgraduate Town Planning Degree based on an Undergraduate Degree:

From an Allied Discipline (please state) _____

From a basic Bachelors programme. Please state major subjects _____

Graduate with a University Degree based on a Technical College Diploma

Write the Royal Town Planning Institute's Exam and Then join the S.A.I.T.R.P.

Other (please state)

5. WORK SITUATION

Could I ask you a few questions about your job?

a) Do you work:

In a Consulting Practice

For the Civil Service or,

For a Non-Governmental Organisation

c) What is your present position? (e.g. Chief Town Planner, Principal Consultant) _____

d) How long have you been in planning profession? (number of years) _____

B. PLANNING OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

Now I would like to gauge your opinion on the planning profession. Could you please respond to the following topics.

1. PLANNING AIMS

a) Critics of planning suggest that the profession, is amongst other things, beset with numerous and unspecific goals and objectives. What do you think planners **should** strive for? Tell me what you think of the relative importance of these functions by giving a rank to each statement, with 1 being the most important and 6 the least important:

- Improving the overall quality of life
- Conservation of the natural environment
- Making the 'best' decision (increase rationality in decision making).
- Maintaining the political balance
- Redistribution of wealth
- Regulation of competing land uses.

Perhaps you would like to make a comment on the role of the planner: _____

2. DECISION MAKING AND PLANNING

At some stage in your job you are faced with making decisions which have political implications. Do you (or would you) make planning decisions: **(please tick only one statement)**

- Acting as neutral advisor
- Based on a specific ideology
- based purely on assessment of social needs
- Based on a mixture of social and ideological content

Perhaps you would like to comment _____

3. ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD PLANNER

The Royal Town Planning Institute has listed a range of attributes which contribute towards an 'ideal' planner. Listed below are the 14 attributes. Tell me what you **think of** the relative importance of these attributes by giving a rank to each statement, with 1 being the most important and 14 the least important:

- A sense of vision for the future
- Creativity
- Technical draughtsmanship
- Professional integrity
- Political awareness
- Leadership

- [] Emotional sensitivity
- [] Management ability
- [] Social awareness
- [] Sense of public mission
- [] Ability to follow orders
- [] Sound legal knowledge
- [] 'problem solving' skills
- [] 'Spatial awareness'

4. PLANNING AND GENERAL IDEOLOGY

In dealing with planning problems, planners decisions are influenced by their general ideology. Read each statement carefully and according to how you feel, circle the number which correspond to the appropriate phrase which best represent your attitude, i.e. one number will indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree about the statement.

Please ensure that you answer every item. (Note: SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, U = Undecided, D = Disagree, and SD = Strongly Disagree).

4.1 Low-Income and Quality of Life	SA	A	U	D	SD
a) Poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of wealth	1	2	3	4	5
b) Planners have responsibility to redistribute resources to the have-nots	1	2	3	4	5
c) Planning is too concerned with the interests of the low-income groups	1	2	3	4	5
d) Planners do not assess the impact of planning programmes on the low-income groups	1	2	3	4	5
e) The Government ought to guarantee a living to those who cannot find work	1	2	3	4	5
4.2 Community Participation					
a) Planners know the needs of the community better than residents.	1	2	3	4	5
b) No one can better define community needs than residents.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Community should have veto power over plans.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Community participation should be moved beyond communities being heard to having them participate in technical judgements.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Community should be kept aware of planning but not deeply involved in the technical work.	1	2	3	4	5

4.3. Principles of the Development Process

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | The principle of Planning, Servicing, Building, and Occupation (PSBO) should be replaced by Occupation, Building, Servicing and then Planning (OBSP). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) | New development should not be allowed until local facilities such as schools, roads, water etc. are deemed adequate. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) | Growth and new development should be limited if certain standards relating to waste disposal, water and sewage disposal availability are not met. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) | Planners should have a tighter control on private development. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) | Private ownership of property is necessary for economic progress. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

4.4. Environmental Issues

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | Planners are too concerned about protecting environment. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) | Concern for environment are important but other objectives may be more so. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) | Preserve environment even if development is slowed. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) | Developers have little or no concern for community good. They are only concerned to make money. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

This survey consists of 6 pages comprising 2 sections (A: 1 - 5 and B: 1 - 4). Please make sure that you have answered all question in both sections.

Should you wish to make any observation, comments etc., please use the back of this page.

Thank you!

APPENDIX II

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
 FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ALLIED DISCIPLINES
 DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Name of Field-worker: _____ **Plot No.** _____ **Date** _____

A. SOCIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

(Please tick the appropriate option)

In order to learn something about you as a person, I would like to find out the following :

1. How long have you lived in this area? _____
2. Where did you live before you moved to this house?
 Rural Area Informal Settlement Township Other (Specify)
3. Home Language: Zulu Xhosa Other (specify)
4. How many people live in this House?

Relationship to the head of the household	Sex	Age	Occupation	Educational Level
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

5a) Do you know any of the organisations (NGOs)/ Companies which were involved in upgrading Bottlebrush?

YES NO

b) If Yes, can you name those you still remember and c) What they were involved in?

b) Name ----- ----- -----	c) Type of Work Done ----- ----- -----
------------------------------------	---

6. Do you approve of what these organisations were doing in the area? YES NO

Comment (why) _____

7. Did you attend any of the meetings arranged to discuss development (upgrading) of Bottlebrush?

YES NO, If Yes, How many times?

8a. Did you find the process of upgrading Bottlebrush comprehensible and acceptable?

YES NO

8b. Why (Comment) _____

B OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

In this section, it is assumed that from the experience of the upgrading process in Bottlebrush area, you have heard and you know something about planning and Town Planners. I would like to know how you feel about planning and what planners do by honestly responding to the questions that follows.

1. PLANNING AIMS

a) Urban planning decisions can affect your life positively or negatively. What do you think planners should strive for? Tell me what you think of the relative importance of these functions by giving a rank to each statement, with 1 being the most important and 6 the least important:

Improving the overall quality of life

Conservation of the natural environment

Making the 'best' decision (increase rationality in decision making).

Maintaining the political balance

Redistribution of wealth

Regulation of competing land uses.

Perhaps you would like to make a comment on the role of the planner: _____

2. A planner comes into your community to help in preparing development plans (for your area):

a) Would you allow him/her to be involved in the actual decision making (i.e. what should be done) or he should remain at a distant from actual decision making?

SHOULD BE INVOLVED SHOULD REMAIN AT A DISTANT

Give Reasons _____

3.a) Are you in your capacity as a member of the community willing to accept the advice of a planner even if it is against your view (ideology)? YES NO

Give Reasons: _____

b) Do you think there are times when you would consider the advice of a planner totally unacceptable? YES NO

If yes, When? _____

4. **PLANNING AND GENERAL IDEOLOGY**

Read each statement carefully and according to how you feel, circle the number which correspond to the appropriate phrase which best represent your attitude, i.e. one number will indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree about the issue. Ensure that you answer every item. (Note: SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, U = Undecided, D = Disagree, and SD = Strongly Disagree).

4.1 Low-Income and Quality of Life	SA	A	U	D	SD
a) Poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of wealth	1	2	3	4	5
b) Planners have responsibility to redistribute resources to the have-nots	1	2	3	4	5
c) Planning is too concerned with the interests of the low-income groups	1	2	3	4	5
d) Planners do not assess the impact of planning programmes on the low-income groups	1	2	3	4	5
e) The Government ought to guarantee a living to those who cannot find work	1	2	3	4	5
4.2 Community Participation					
a) Planners know the needs of the community better than residents.	1	2	3	4	5
b) No one can better define community needs than residents.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Community should have veto power over plans.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Community participation should be moved beyond communities being heard to having them participate in technical judgements.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Community should be kept aware of planning but not deeply involved in the technical work.		1	2	3	4 5
4.3. Principles of the Development Process					
a) The principle of Planning, Servicing, Building, and Occupation (PSBO) should be replaced by Occupation, Building, Servicing and then Planning (OBSP).		1	2	3	4 5
b) New development should not be allowed until local facilities such as schools, roads, water etc. are deemed adequate.	1	2	3	4	5

	SA	A	U	D	SD
c) Growth and new development should be limited if certain standards relating to waste disposal, water and sewage disposal availability are not met.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Planners should have a tighter control on private development.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Private ownership of property is necessary for economic progress.	1	2	3	4	5

4.4. Environmental Issues

a) Planners are too concerned about protecting environment.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Concern for environment are important but other objectives may be more so.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Preserve environment even if development is slowed.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Developers have little or no concern for community good. They are only concerned to make money.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEWS SCHEDULE

A. INTERVIEWS WITH PLANNERS

1 General Information

- 1.1 Name of the Interviewee
- 1.2 Name of the organisation or Institution
- 1.3 Position within the Organisation or Institution
- 1.4 Length that the position has been held
- 1.5 Main Functions in the Organisation/Institution
- 1.6 What do you think are the main roles of planners (at local level) in the current period of transformation? Which skills do you think are most appropriate?
- 1.7 Are you influenced by your values and attitudes in what you do as a planner? how do you deal with this in your every day practice?
- 1.8 Where and how do you validate you planning knowledge?
- 1.9 How relevant is the planning theory and what you do in practice?
- 1.10 What role do you think communities should play in local planning process?
- 1.11 What do you think of the public attitudes towards urban planning and planners in general?

2 Project Details

- 2.1 How did you get involved in Bottlebrush project and what were your main functions? Which skills were required/appropriate for your role in the project? How much influence have you had over the project? (Decision making; time frame; budget; terms of reference etc.)
- 2.2. What structures have been put to manage the process? How did they related to each other (meetings, co-ordinating bodies, intermediaries, etc.) How well has this been functional in practice? How were decisions made in running the project?
- 2.3. How did you get to know the community needs and aspiration? What were your impression about the community in terms of their values and attitudes towards your role?
- 2.4 What principles were guiding the project/process? What were the goals and objectives of the project?
- 2.5. What would you say are the strength and weaknesses of this project/process? What were the problems you encountered and how did you solve them?
- 2.6. Do you think the community was satisfied with the kind of work you did and why? If you were to run the project again, are there issues you would tackle differently?

B. INTERVIEW WITH COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

1. Name of the interviewee
2. Name of organisation
3. Position in the organisation
4. The period that the position has been held and period in the organisation
5. Main roles in the project
6. Do you think your values and attitudes influenced the planning process and why?
7. Did you have any problem with the planning process? If so what were they?
8. How did you feel about the planners who were involved in upgrading the area of your community? What were your attitudes towards their work?
9. Do you think planners included most of your aspirations in the plan and why? Do you think there is a better way through which this area could have been developed?
10. What do you think are the main roles which planners should play in the development of communities such as this one?
11. Do you think there are roles you can play in the planning for the development of your area?
12. How do you think planners and other development agencies should work with your community?

APPENDIX IV

SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

PLANNERS

Copley, J., 1995. Personal communication. Project Manager for Urban Foundation . 18 October and 15 November

Taylor, N., 1995. Communication over the telephone and a written submission. A planner with Rob Kirby and Associates. December.

Taylor, N., 1996. Personal communication. A planner with Rob Kirby and Associates. 22 October.

Wilkinson, E., 1995. Personal Communication. A planner for Durban City Corporation. 14 November

Wilkinson, E., 1996. Personal Communication. A planner for Durban City Corporation. 22 March

MEMBERS OF BOTTLEBRUSH DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Nzimande, Busisiwe.1995. Personal Communication. Community Health Worker and a Member of the committee.

Mthombeni, Sfiso. 1995. Personal Communication. General Secretary, 19 November

Mabena, 1995. Personal communication. Chairperson, 19 November

Jackson, 1995. Personal communication. Member, 19 November

Bernard, 1995. Personal communication. Member, 19 November

Thobile, 1995. Personal communication. Member, 19 November

Colbert, 1995. Personal communication. Member, 19 November

APPENDIX V

Table 7.1: Planners' opinion on the role of planning according to ranks

PURPOSE	RANK 1	RANK 2	RANK 3	RANK 4	RANK 5	RANK 6	TOTALS
1. Improving Quality of life	12 (60%)	--	6 (30%)	-	-	2 (10%)	20 (100%)
2. Conservation of Natural Environment	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	-	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	20 (100%)
3. Making the best decision	1 (5%)	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	20 (100%)
4. Regulation of Competing Land Uses	-	-	-	14 (70%)	5 (25%)	1 (5%)	20 (100%)
5. Redistribution of wealth	-	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
6. Maintaining Political Balance	-	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
TOTALS	20	20	20	20	20	20	

Note: Rank 1 represent the highest priority while Rank 6 represent the least priority among the six statements in the table.

Table 7.2: Community's view on the relative importance of the role of planning according to ranks.

PURPOSE	RANK 1	RANK 2	RANK 3	RANK 4	RANK 5	RANK 6	TOTALS
1. Improving Quality of life	24 (80.0%)	5 (16.7%)	1 (3.3%)	--	--	--	30 (100%)
2. Redistribution of wealth	4 (13.3%)	12 (40.0%)	9 (30.0%)	5 (20.0%)	--	--	30 (100%)
3. Maintaining Political Balance	--	9 (10.0%)	14 (50.0%)	3 (26.7%)	4 (13.3%)	--	30 (100%)
4. Making the best decision	2 (6.7%)	4 (13.3%)	6 (20.0%)	16 (53.3%)	2 (6.7%)	--	30 (100%)
5. Regulation of Competing Land Uses	--	--	--	4 (13.3%)	16 (53.3%)	10 (33.3%)	30 (100%)
6. Conservation of Natural Environment	--	--	--	2 (6.7%)	8 (26.6%)	20 (66.6%)	30 (100%*)
TOTALS	30	30	30	30	30	30	

* Note: Due to rounding up the figures the total may not be exactly 100%

APPENDIX VI

ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD PLANNER

[] A sense of vision for the future

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	15	78.9
Medium	1	5.3
Low	3	15.8
Totals	19	100.0

[] Creativity

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	10	52.6
Medium	5	26.3
Low	4	21.1
Totals	19	100.0

[] Technical draughtsmanship

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	8	42.1
Medium	4	21.1
Low	7	36.8
Totals	19	100.0

[] Professional integrity

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	8	42
Medium	5	26
Low	6	32
Totals	19	100.0

[] Political awareness

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	6	31.6
Medium	7	36.8
Low	6	31.6
Totals	19	100.0

[] Leadership

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	3	15.8
Medium	10	52.6
Low	6	31.6
Totals	19	100.0

[] Emotional sensitivity

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	6	31.6
Medium	6	31.6
Low	7	36.8
Totals	19	100.0

[] Management ability

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	1	5.26
Medium	9	47.37
Low	9	47.37
Totals	19	100.0

[] Social awareness

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	3	15.8
Medium	8	42.1
Low	8	42.1
Totals	19	100.0

[] Sense of public mission

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	6	31.6
Medium	8	42.1
Low	5	26.3
Totals	19	100.0

[] Ability to follow orders

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	1	5.3
Medium	7	36.8
Low	11	57.9
Totals	19	100.0

[] Sound legal knowledge

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	6	31.6
Medium	8	42.1
Low	5	26.3
Totals	19	100.0

[] 'problem solving' skills

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	3	15.8
Medium	6	31.6
Low	10	52.6
Totals	19	100.0

[] 'Spatial awareness'

Rank	Frequency	Rel. Frequency (%)
High	3	15.8
Medium	7	36.8
Low	9	47.4
Totals	19	100.0

