

“The language of development is pseudo-scientific, technocratic and expert-based, comprising words that are ambiguous, confusing, manipulative, particularly of local people.....Almost all are intended, either indirectly or directly to inculcate in the minds of the “underdeveloped” the hard truth of their existential and historical inferiority, the fact that unless they think and do as the “developed “ do, there is no hope for them or their children” (Crush 1996).

The Relevance of Communicative Planning Theory to the Integrated Development Planning Approach

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science (Urban and Regional Planning: Development Planning) at the university of Natal, Durban. It has never been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.



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ABSTRACT

The research explores the relevance of communicative planning theory to South Africa's new development planning approach: the Integrated Development Planning.

Communicative planning theorists claim that communication that meets Habermas's validity claims of comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truth could result in consensus being reached which will reduce power and conflict between participants.

The research investigates the extent to which the above contentions are valid in the context of Durban Metropolitan's Outer West Local Council's Integrated Development Planning. The research investigates the extent to which communication results in consensus. The research hypothesises that power is an important factor in determining outcomes.

The research explores the following questions in more detail: how does power of various actors shape planning outcomes? How does power penetrate good intentions of communicative planning? Is it meaningful to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent? What is the impact of asymmetrical power relations to communication that is aimed at development planning? Is consensus an achievable ideal? Given the new and changing role of planners, can the planners' professional judgement be "neutralised" and can they act as value-neutral participants as the theorists claim? Tewdwr-Jones & Alldimendinger (1998) are critical of the diminishing role that is given to the planner by the collaborative planning theory. The research investigates the role of the planner by asking the following questions: what is and what should the role of planner be given that collaborative planning or communicative planning theorists tend to remove the planner from the centre to the periphery? Should there be a planner at all or can the community through participatory planning do it all by themselves without the need for the 'expertise' of a planner? What are the obstacles to effective public participation that is aimed at building consensus and to what extent can individual stakeholders participate meaningfully. The assumption of the communicative planning theory is that when there is platform to participate, people will argue, talk, debate and negotiate.

The research also contextualises the study by looking at contemporary literature on changing urban landscape: the new models of municipal administration and governance ie. public-private partnerships, the macro-economic trends that would affect the delivery of plans and services.

To accomplish this, the research looks at communicative planning theory in relation to the actual local development planning practice of the chosen case study area. There are principles of communicative planning which are similar to those of the IDP approach which make it safe for one to claim some resemblances between theory and the new approach. One such principle is the emphasis placed on communication between the planner and resident communities achieved through public meetings/workshops.

The findings of this research show that communicative planning theory is relevant to South Africa's new Integrated Development Planning. The results of this research also show that communicative planning that meet the validity claims of comprehensibility, honesty, legitimacy and truthfulness are important because in the case study under discussion, development was derailed by the lack of political legitimacy (authority) and lack of power to take decisions, as a result the power of resident community overwhelmed those of planning consultants. Conflict resolution was not reached through communication between planners and resident communities because participants exercise their power to the detriment of the whole process.

There were some difficulties in the application of communicative theory to real life planning practice in that the theory push for communication yet during participation citizens did not have enough skill and expertise that would enable them to participate meaningfully in the planning sessions. Communication therefore became a mere question and answer exercise and lacked effective argumentation, dialogue, negotiation, proper talk and debating.

The findings of this research show that it is meaningless to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent. Power has indeed been an important factor in determining outcomes in this planning initiative. To a greater extent, communication was penetrated by asymmetrical power relations between interlocutors - to such an extent that the development planning process came to a stand still. The findings also show that communicative rationality is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end product is a document which has to be produced using some technical rationalities. It was clear from the planning episodes and from interviews that consensus is not an achievable ideal. There are many factors that influence reaching consensus. The research also showed that it is not possible for planners to adopt a value-neutral stance during planning meetings given that they themselves are an interested party and not just observers. Their education and training makes them an interest group in their own right.

The research has shown that true community participation (argumentation, talk, debate, negotiation) is dependent on the skills level of participants, their education, experience, background and personalities; these became hindrances or obstacles to effective communication.

It was clear from the findings that the role of planners during the planning workshops is increasing instead of diminishing as the theorists contend. There are additional roles that planners have to play including capacity building, advising communities, playing advocacy role, filtering and mediating information and interests of various parties during planning meetings. There were technical skills that could only be obtained from the qualified planner, namely the ability to delineate boundaries using maps, writing technical reports and the ability to selectively collate information for processing using sophisticated computer packages.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Prior to the emergence of progressive planning in SA, power was centred in the hands of the State and its agencies who were responsible for acting in the interest of the public. Pressure from social movements and other collective efforts forced the state to decentralise and devolve power to grassroots level of decision-making. The government has utilised a whole range of tools to give power to the people including legislation. The constitution and other relevant local government legislation prioritises public participation. This legislation finds its application and relevance in the new planning approach: the integrated development planning approach.

In this approach to development, local people are seen as resources and assets. The approach lies in the premise that when people have power they will use it constructively to achieve desirable outcomes. What is not realized is that not all people have similar sources of power which they bring into discussions and meetings. Some people can use their power to achieve their own ends, which might be contrary to the collective desires and outcomes. In the past, planning was used to disempower people by taking from the poor majorities and feeding the rich minority. It was an apartheid tool used to segregate. The new government uses planning as a tool to reverse the legacies of the past. Planning has been democratised by giving a voice to people regardless of creed, colour and race.

1.1 Shift from confrontation to cooperation/consensus model

The recent decades in South Africa and elsewhere have seen a shift in community organisation theory. It is now believed that the old model, which is described by many critics as the political activist approach that tended to mobilize neighbourhoods around 'bread and butter' issues, injustices and perceived problems, has been challenged by a more positive approach. This is characterised by many as a consensus building model that views neighbourhoods, civic organisations, churches, foundations, non-profit organisations, the hitherto excluded and deprived as forging links with what was regarded as the 'evil forces': the state, the capitalists, the corporations and profit-making organisations.

In the past community organisation was synonymous with helping grassroots organisations fight battles against the existing power structures for bigger and better stakes. This was organised by the civics, the political movements, social movements, trade unions, church organisations, liberals and youth structures who saw a need to 'return fire with fire'. These organisations and groupings believed that the only language that the repressive state and capitalists understood was the language of violence. It is today quite common to see community groupings forming partnerships with the former enemy (state, corporations) to create a shared mission and vision.

Paradigm shifts in SA were epitomised by the initiatives involving the community residents, non-profit organisation, section 21 firms, churches and foundations, with the view to pave way for a more collaborative and holistic approach to inner city issues. Such initiatives have gained national and international recognition for their success in forming a neighbourhood-based coalition. Confrontation was viewed by academics and other leaders as the only means of community emancipation. A similar conviction was echoed in the writings of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1986 [1970]) which encouraged all community organisers to conscientise the "oppressed" to their oppression and to promote fighting as a means of the latter's emancipation and empowerment.

Conflict and social action were seen as the means to bring about concrete changes that could redress the imbalances relating to power and privilege in South Africa. Community participation was thought of as confrontation with the status quo around specific issues such as housing, land, human rights, education, jobs, environmental justice, political power, freedom and recognition. There was a big divide between what developed into an 'us' and 'them' syndrome. Innes (1996:463) defines consensus as "a collective search for community groupings and the opportunity for mutual benefit". Proponents of the consensus building model contend that solutions to problems should be achieved through a search for shared solutions. There are now shifts from radical reaction to moderate progressive community building, from confrontation with the status quo to consensus building strategies where the powerless and the powerful are perceived more as potential collaborators than as enemies.

Critics were quick to point out that this shift in planning paradigm did not come voluntarily. There are national and global forces that are the cause of such shifts. Many authors attribute the shifts to national and the global political economy, the neo-classical agenda of cutting social costs, the trend toward privatisation of social services and the emphasis on market-based solutions. These global trends have forced community groups to find alternative means of funding. This has resulted in the proliferation of neighbourhood organisations, church, non-profit organisations, private business, and foundations which have made it possible for a cemented solid structure.

Social capital is today seen as the basis of economic development hence the national government has legislated this task to the local people. Today a well-functioning society is composed of strong local communities and agencies. The escalation of problems that the state has to deal with has prompted foundations and churches to collaborate with the government initiatives. Communities in the new consensual model are perceived to be the assets and resources on which the foundation of hope and prosperity can be built. Central to this shift in ideology from confrontation model to consensual model is the question of power. There has to be a balance of power between the participants for partnerships to succeed. This unfortunately, is an ideal situation which is not easily realisable.

As we shall see in the study there are many challenges and limitations of consensus planning. The purpose of the study is to explore the relevance of Communicative Planning Theory to Integrated Development Planning. There are three critical questions that have been identified by the researcher which further focus and refine the broad statement of purpose:

- what are the most important elements of Communicative Planning and how are they similar or different to the pillars of the IDP?
- what causes this paradigm shift in South African Planning fraternity?
- what planning philosophy/theory underpins or informs the Integrated Development Planning Practice?

The rationale for engaging on this study is the gap or silence in the literature about why we talk about Integrated Development Planning (IDP) now in South Africa. The existing body of knowledge is silent about the application of communicative planning theory in South African planning practices. The research is worth undertaking when one considers the importance that is currently placed on communication throughout the world and to planning in particular. This is important because in the past planning practices both nationally and internationally there was very little, if any, participation by the citizens in the formulation of planning policies and actions.

When the African National Congress (ANC) came to power in 1994, a new political settlement was born in South Africa. The country was now ruled by democratic principles. Democracy filtered down to all spheres of life including development planning. Planning as a profession and as an activity came under scrutiny for its supposed role during the heydays of the Apartheid state. After 1994 the government of national unity led by the ANC embarked on national planning with the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Prior to the new government, service provision at national, provincial and local level was done in a disjointed manner with each tier of the government doing its own thing. Fragmentation had implications in that it meant the duplication of service provision and delivery. Each line department was responsible for providing a service that was relevant to their field of interest and expertise.

“Making sense together while living differently” (Healey, 1992:160) became an immense challenge facing the ANC-led government to bridge the apartheid divide and forge some sense together. The RDP set out goals and targets to steer the government development policies towards redressing backlogs with regards to people's basic necessities such as water, health, housing, electricity and education. The government found itself in a crisis situation where delivery had to take place on a massive scale.

The Programme went further than just addressing the material needs of the people. It addressed the democratisation of society, the empowerment of the hitherto disadvantaged communities and capacity building. The program also addressed the need for development plans to reflect diverse views of the people on the ground and the nature of the planning process was revamped to integrate sectoral policies and plans; it was now to be the devolution of power, decision-making

and delivery to lower spheres of government. Planning laws, policies and planning processes came under scrutiny. When new laws and processes came into being a new 'planning discourse' drastically changed the frame for 'planning paradigm and action' in SA.

It was a surprise move when the then President of SA, Nelson Mandela, announced in 1996 that the office of the RDP was to close down permanently. This did not necessarily mean that the government had abandoned the goals of the RDP, one of which was the empowerment of the hitherto excluded in policy and decision-making. This move, however, was significant in that it marked a turn-around in government's planning policy since the government now wanted to relinquish its role of planning nationally and to undertake planning at provincial and local scale.

When this opportunity towards democratising planning mushroomed, planning in SA showed some indications of making a 'communicative turn'. Planning in South Africa moved towards becoming more argumentative (inclusionary argumentation) in an attempt to facilitate delivery of goods and services. The Integrated Development Planning (IDP) both as an approach, a product and planning process can be described as emancipatory, participatory and democratising. It could therefore be viewed as an extension of communicative planning. In this project the IDP will be studied in relation to communicative planning because of resemblances between communicative planning theory and the IDP theory and practice.

Because of these similarities this dissertation endeavours to study IDP practice in terms of the role played by communicative rationality in planning. The dissertation will look at individual planners and planning practice to explore the extent to which communicative planning theory is applicable in South African planning practice. This is because the IDP bears some relation to the principles of communicative planning.

The study is situated/located within the 'practice movement' in planning theory - a new approach which is characterised by the study of individual planners and planning practice.

In SA there has been a call for a shift from technical, scientific planning paradigm to a more communicative planning approach. The research intends to investigate the extent to which this shift is occurring and whether the shift is propelled by the changes within the planning profession

as a result of policy or because of increasing participatory democracy. What brings about this 'communicative turn' in planning practice?. There are multiple determinants in the shifts in planning paradigm:

- a commitment to 'integration' as developmental goal both nationally and globally
- polity is such that it is characterised by diversity, multiple voices who demand a say; etc
- a concern by local politics; a sense of enfranchisement which leads to the democratization of planning.
- policy shifts due to failure of rigid and racist planning in SA and the influence of progressive planning.

One could perhaps safely say that SA has adopted communicative planning as a new planning paradigm due to the above reasons. Historically, planners were accused of playing God when it came to development planning. Planners were viewed as experts who could convey the public's interest into design and planning schemes. The new planning paradigm endeavours to empower citizens.

In the new planning paradigm people are allowed to register their concerns, agreements and disagreements about the proposed development plan so that conflicting issues are addressed. It is believed in the IDP that consensus will abound and that in some ways subvert asymmetrical power relations between the participants. In the past planning practices/paradigm ethical considerations of planning were marginalised because of the notion of rational scientific decision-making. The previous planning practices and paradigms were such that more emphasis was placed on a comprehensive model. Comprehensiveness means that a planner deals with all factors thus bringing everything under the ambit of planning. All decisions in this model had to be a consequence of rational planning. Rational comprehensiveness is also called technical rationality or instrumental rationality; since the process is technical the assumption was that people should not be involved because that distorted the facts. Within rational comprehensiveness there was a model of the idea of "public interest". In this model planners could act as objective decision-makers and could rise above private interests to operate in terms of public interest. It was believed that organisations/individuals acted in their own self-interest.

Public participation was not necessary because it would dilute the unbounded pure rationality of planning. In this model there were clearly defined goals/ends which could be separated as means and ends. Planning here was about maximising and not satisficing. Rational comprehensive planning gave enormous power to planners since they could decide for the public. This has been challenged. The planner was perceived as value-neutral, a planner was expected to eliminate his/her values in decision-making. Rational comprehensiveness was criticised because it was too costly and it failed to respond to constant change.

The new planning paradigm differs from conventional planning in the sense that it is based on strategic decision-making and development. Planners have to take short-term decisions with long-term consequences. Planners have to deal with big issues, few in number but very profound in impact. Conventional planning used a reactive rather than a proactive approach. There is now a perception that planners are forced to take decisions under uncertainty because the environment is characterised by change and goals/values are changing. Integrated Development Planning is built around strategic planning in order to respond to the environment that keeps changing, a more adaptive and creative planning.

The new planning paradigm also recognises a different set of roles for planners, encompassing strategic thinking and decision-making, public facilitation and budgeting in addition to traditional skills in spatial planning.

The study will focus on 'Facilitation' during the Integrated Development Planning processes. Facilitation is a small component of participation and through this unit of analysis I want to problematise participation by looking at one of its central components. Participation has become a buzzword in development circles especially in South Africa. One of the taken-for-granted assumptions in the participation process is that the end product of that particular process is reached through a democratic process where all stakeholders have equal say. Another reason for choosing facilitation as a focal point is that one strong commonality in the varied body of literature that John Forester, Patsy Healey, Charles Hoch, Judith Innes and others have produced over the years is that the principal activity of public planner is to facilitate, or participate, in processes of deliberation. Many of these planners who are turned into facilitators are qualified

and experienced professionals. These scholars believe that planners must work to foster more democratic decision-making by patient, incremental effort in the face of local problems (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998). Sandercock (1997) also believes that the purpose of planning is the empowerment of those who have been systematically disempowered by structural inequalities of class, race and gender. The role of the planner is seen neither as technical expert nor as mediator/negotiator but as enabler of community self-empowerment.

In this study careful attention is to be given to communicative contexts in which dialogue takes place and to the routines and to styles of dialogue since these, too, carry power : the power to encourage and include the participation of all stakeholders and the power to exclude and disseminate.

It will be interesting to study the IDP process in relation to the basic assumption of communicative rationality: that consensus can be reached - but will ask what to do and how to mediate when such consensus is not reached. Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) contend that there is a danger that seeking consensus will silence rather than give voice. There is also a practical concern raised by Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger in questioning how far values are held in common.

Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) argue that in such a heavily politicised arena as planning, consensus is completely utopian - there will always be winners and losers and it will never be possible for all individuals to abandon their political positions and act neutrally. Communicative planning is founded on the rationale that individuals will decide "morally" and that negotiative processes within the collaborative discourse arena are founded on truth, openness, honesty, legitimacy and integrity. Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) assert that individuals can deliberately obfuscate the facts and judgements for their own benefits and for the benefits of their own arguments. 'Making sense together' is said to be a positive feature of participatory democracy and to prove useful as a debating arena and method through which people express different opinions on development issues and community desires. Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) state that collaborative planning assumes that individuals, by acting openly and honestly, will be prepared to see their values subjected to scrutiny, criticised by other

stakeholders and then admit 'defeat' in the face of competing arguments.

The overall question is: Does the IDP produce, at best, a "thin" consensus that is quite fragile if not merely coopting? Can participants set aside their interests and not exercise power in their discussions as is the Habermasian assumption? Can communicative rationality (an open dialogue among equals) be constructed, and if so, at what costs? Knowledge production through discourse - systematised, rationally grounded knowledge is now understood to be the only one among several knowledge forms. Rational-technical reasoning, moral reasoning, and aesthetic-expressive understanding are possible other forms according to Healey (1992). Healey (ibid) says that planning work engages these knowledge forms with what is sometimes called "everyday knowledge" or politicians' knowledge. Planners do not work in isolation but interact with others in complex institutional settings.

The dissertation explores the extent to which the communication speech acts during planning episodes in the Outer West LDP meet Habermas' validity claims of comprehensibility, sincerity and honesty, legitimacy and truthfulness. To what extent do the above four validity claims result in consensus and does communication (argumentation, dialogue and debate) result in the automatic resolution of conflict, the equalization of power and opportunities, as the paradigm proclaims. The analysis of the planning process will be informed by Forester's (1989) exposition of Habermas' (1984) principles for open public debate. Are conversations centred in the plan comprehensible, sincere and honest, legitimate and true? Like Forester (1989), Patsy Healey (1993:266) contends that statements that are comprehensible to participants allow understanding to be shared; statements that are true help to reveal the intentions of those who make them; statements sincerely and honestly made increase the trust listeners have in the speaker; and legitimacy gives direction to the power relations of the plan.

The research will investigate the extent to which communicative rationality could dwindle or dissipate conflict and result in development and the extent to which it is possible to operate in communication that is power-free. In the scenario painted by communicative rationality it is hoped power imbalances will disappear since all stakeholders have 'equal' opportunity to debate, argue and negotiate issues.

1.2 Specific research questions

Is it meaningful to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent? (This is taken from Foucault's assertion.)

To what extent does power penetrate communication? (Flyvbjerg, 1995)

When participants meet the four validity claims of comprehensibility, trust, truth and legitimacy (Forester, 1989), can we unreservedly say there will be mutual understanding during the planning process? Is communicative rationality an end in itself or a means to an end? Is consensus an achievable ideal? Given the new, changing and revolving role of the planner, can the planners' professional judgement be "neutralised". Can they act as value-neutral participants as the communicative planning theory claims (Tewdwr-Jones & Alldimendinger, 1998)? What are some of the obstacles to community participation and how can they be addressed at different levels?

Should planning be about the application of a technical rationality or about achieving consensus through a political process?

There is a tendency amongst the collaborative or communicative planning theorists to operate with a Paolo Freirean view that removes the planner from the centre to the periphery of activities. Given this notion, what is and what should be the role of planners, if any, during the planning episodes? Do planners still have a place given the 'communicative turn' in planning?

These questions will be addressed in this research in greater or lesser detail.

1.3 ORIENTATION TO THE CASE STUDY

The Outer West Operational Entity (formerly Outer West Local Council) is located in the extreme western section of the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA) and straddles the major east/west development corridor of this metropolitan area. The OWLC covers 45 344ha, or 33%, of the total DMA area of 135 959ha. This makes it the largest local council within the metropolitan area. It is also one of the two least developed local councils (together with the North Local Council, 60% of which is covered by sugar cane). The natural/environmental system within the OWLC consists of large portions of open space comprising natural habitats such as rivers, forests, grasslands, flood planes and significant land form features such as river valleys, escarpments, ridges etc.

Although the study area is in Outer West Operational Entity (formerly OWLC) the research focused on the Local Development Plan which is made up of a very small proportion of the local council. When the study is undertaken the six formerly independent councils had amalgamated into a unicity. This IDP was to be done at a metro council level. In this document it is sometimes referred to as the LDP because it was to respond to issues local to people of Cato Ridge and not the whole of Durban.

The study area is approximately 70 kilometre square in extent (**see Map: appendix**). It is located to the north of the N3 and is situated roughly midway between the main provincial metropolitan centres of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It is situated on the outer western edge of the Durban Metropolitan Area, and it largely follows existing cadastral boundaries. As such, the study area is within easy reach of Durban's central business district and harbour, and is well-positioned on major transport routes (road and rail) to link directly into the national economic heartland in Gauteng. Its southern boundary follows the N3 from the Hammersdale/Inchanga intersection and it includes the industrial and commercial node of Cato Ridge, which straddles both sides of the freeway. Its western boundary follows the Unicity boundary, and then moves eastwards along the edge of the Harrison flats plateau, incorporating Craiglea and Fredville township. Its eastern boundary incorporates the informal settlement of Esikhelekehleni as well as Monteseel and land adjacent to the R103. The study area falls within the magisterial district of Camperdown (Cato Ridge Development Plan: Draft Report Phase One 2001).

1.3.1 Rationale for choosing the Outer West Local Council

There are some key attributes which make Outer West Operational Entity unique and worth studying within the DMA. These attributes are that :

The area is more rural in character than the other local councils within the DMA and has a unique urban/rural environment mix with a range of settlement types (including urban formal, urban informal, peri-urban informal, rural, tribal and transitional) and different lifestyles and social arrangements. The area also has a more fragmented settlement pattern than most other local councils due to areas separated by steep topography. There are a range of different forms of administration as it is the only local council with a tribal authority (KwaXimba Tribal Authority).

It is the only local council that contains “border industries” - the historical economic base at Hammarsdale. The area is generally more difficult to develop and more costly to service than the other more centrally- located local councils due to its peripheral location and the fragmented and steep topography within the area. It is the local council that is located furthest from the coast and historic core of the DMA and is mostly closely connected with the hinterland and Pietermaritzburg - particularly Cato Ridge (Integrated Development Plan, 2000:11).

The inspiration for this chosen topic ie. “the relevance of communicative planning to Integrated Development Planning”, comes from a number of sources. The first source is an interest in what has become known as the practice movement in planning: evolving theory from what actually happens on the ground and in practice. Second, is the strong belief in communicative planning as having answers for development planning in South Africa. Communicative planning is a good planning theory since it is a theory that provides a guide to action; a good theory makes planners better practitioners; bad theory is abstract and does not offer answers. What we take from theorists is their relevance to practice. It is the study of practice that creates theory eg. practice movement today. Thirdly, the topic has a bearing on postmodernist philosophical underpinnings since it does not completely reject some strengths of modernist planning namely, technical rationality but blends the two into a whole.

1.3.2 A Problem Statement

The IDP methodology guide to municipalities (III) states that due to the large size of the amalgamated municipalities, the participation process suggested follows a principle that there has to be sufficient consensus among potential users, affected population and other interested stakeholders in the planned projects to avoid delay of implementation resulting from conflict. Is it possible to achieve consensus in the IDP planning process? Is consensus an achievable ideal?. Communicative rationality (the basis of the IDP) presupposes that individual stakeholders participating within the discourse arena should possess either the same knowledge about the issues to be discussed, or else perfect knowledge to enable debate to occur with honesty and integrity. It also supposes that individual stakeholders possess the skills to enable effective participation within the discourse when it is self-evident that debating and interpersonal skills vary from one individual to the next and from culture to culture (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger,

1998). Are the communities in the Outer West Local council ready to participate (communicate) effectively in the planning discourse given the legacies from their previous background?.

Community participation is entrenched in all planning practices and there is a taken-for-granted notion that if planners use proper communication strategies during planning meetings, it is possible to achieve an outcome that is based on power-free relations. Forester (1989) contends that informed, unmanipulated action depends upon four practical conditions of communication. Participation in the planning process may be misinformed and manipulated if information and communication in the planning process are not 1) clear and comprehensible, 2) sincere and trustworthy, 3) appropriate and legitimate, and 4) accurate and true. The theory seems to put blame squarely on individual planners as people who are causing the distortions during communication. That might be true but are they the only cause of distortions? The theory seems to claim that if planners speak comprehensibly, with integrity and honesty, and speak the truth there will be no distortions or that they can at least minimise and uncover distortions. There are many barriers to communication namely semantic, perceptual and demographic eg race, personality, intelligence, knowledge, education, and nationality. Communication barriers that could distort communication can emerge from both the sender (planner) and the receiver (community and other participants). Can we unreservedly say that when undistorted communication takes place (where planners speak comprehensibly, speak with honesty and integrity, speak the truth, speaks with sincerity and legitimacy) consensus and action will abound? The research explores this problem of power-free communication during communication episodes using a case study.

Public participation is legislated in many laws of the country including the Constitution and other Local government legislations. There is a strong belief that participation in decision-making will result in consensus.

1.3.3 Research Methodology

This section outlines the methods used to obtain data for the study. The research adopts a qualitative method for the data collection and interpretation. Both primary and secondary data were used in this dissertation.

The research is based on information from three sources: interviews with local government officials; review of current relevant literature as well as government planning and policy documents.

Much of the research focused on social interaction, views, processes and procedures. Interviews were held at the end of each workshop and at the end of each phase to glean some information about how planners saw public planning and their own role, their perception of the LDP process, procedures and the end product. Representatives such as the councillors were also interviewed about the planning processes. The interviews took an informal format with the view to getting responses which were as authentic as possible.

Participant Observation was the second important source of primary data. Babbie (1983:264) discusses four levels of participant observation as setting on a continuum of roles that the researcher can play: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. It was possible to achieve complete objectivity in these roles because the consulting team never knew what the observation wanted to achieve.

Using the continuum (Babbie, 1983:265) the following were the roles played by the researcher during the planning process:

- Complete participant

The researcher had to give a helping hand to the planning team in carrying the equipment from the office to the destination and help with pinning up of the maps and getting the OHP working. This was part of humanity (UBUNTU) on the part of the observer.

- Participant as observer

The tasks of the researcher included sitting in on community meetings, steering committee meetings, community workshops, and general observation of the proceedings. Interviews also fell in this category.

- Observer as participant

The researcher was never called upon to participate either as the interpreter or any activity that required the researcher to utter words during the conversations. He was introduced to the community as an interested observer.

- Complete observer

When the planning session started, the researcher adopted a role which saw him taking down notes about every single aspect of the processes and procedures. These notes were kept confidential to ensure objectivity .

Participant observation made it possible to “ study people in their own time and space, in their own everyday lives..... in their own ‘natural habitat’ (Burawoy, 1991:2). The study was structured as an ‘extended case method’. A concern about quantitative research generally, and participant observation in particular, is validity, the extent to which such data accurately represents social phenomena. To address this issue and concern for validity, triangulation was used and different methodologies employed to extract local knowledge and interpret people’s actions. Specific methods included interviews, oral histories, participant observation and focus groups. Semi-structured interviews and oral histories were used to understand the context and potential for research. Interviewees, community members actively involved in the development of their areas, provided valuable information about the study area.

Observation of formal and informal gatherings such as quarterly meetings gave the researcher an opportunity not only to see “how people act, but also how they understand and experience those acts” (Burawoy 1991:2).

Focus groups were organised with members of various development forums from different neighbourhoods. These groups gave their own perspective regarding the problems and prospects of neighbourhood development. By having community members in the focus groups as the final arbiters of the information gathered from observations and interviews, an attempt was made to mitigate for the danger of too much subjectivity and lack of sufficient detachment.

1.3.4 Assumptions and Problems

Only a single case study has been used in investigating the relevance of communicative planning to LDP. The case study did not cover the whole of Outer West but a small area called Harrison Flats/Cato Ridge Local Development Plan. This is problematic, it prevents a comparison between urban settlements of varying sizes and complexities.

The Outer west was chosen because of the political decision based on demarcation to charge and apply a blanket property rates system throughout Durban. This will become interesting given that in the past the Outer west received preferential treatment from the city council in terms of property rates.

There was another LDP taking place in the Hammarsdale area that would have been an ideal scenario for comparison. It was not investigated due to time constraints and the unavailability of funding.

The choice of Outer West as a case study has a number of limitations. These limitations are primarily due to the nature and characteristics of the Outer West Operational Entity and the fact that since the IDP was started in 1997, the Outer West has had to outsource the IDP because of the capacity of the local authority to undertake this task. In the past, the area has been neglected because of the size (too big) and topography. This means that people in the area are not familiar with the development discourse and processes.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters which build on the understanding of the relevance of communicative/collaborative planning to the South African Integrated Development Planning. The dissertation interrogates some of the contentions made, explicitly and implicitly, by the proponents of the communicative approach to planning.

The second chapter examines and sets out the key debates and situates them in literature. Towards the end of the chapter the author discusses the new role of the planner according to the new paradigm. This new role is also discussed in the analysis section of the case study.

Chapter three examines and describes metropolitan planning and urban management with the view to contextualising planning processes and procedures as stipulated in planning policy and legislation. The chapter also contains evidence from literature that shows some relationship between the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and the collaborative/communicative

planning theory.

Chapter four comprises two essential elements of the planning processes and procedures in the case study. The first element is the description of the local development planning for the Outer West Operational Entity. The second element is the analysis using the research framework adapted from Patsy Healey (1993) and Forester (1989).

The final chapter draws some conclusions with regard to the lessons learned and makes recommendations.

CHAPTER 2 : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter answers the question: what is communicative planning theory. The chapter situates this paradigm within contemporary planning philosophy and thought. Throughout the discussion in this chapter distinction will be made between collaborative/communicative planning from other planning paradigms. The chapter begins by tracing the origins of Communicative Planning Theory and then argues that Communicative Planning theory have some relevance in the new planning paradigm of South Africa. This will be achieved through using evidence from theorists and literary debates on Communicative Planning Theory. The discussion covers the important elements of this paradigm namely comparison between instrumental rationality and communicative rationality and issues of politics, power and knowledge.

* Communicative planning is the planning theory based on the critical theory of communicative action which addresses the various interactions of the general knowledge/power/action relationship. It seems to be the only planning theory that takes into account the numerous ways by which power binds and constructs knowledge.

Communicative planning theory draws heavily on the philosophy of Habermas, particularly the theory of communicative action. In his development of the theory of communicative action Habermas identified the philosophy of communicative rationality. Within this the role of language is central and the search for undistorted communication becomes the basis for action and consensus. His basic argument is that the cultural spheres of modernity (science, reason, art, morality) have become dominated by instrumental rationality. He calls this the colonization of life-world. Habermas argues that we should go back to life-world (dialogue, consensus). He asks an important philosophical question: How do people exchange ideas in public arena? For Habermas, an honest sincere dialogue is important for ethical reasons. There are forces in the modern world that distort this process, prevent the emergence of consensus and would have to be overcome for Habermas' ideal society to come about.

The communicative planning theorists were, according to Sandercock, influenced by Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action (1984) and by Foucault's much darker analysis of the links

between knowledge and power. Proponents of this planning thought seem to strongly believe that there is an oppression inherent in instrumental rationality and in finding more emancipatory ways of knowing. They are critical of the relationship between knowledge and power although they are naive about power. The communicative planning theorists might be said to be trying to perfect the Enlightenment democratic project by removing the barriers to communication; by creating a model of open discourse and by removing distortions (Sandercock, 1997:96).

Communicative rationality means removal of the barriers that distort communication, but more generally it means a communication system in which ideas are openly presented and defended against criticism; unconstrained agreement develops during argumentation. Habermas says that the rationalization of communicative action leads to communication free from domination, free and open communication. The rationalization here involves emancipation "removing restrictions on communication". Communicative action can be seen as happening within the life-world. Habermas (1987:126) states that " the life world is, so to speak, the transcendental site where speaker and hearer meet, where they reciprocally raise claims that their utterances fit the world..... and where they can criticize and confirm those validity claims, settle their disagreements, and arrive at agreements".

According to Habermas (1987) there are four types of validity claims. He goes on to say that in all communication the speaker's utterances are first judged to be understandable or comprehensible. Second, the propositions made by the speaker are true, that is, the speaker is offering reliable knowledge. Third, the speaker is being truthful (veracious) in offering the propositions and the speaker is reliable. Fourth, it is right and proper for the speaker to utter such propositions, he or she has the right to do so. Consensus arises when all these validity claims are raised and accepted. It breaks down when one or more are questioned.

When these four types of validity claims are raised and recognised by the participants, consensus arises theoretically in discourse (and pre-theoretically in communicative action). These four validity claims are raised in all interaction according to Habermas. Habermas believes that rational structures, instead of enhancing the capacity to communicate and reach understanding, threaten those processes through the exertion of external control over them.

Planning initiatives that take place in multicultural settings have to acknowledge different meanings but work together to bring about meanings that will be shared by all. John Forester developed these ideas into a post-positivist planning theory called the communicative planning theory where he argues that there should be analysis of the way in which communication is systematically distorted in a planning process. Forester (1989) contended that the rules of communication during planning should be : speak comprehensibly, speak sincerely, speak the truth. He believed that communicative theorists should use Habermas as the normative basis for communication. The question that should be asked is: How much of planning is about technical analysis? It is argued by many academics that about ninety five percent of planners activity is about communication.

Central to communicative rationality is the role of language and the search for undistorted communication as a basis for consensus and action. His "ideal speech situation" is that communication will no longer be distorted by the effects of power or self-interest or even ignorance.

The emphasis is on uncoerced and undistorted interaction among competing individuals. A basic assumption of communicative rationality is that consensus can be reached. This approach to planning is severely criticised for its being naive about power.

→ The new paradigm of communicative planning as postulated by John Forester and Judith Innes (Sandercock, 1997) states that planners must not only be able to hear the words, they must also be able to listen to others carefully and critically. Planners' key activity in this paradigm is 'focusing and shaping attention' and their most important skills are said to be talking and listening. Planners should, according to the communicative planning paradigm, listen to the relevant stakeholders. Who are the relevant stakeholders? Sandercock (1997) contends that identifying the relevant stakeholders is itself a deeply political question which implies something like all those affected (emotionally, financially etc). In multicultural societies, as Sandercock asserts, the work of planners takes place in situations of increasing cultural diversity therefore it would be naive of planners to think that they could represent the interests of all people. Some groups would rely entirely on oral traditions and Sandercock (1997:77) says planners must be

able to listen to their stories to tap into local knowledge. The communicative planning approach is a significant departure from the rational comprehensive model. Sandercock (1997:96) says "they rely more on qualitative, interpretive inquiry than on logical deductive analysis and they seek to understand the unique and contextual". The focus in this paradigm, as Sandercock states, is not on what planners actually do but the paradigm subjects planners' practices to a micro-analysis of interpersonal interactions, listening to what is said, and not said, by whom, why, and in what circumstances.

Communicative planning focuses on processes of communication and knowledge production. Central to these theorists is that the act of communication is never purely technical and neutral as the previous approaches to planning methods had emphasized the technical and procedural aspects of analysis and design. All technical knowledge is "inevitably infused with biases reflecting particular interpretative predilections and normative values" (Healey, 1992:9). In other words all acts of communication should not be taken at face value but have to be interpreted and scrutinised with the view to unearth the hidden meanings.

It is said that the text by Forester *Planning in the Face of Power* (1989) stands as a primary text for this paradigm since for Forester and others the important activity of planners is critical listening to the words of others, and observing their non-verbal behaviour. It is based on speech acts, on listening and questioning and listening how, through dialogue, to shape attention.

Forester (1991, in Sandercock: 1997) believes that what planners say/do in their day to day activity "involves power and strategy as much as it involves words".

In this paradigm the emphasis is less on what planners know and more on how they use and distribute their knowledge; less on ability to solve problems but more on opening up debate about those problems. This planning model is about 'talk, argument, shaping attention' (Sandercock, 1997:96). For John Forester what gives planning its legitimacy should be redefined - a shift away from professional expertise and efficiency towards ethical commitment and equity. In this new paradigm the day to day activity of struggle centres around **talk, dialogue, persuasion, negotiation**. Finally, Forester stresses the very political nature of all planning activity in which

relations of power are always involved and systematic inequalities influence outcomes. Forester (1989) advises that “to be rational, be political”. He advises that we need to be aware of systematic inequalities and work to redress them. In addition pay attention to imbalances of information and to lack of representation; we need to make sure that all points of view are heard and not only those of the articulate or powerful (Sandercock, 1997:65).

2.1 The Role of Planners

Forester (1989:155) suggests the following actions as ‘roles’ that will help planners to complement their technical work:

First, cultivating community networks of liaisons and contacts with a view both to procure and to disseminate information evenly. Secondly, listening carefully to elicit the concerns and interests of all parties in the planning process to anticipate likely political obstacles, struggles and opportunities. The ability to listen is one of the essential skills for communication. Thirdly, notifying less-organised interested groups early in any planning process affecting them (the more organised groups whose business it is to have such information will hardly need the same attention).

Fourthly, educating citizens and community organisations about the planning process and both formal and informal “rules of the game”. This is an important role but it depends on the availability of resources, time and finances. Fifthly, supplying technical and political information to citizens to enable informed, effective political participation and negotiation. This also demands that a planner must be conversant with the work that s/he does to can do this. The sixth role is to work towards equity of information. Planners are also expected to encourage community-based organisations to demand open, full information about proposed projects and design possibilities. Planners are expected to develop skills to function effectively when working with groups, understand group dynamics, and be able to resolve conflict that arises. Planners are expected to build capacity to the hitherto excluded, thus empowering men and women from disadvantaged backgrounds. This will result in effective participation and negotiation during formal processes of planning. Planners should make expertise available through education and training to professionally unsophisticated groups. In the long run such initiatives strengthen democracy and deliberative planning. Communities should be encouraged by planners to

undertake independent community-based project reviews and investigations. Planners should also acquire the ability to anticipate political-economic pressures that shape project decisions and designs. Planners should be able to compensate for such pressures, anticipate and counteract private raids on the public purse by, for example, encouraging coalitions of affected citizens' groups and soliciting political pressure from them to counter other interests that might threaten the public.

Healey (1997) believes that the role of a planner is to act as mediator of interests and a facilitator. It is interesting to see where this planning paradigm places the planning professional's personal opinions or judgements. Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) asks an important question about the role of the planner within collaborative planning: If professional judgement is to be "neutralized" what is the purpose of planning as a professional institution?

According to their analysis, in communicative planning the planner is expected to play a neutral role during discussions. Planners are expected to act as neutral subjects, people who do not have any values, people who should be objective. There is a thinking in this paradigm that planners' professional judgement can be "neutralized". Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) contend that planners themselves are stakeholders eager to implement their employer's political/planning desires (normatively regulated action). Planners also want to implement personal planning ideologies developed over the years of planning education and experience (teleological action). These writers argue that to assume that planners can act neutrally in this respect, in the face of competing, even opposing, interests is naive. Sandercock (1995:206) asserts " planning has never been value-neutral. It ought now be value-sensitive." Planners are social beings with values.

The role assigned to the planner by planning doctrines has varied and shifted over time including such roles as coordinator, creative artist, expert, bureaucrat, administrator, negotiator, advocacy planner, facilitator and mediator. In practice a planner may take on different roles depending on the particular context as evidenced by the case study. Planners take in new ideas selectively and add bit by bit to their already-existing repertoire of possible lines of action. Arguably, they have to be more flexible than before, prepared to adapt to different circumstances, sometimes using

traditional, rationalist methods, sometimes negotiating with private actors and other stakeholders, and sometimes even trying to open a dialogue with ordinary citizens. These have today become an integral part of a more sophisticated tool kit for planners (Innes, 1998: 59-61). These are forms of action that have always been used by planners in completing various tasks.

Planners are expected to take extra time to negotiate a consensus which might be efficient in a long run thus linking conflict that might otherwise arise during the implementation phase of the project. Communicative planning encapsulates a strong consensual planning element thus reflecting the current trend in democratic theory, where the catchwords are deliberative and discursive democracy.

Formal consensus is a way of making decisions in a group of actors without using the traditional method of voting and majority rule. It is an alternative method of decision-making. It is believed by many writers that this method is preferred to voting because in voting the same majority group always win the vote.

Planners are, according to this theory, to bring different stand points and arguments onto the agenda to clarify what is at stake, and to make better understanding of the nature of conflict. In discussing the role of planners theorists tend to forget the most important elements of communication, namely the demographic factors such as intelligence, educational training, personality, attitude, background, critical thinking, the ability to 'read' the situation, the ability to anticipate and the ability to command respect during meeting. These are part and parcel of the role and can influence the role.

Without the processes to even out imbalances of power at best the strong will continue to dominate the weak during the meetings. That takes a particular personality and skills to be able to do that. Our society is riven by power imbalances, racism, sexism and to deny the existence of unequal power relations (like these theorists do) is to work in an unrealistic environment. Discussion and decision-making together by all affected will help to reveal illegitimate claims but the fine grains of power will remain.

It must be noted that formal consensus is a demanding method and it is very time-consuming when you allow the different stakeholders to follow various steps to reach an agreement.

There are many pointers to the development of communicative approaches. Patsy Healey (1997:240) enters the debate by contending that "Habermas offers an alternative which retains the notion of the liberating and democratic potential of reasoning but is broadened to encompass moral appreciation and aesthetic experience as well as rational-technical forms of reasoning". Healey (1993:240) contends that communicative rationality offers a new form of planning through interdiscursive communication, a way of "living together differently through struggling to make sense together" .

Proponents of the communicative planning paradigm contend that planning is deeply argumentative by its very nature. Planners have an obligation to routinely argue practically and politically about desired and possible futures. The communicative approach to planning views planning practice as argumentative and communicative and it has become increasingly clear that problems planners face will not be solved solely by technical experts as Forester (1989) puts it. It will instead be solved by "pooling expertise and non-professional contributions too; not just by formal procedure but also by informal consultation and involvement" (Forester,1989:152). Planners should not adopt roles that ignore the political world because they will seriously misrepresent public problems and opportunities.

These communicative actions are all part of organising practices, where planners actively mobilise interested, concerned and affected parties and incorporate such actions into their daily practice involving technically calculating solutions to problems.

Sager (1994), among others, argues that planning problems can be solved in two contrasting but complementary ways: one could trust expert judgement based on analytic technique (instrumental/technical/synoptic rationality) or discuss the matters and reach group consensus (communicative rationality). Planners have to balance goal setting and achievement and democratic procedure. Different types of rationality are required to guide reasoning (communicative and instrumental) in public planning. In the Habermasian notion of critical

theory of communicative action dialogue takes place in such ideal speech contexts.

Communicative planning approach is therefore an epistemological shift away from the monopoly on expertise and insight by professionals/experts to an acknowledgement of the value of local, or experiential knowledge. This, however, should not mislead people into thinking that planners have been replaced in their works; they have to operate peripherally. This is implied in the philosophy of collaborative planning.

2.2 Power, Politics and Knowledge

Forester (1996) contends that planners do not work in a political vacuum. There are broader social, political and economic structures that influence planning encounters. In the communicative planning paradigm the political system is accepted as a given but planners are urged to join the fray and try to beat the system at its own game by providing specific interest groups, especially the relatively powerless, with access to the planner's kit bag of analytical tools and plan-making abilities. The overwhelming power of politics is a key element in formulations urging the planner to function as a negotiator or mediator among competing interest groups - typically developers on the one hand and the local government or a neighbourhood organisation on the other.

An underlying assumption central to Habermas' theory of communicative action is that power and knowledge are separable and that truth can be achieved if power relations are neutralized through debate/argumentation. Flyvberg (1998) sees this as a central weakness in Habermas' argument and that of the authors of the planning movement. Foucault contends that power and knowledge are interdependent, "one cannot speak of truth to power that would itself be free of power relations" (Sager, 1994:83). Flyvberg's position is that other philosophers (Nietzsche, Foucault, Derrida) claim that all communication is at times penetrated by power and it is "meaningless to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent" (Flyvberg, 1998:194). Flyvberg does not dismiss completely the usefulness of Habermas' 'discourse ethics' but warns that this should not distract the players from an awareness of how communication can be broken down or distorted by power and rhetoric.

When planning sessions are attended by stakeholders from different cultural backgrounds one would expect some levels of communication breakdown which are not only caused by language differences but also by how rhetoric and power distorts communication that is aimed at levelling the playing field for development to take place. Like Flyvberg, Foucault is one philosopher who is more interested in power on a micro scale (in the relationship between individuals) than at social level. In the context of a local authority such as the Outer West where there are multiple publics to plan for one needs to equip oneself with adequate skills in dealing with conflict-ridden situations that involve old apartheid rivalries: black and white.

Sager (1994:81) talks about the power/knowledge dilemma which could be the basis of the relationship between power and scientific knowledge. She asserts that knowledge can be applied in order to achieve power; power is used to impede or distort the acquisition of knowledge; knowledge can liberate us from the repressive effects of power; power is used to acquire knowledge. The question of power-free human relations becomes paramount when one considers the naivety with which power is treated within the communicative planning paradigm.

In a case study of planning in Aalborg, Flyvberg (1998) demonstrates the ways in which power and knowledge penetrate each other. Power should not be viewed with negativity since it does not always have negative outcomes. Some of its outcomes are positive.

It is believed in this paradigm that values, norms and aspirations which could not be seen to have any rational founding under instrumental reason may do so in a communicatively rational manner. Communicative rationality, a philosophy that informs communicative planning, is found in speech meeting the validity claims of *comprehensibility, truth, rightness and sincerity* and at the same time aiming at mutual understanding and agreement.

In communicative planning better levels of mutual understanding can be reached, and hence successful planning outcomes through the satisfaction of these four criteria: *comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and accuracy or truth* (Forester (1989). Planning practice should be based on the following:

Validity Claim 1: How comprehensible or obscure are the ideas and information the planner

presents?

Validity claim 2: How forthright is the planner and with what consequences for the reproduction of others' trust?

Validity claim 3: How does the planner legitimise his or her actions in the context at hand?

Validity claim 4: How factually accurate is the planner? (Forester, 1989: 148).

In his later writings, Forester (1993) extends the discussion of four validity claims to include the use of such claims in analysing the plans (written communication), unlike in his earlier writing where he was only concerned with the application of these four validity claims to oral communication.

Forester (1993) maintains that when processes have a lack of inclusive democracy and a lack of discourse with equality of power and opportunity for open argumentation, the contents of the plan are not subjected to the tests arising from the four validity claims regarding communicative processes.

Validity claim 1: The contents of the plans are to have factual credibility. This means that the contents of the plan must not be full of mistakes, misquotes, and ambiguities that will confuse those for whom the plan is designed.

Validity claim 2: The contents of the plans have to be sincere. The plan must not promise more than the responsible actors intend to keep and should contain no hidden motives behind what is written.

Validity claim 3: the contents of the plans must have rightness. This means that the plan should be right when compared with normative foundations. The plan should enable participants to demand explanation from each other about the normative values upon which they base their opinions.

Validity claim 4: The contents of the plans are to be understandable. If the validity claims of truth, sincerity, rightness are fulfilled, one should expect that the claim for comprehensibility is fulfilled too (Forester, 1993). One evaluation of this validity claim is that plans should not use the language that makes these planning documents difficult to comprehend. This means that the planning jargon should be simplified where possible.

Once again, Forester (1993) holds the view that if the contents of the plan are not subjected to the tests arising from the four validity claims, it will result in the lack of discourse with equality of power and opportunities for open argumentation. This is a fundamental flaw in that it is naive to think that there is no power between interlocutors.

The study will measure the extent to which the above four validity claims by Forester (1989) are applicable in planning practice using the case study. In theory it is possible to achieve mutual understanding through the use of these four validity claims: comprehensibility, sincerity, truthfulness, and legitimacy. However, in practice it would require that the planner would have to 'educate' stakeholders in critical language awareness for them to be able to critically listen to the discourse used by other participants including planners to disempower the 'other' thus, distorting communication. How does the planner 'train' participants to be critical of speech which is incomprehensible, illegitimate, insincere, and untruthful?. Of course, this is part of the 'core duties' or what Forester (1989: 155) terms the 'organizing strategies' that can be used by the planners to complement their technical duties.

The four validity claims put forward by Forester should be used by both the planners and the stakeholders, using critical thinking, to evaluate speech/statements. One wonders about the extent to which this could be applied in the South African local planning context given the legacies of apartheid. Formal and informal education systems have been such that people's critical thinking was discouraged. This was achieved through family and school as the only institutions. Children were not allowed to challenge and question the statements made by the adult person and some schools encouraged rote memorisation of subject content. No one was allowed to challenge the 'system' of white domination. These are several concerns that are raised by the otherwise 'good' theory by Forester (1989). Forester's validity claims treat all participants as having equal power relations and fail to warn planners of the possibility of conflicts that could distort communication thus leading to no development.

Active listening is one of the skills that are important for a communicative planning approach to succeed. Planners are expected to listen with empathy, intensity and with a willingness to take

responsibility for completeness. This means getting the full intended meaning from the speaker's communication. Planners are to also listen critically for misinformation or distorted information on the part of the speaker.

Forester (1989) dedicates the whole chapter of his book to the question of 'listening' as an act of empowerment for communities. He argues that planners' failure to listen can weaken ties, undercut mutual trust, and undermine planners' abilities to act together in the future. Listening can be regarded as an act of respect, showing that we "take the other seriously" rather than treating him or her as a tool or an object or a numbered client (Forester, 1989:112). Since listening is an act of participation it is inescapably political (Forester ;1989).

In the communicative planning approach planning is as a political activity which furthers some interests and weakens others. Like Forester, Innes, and Healey, Sandercock (1995) embraces the principles of inclusivity, integration and collaboration as the important guide to planner's actions.

Sandercock (1995) embraces these values and aspirations by posing an important question: how do planners translate moral vision and political practice to the domain of planning. She answers the question by stating that:

- we need to develop ways of planning which acknowledge and respect difference and reflect diversity;
- we need to plan for multiple publics and for diversity rather than for the (myth of the) public interest and homogeneity
- we could look around the room when we are in planning meetings and ask whether the faces present reflect the diversity of the population;
- we could deconstruct our plans (planning documents, regulations, legislation) to see who is the subject, who is the object, who is the knower, the author and what interaction there has been between author and community.

Citizens have been disempowered through the concepts of technical rationality, objective knowledge, critical distance, notions of progress and enlightenment (Sandercock: 1997) in South Africa and elsewhere.

In the new model of planning (communicative planning) planners are viewed as enablers and facilitators since “planners bring to the table skills in research and critical thinking, knowledge of legislation and the workings of the state agencies, specific skills in fields like housing and local economic development and financial skills, and a commitment to social and environmental justice”(Sandercock, 1997:205). The new planning approach in South Africa, the IDP, redefines the traditional role of planners in the new political and economic dispensation. They are to listen critically, advise, organise, analyse, share their scientific knowledge with ordinary people, capacitate the hitherto excluded, and act as the advocate for the interests and concerns of the citizens. Even citizens themselves have been ‘allocated’ new responsibilities, namely they are to participate actively in initiatives aimed at developing them, pitch their communication so that it meets the validity claims of comprehensibility, legitimacy, truth and sincerity. Citizens are to avail themselves for community meetings, to co-operate with development initiatives and challenge and display a critical outlook in matters pertaining to their own affairs. When one reads the communicative planning literature one gets the sense that it places responsibility on both planners and stakeholders. The contribution by communities is valued and without it planning processes are derailed.

Patsy Healey (1993) says that planning is a way of acting we can choose after debate. This entails plans that are rooted in discourse and which are likely to endure. The entire process of making plans must be built into communication and consensus. The gist of Healey’s argument is that there are different discourses so we need to bring them together through consensus.

Healey (1993), unlike other communicative planning theorists, recognises the importance of other forms of rationality and argues that communicative rationality should be used together with formal techniques of design and analysis. Like Forester (1989), Healey (1993) contends that a rational communicative approach to planning should ensure that “ a reflective capacity is developed that enables stakeholders to be critical using the Habermasian criteria of **comprehensibility, integrity, legitimacy and truth**. The critical intent should be inclusive and accommodating; it should be directed at the discourse that surrounds specific actions being invented through the communicative process.

Healey (1993: 243) is also of the opinion that those who participate in communicative planning and who negotiate and recognise each other's concerns, will be able to "transform the already existing power relations hence highlighting oppressions and 'dormitory' forces." This is an oversimplification of otherwise complex interpersonal relations between participants during planning meetings.

For Patsy Healey, plan-making is a process of dialogue that should not be regarded as primarily a technical procedure. The emphasis should be less on content of the plan but rather more on the process which brings about negotiated truth. Communicative rationality is theoretically a challenge to the notion of 'public interest' that the planning wisdom purports.

To understand planning as an interactive, communicative activity, communicative planning theorists (Hoch, Healey, Forester) have drawn on language philosophy and what has been termed the 'linguistic turn' in the 20th century philosophy (Fischer & Forester, 1993:5).

According to Hajer (1993), the 'linguistic turn' refers to a shift in the understanding of the role of language from that of a neutral system of signs through which to describe the world (structuralism) to a medium through which actors create the world (poststructuralism). Meaning is produced within rather than reflected through language. Words in themselves are said to be empty but they find their meaning in the user. The meaning of words does not rest on the word itself but on the person who makes the utterance. This is where Healey (1993) differs with Forester (1989) because for Patsy Healey the written language is equally important during the communication of messages. All communication acts are shaped by particular frames used by participants. This is what Rein and Schon (1993) call conceptual frames.

It is said in literature that understanding a planning process requires that the 'frames' of the various participants be identified and that their impact on thinking, on actions and on outcomes be understood. Healey (1995) notes the manner in which planning texts operate as a framing device. Plan preparation is not just a technical or bureaucratic exercise because of its potential power to shape decisions and resource allocation, as Healey puts it. Plans are therefore said to represent the competing interests which have influenced their formulation with struggle focusing

on both the concepts contained in the plan and its subsequent status in decision-making processes. Healey (1995) says we have to be able to penetrate the language, style, images, and metaphors which are used in order to understand what may be several parallel or competing discourses in a plan text. We also need to understand something of the context within which the plan was produced, and the political forces which may have influenced the context. We need to understand how plans are subsequently used by different groups to take control of agendas with respect to the management of environmental change, that is, whose terms dominate the discussion and who is included and excluded by this planning document (Healey, 1995:259). Healey here draws on critical linguistics philosophy.

Patsy Healey is very aware that power does not manifest itself only in spoken communication between individuals, groups and communities but can also manifest itself in written communication. A planning meeting may be handled in a manner that all Forester's validity claims are met in that participants speak comprehensibly, speak with sincerity, speak the truth and legitimately. But the problem may arise when a planner sits in the office by himself/herself (in front of the computer) uses discourse in the plan, that will distort the agreements reached verbally. This is where critical language awareness comes in because the community would need to have someone who would be able to critically 'read' the discourse and identify areas where the participants are disempowered through the use of the language.

Foucauldian planning theorists have critiqued Habermas stating that it is meaningless to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent. Foucault looks at the mean side of planning. He says that planning has been cast as a positive activity, something done for the public good; it promotes economic efficiencies, can be used to promote social equity and sustainable environment. Foucault says that planning itself has some negative aspects namely the destruction of natural environment and traditional lifestyle.

There were times when planning sought to do good in this country but in the process the communities were destroyed. Planning is about imposing uniformity on a society - a sterile uniformity. It failed to understand diversity and the richness of people's culture. It has been used in South Africa as an instrument to control expansion in urban areas, an instrument of social

regulation, the oppression of minority groups, the implementation of the apartheid system (agency and structure), destruction of diversity and culture and environmental damage.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted some important considerations for planning practice which will be tested out in real-life settings. These planning theorists advocate a planning theory that places emphasis on undistorted communication. There is a belief that argumentation and debate can level the playing fields between various stakeholders. The importance of all forms of knowledge, including local knowledge, is foregrounded. These theorists do not, however, advocate that planning should dispose of technical rationality and instrumental rationality. They argue that these should be placed on an equal footing. There is a recognition of the political system within this planning paradigm. Knowledge is perceived as something that is socially constructed. Planning nowadays should be for multiple publics and multiple interests. Planning should take place in an argumentative, debatable fashion which leads to consensus. Planners should help build capacity to the hitherto excluded. The planners' role should be that of a mediator or advocate who is capable and dedicated to educating citizens about planning. Planners should involve and entice the Community Based organisations and NGOs to participate in the development planning initiatives thereby giving them a voice. Planners themselves should develop competency in working with conflict groups and they should be prepared to learn from the community, be prepared to deal with social, economic and political pressures in planning, be prepared to communicate the level of understanding of all the participants and be wary of the dilemmas between knowledge and power. The plans should acknowledge and respect difference and reflect diversity.

The chapter has also highlighted the most important principles of communicative planning which distinguishes communicative planning from other planning traditions. The new challenge facing planning consultants is to listen to multiple voices, to plan for multiple publics, to involve and engage communities in dialogue/debates.

CHAPTER THREE: Metropolitan Planning & Urban Management

This chapter places the Integrated Development Planning approach in context and shows that the IDP/LDP happen as part of local governance as mandated by the White Paper on Local government (1998). The chapter attempts to look at a bigger picture namely, that the IDP is part and parcel of a broader global, national and local management.

This chapter will argue that whilst it was a good move for the government to embark upon paradigm shifts, the government is involved in a careful balancing act between the new planning thought that prioritises participation (communication) and the urban governance model underwritten by neo-liberal thinking. In making this argument the chapter will explore contemporary metropolitan planning. Finally, the chapter will discuss the new urban governance models, challenges and constraints, with the view to show that in scenarios where development planning process is out-sourced, it is not always easy to monitor the extent to which communication (argumentation, dialogue, debates) take place, given the profit-driven provision of services.

Development planning in South Africa is poised between two competing governance models: a political model that calls for full participation by ordinary people through debates, argumentation and dialogue and entrepreneurial/corporate models where the government is expecting the local government and other agencies to start delivering services in such a way that they are able to generate income from the provision of services. The latter calls for growth, redistribution and partnership with the private sector as it will become clear in the next chapter.

Parallel to the changing relations of culture and capital, and in response to the challenges that these present, is the reorientation of urban governance from the local provision of welfare and services to more outward-orientated policies designed to foster and encourage local growth and economic development (Hubbard and Hall, 1998). Hence, entrepreneurial governance, or neo-liberal types of institutional approaches are emerging. The shift away from traditional models of local government administration towards new forms of local administration embracing market principles includes greater emphasis on, inter alia, privatisation, corporatisation, public-private

and public-community partnerships.

After 1994, Integrated Development Planning (IDP) has been utilised to bring about and manage development in South African metropolitan areas. The IDP has been used as a tool to address the imbalances brought about by the apartheid city. IDP is a process which aims to maximise the impact of scarce resources and limited capacity through planning development interventions in a locality strategically and holistically. It can be seen as a mechanism that could allow cities and municipalities to move from the current undesirable situation to a more desirable scenario.

3.1 The changes in Urban Governance: The City as Entrepreneurial

According to Rakodi (1997) urban management refers to political and administrative structures of cities and the major challenges that they face to provide both social and physical infrastructural services. These include managing urban economic resources, creating employment and attracting investment so as to improve the quality and quantity of goods and services available. Traditionally, urban management was associated with local and national government, where the state and its agencies have the statutory obligation for management and maintenance of services which are viewed by the citizens as rights they should expect because of the taxes they pay.

Urban management has also been defined as a capacity to plan and manage growth at the city-wide level and to release land for development in appropriate locations and quantities as well as to prepare policies, plans, programmes and projects within an overall strategy (ibid: 1997). Due to the failure to manage cities effectively caused by the increasing crisis in terms of failures to provide services and attract investment, there have been several calls for the improvement of urban management and capacity building at local level. Three alternative solutions have been adopted, according to Rakodi (1997), namely institutional development (ie strengthening of existing administrative systems and management processes). In addition, he advocates improving revenue generation and planning and implementation capacity and by training and strengthening local government and giving it greater autonomy. Secondly, he stresses the empowerment of the poor, fostering local community organisations capable of understanding the needs of the residents to improve opportunities for people to participate in decision making on local planning,

infrastructure provision and housing issues as well as allowing people to help themselves to meet their own basic needs. The third alternative became increasingly popular in the 1980s. It is believed, however, that because government agencies are inefficient and bureaucratic, urban service provision such as refuse collection and disposal, transport, education, health, water supply, electricity and housing be privatised. These three alternatives have been applied in the South African context as part of neo-liberal ideology of a 'leaner' state.

It is widely noted that the contemporary postmodern era is increasingly characterised by social inequalities and polarisation, fragmentation of built form, and broader shifts in the nature of the economy, namely: the fundamental transition from a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of accumulation. Faced with complex challenges, including fiscal and management crises resulting from local and global pressures, some local governments are beginning to re-evaluate the manner in which they are institutionally structured to govern and respond to contemporary issues. One issue is the ability of local authorities to provide and finance services in a sustainable manner. Consequently, novel institutional models are being adopted that tend to have a more explicit neo-liberal agenda, and have varying implications for service delivery (Urban Strategy, 2000).

According to the Durban Metro's Urban Strategy (2000), the early 1980's to the late 1990's has witnessed the emergence of Entrepreneurial/Strategic, New Public Administration, and 'Governance' institutional approaches. All of the models emphasize, to a greater or lesser degree, the need to cut local government expenditure and privatise functions. Local authorities are beginning to embrace alternative ways to deliver services including public-private partnerships. Harvey (in Hubbard and Hall, 1998) notes that, "... (t)he new entrepreneurialism has as its centrepiece the notion of public-private partnerships in which traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local government powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investment or new employment sources".

The Entrepreneurial or Strategic Management model espouses the marketisation or contracting out of services as a necessity. This emphasizes efficacy and value of individual satisfaction. Furthermore, government's role in service provision should be minimal and regulatory rather than interventionist. In contrast to this model, the New Public Administration model discourages

the total disengagement of local government from local service provision. It believes that entrepreneurial approaches are inadequate for managing the public sector and, therefore, state participation in service delivery is key (Urban Strategy, 2000). The Governance model is somewhat of a compromise position between the aforementioned perspectives in that it acknowledges the roles of both local government and the market. The public and private sector are underwritten by varying motivations and operations. The public sector is subject to public accountability and is under more pressure to ensure equitable access to services, whereas the private sector has no moral responsibility to the public, and will provide services to those who can afford them (Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council and Friedrich Stifling, 1999).

Many local authorities exhibit characteristics of one or more of the aforementioned models and could incorporate elements of traditional bureaucratic models. Although it may be argued that there are few services traditionally provided by the public sector that cannot be provided by the private sector, a local authority will have to decide upon the appropriate institutional mix with regard to how best objectives and mandates can be met. This decision also needs to take into consideration the merits and demerits of the privatisation and public-private partnerships.

According to the World Bank (in Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council and Friedrich Stifling, 1999: 12), "... market forces and competition can improve the production and delivery of infrastructure services". Additional arguments frequently advanced in favour of private sector involvement in service delivery are outlined by Davey (1993). These include the encouragement of initiative and the replacement of public sector monopoly with competition, enhancing the ability to realise economies of scale and improve service efficiency, freedom from bureaucratic rigidity, and an increase in consumer choice. Partnerships with the community could serve to enhance management capacities, technical skills and residents' own contributions to development.

The objections to private sector involvement in service delivery are numerous. Some writers argue that there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that privatisation or public-private partnerships will automatically result in greater efficiency and effectiveness, particularly for

developing countries. A common argument relates to the exacerbation of social exclusion from the profit-driven provision. Concern is also raised regarding the possible unwillingness of the private sector to deal with less profitable areas.

Although government does not necessarily have to assume the entire responsibility for service provision, it is argued that public sector involvement in the provision of public type services is essential. These services are public in that private firms on their own simply would not provide them adequately. Another criticism is that privatisation and public-private partnerships will devalue the collective resolution of problems, as service delivery, that is compatible with profit motive, will regard citizens as atomised consumers (Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council and Friedrich Stifting, 1999).

In exploring the merits of new forms of local administration embracing market principles, which includes entrepreneurial, privatisation and public-private partnerships, it is useful to draw on the lessons learnt in places where such an approach has been implemented. Buenos Aires experienced a shift in the management of urban services, called 'centralised-private' management, resulting from reform in the economy and the adoption of more entrepreneurial approaches to governance, and the increasing inability of the public sector to solely provide services in a sustainable manner (Pirez, 1998). Private companies have taken full responsibility for the management of services using state owned assets (*ibid.*). on a positive note, services are generally produced with greater efficiency and effectiveness, and their quality has improved. In some cases, the extension of the network has occurred.

The shift in Buenos Aires towards more entrepreneurial forms of urban management has brought with it several negative implications. A key concern is the transfer of the control of the city's principal services, from local government and into the hands of a few private parties. As such, there is a fear that monopolisation of these services will occur which could jeopardise equitable access to services. Another problem is the substantial job loss in some service sectors. Pirez (1998) maintains that the detachment of local government from service delivery diminishes the public authority's social power over a fundamental aspect of the quality of life in a city.

3.2 The South African Context: A new Role for Local Government

The challenge in managing South African cities, with their vast poor populations, huge inequalities, and insufficient resources for direct state intervention, is re-iterated by a number of commentators. Jackson and Hlahla (1999) note that South African municipalities are faced with a range of problems including the need to integrate a number of different local authorities with different practices, resource bases and capacity into one whole. Furthermore, municipalities are struggling to deliver to large sectors of the population who, due to historical reasons, have been severely underserved or have never been served at all (Sinclair, 1999). Their inability to extend and improve services is believed to be hampered by their lack of institutional and financial capacity. Coupled with these enormous challenges are new, often unfunded, mandates and responsibilities resulting from the Constitution and other new legislation.

Stemming from the recognition of its own human, financial and technical constraints in delivering development, the South African government formally adopted the macro-economic programme: Growth, Economic and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996 when the RDP collapsed. Largely underwritten by a neo-liberal agenda, GEAR advocates privatisation, public-private partnerships, effective cutbacks in social spending, and the promotion of the principle of cost recovery (Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council and Friedrich Stifling, 1999). Public-private partnerships are identified as one option for financing services and infrastructure such as electricity, water, sanitation, transport and telecommunications (ibid.).^{*} The call for innovative methods, such as municipal service partnerships (MSPs), to improve service delivery is also evident in the White Paper on Local government. This paper views these partnerships as a means of operationalising developmental approaches to local government that is premised on the need to stimulate economic growth, meet basic needs, and improve quality of life.

The various service delivery options available to local government are outlined in the Municipal Systems Bill that attempts to give effect to the vision of developmental local government (Durban Metro, Urban Strategy, 2000). The Bill addresses, as part of an enabling framework, the various mechanisms for service delivery. The selection of an appropriate mechanism or a range of mechanisms, is dependent upon several criteria being met. That is, that a municipality

achieves its objectives as set out in the Constitution, services are provided in an effective and rapid manner to unserved and under served areas and consumers are provided with the best quality at the lowest cost (ibid.). The various service providers that can enter into a service delivery agreement with a municipality include: other municipalities, other organs of the state, municipal business enterprises, section 21 companies, private sector business enterprises; and/or CBO's, NGO's or water committees established in terms of the water services act, 1997.

In a turbulent and conflictual climate that characterises the post-modern world, a compartmentalised and rational-bureaucratic model of administration is inappropriate. The state is increasingly called upon to mediate competition over scarce resources in a context of large-scale unmet material need. The new model is increasingly emphasising entrepreneurialism and the involvement of non-state actors in the organisation of conditions for local development. The shift towards an entrepreneurial city is paralleled by the transformation in the manner in which public services are provided and managed. New forms of local administration embracing market principles (including, inter alia, privatisation, corporatisation, public-private and public-community partnerships) are associated with numerous benefits. They include an improvement in the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of service delivery, an increase in consumer choice and the democratisation of development through community involvement. There is, however, much criticism of this approach to local government administration. Namely, the exacerbation of social exclusion from profit-driven provision, a lack of accountability on the part of the private sector and job loss. Consequently, the decision to embrace market principles will require a number of trade-offs. In South Africa, that decision has to be taken in consideration of several pieces of legislation and the aims and objectives of the local authority integrated development plan.

One such a legislation is the Constitution. The Constitution of the Republic of SA (1996) sits at the apex of the pyramid in terms of power as a supreme law of the country. The new Constitution has played an important part in redefining the role of local government in South Africa given the challenges and backlogs facing local government country wide. The Constitution lists the following objectives of Local Government which a municipality must strive to achieve within its financial and administrative capacity: to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities, to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, to

promote social and economic development; to promote a safe and healthy environment, to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government.

Due to the fact that there is an urgent need to redress socio-economic imbalances in South Africa, the White Paper on Local Government recommends a developmental approach to local government. This entails that local governments should tackle the problem of meeting basic needs, assisting marginalized groups and stimulating economic growth within its area of jurisdiction. A developmental local government could be defined as local government which is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find the best, long-term ways to improve the quality of life of the citizens.

The role of the municipality now shifts from being the sole provider of services to being a facilitator and leader that works with a multiplicity of partners. Municipalities face great challenges in addressing administrative and spatial disjuncture generated by apartheid, the scale of backlogs, and the internally divided and non-developmental nature of much of local government. This has all led to a continued interest in integrated development planning. The major functions of the IDP therefore are to:

- integrate sectoral plans into a coherent multi-sectoral plan - moves from sector based approach to a multi-sectoral integrated approach;
- link planning with budgetary processes;
- achieve co-ordination between spheres of government with respect to local authority;
- produce realizable strategies that assist local authorities in breaking away from apartheid-based social and spatial patterns of development;
- link technical planning processes to community participation.

The IDP differs from conventional planning processes because of the emphasis that is placed on integration in relation to the different spheres of government (national provincial, metropolitan, local), the various sectors (eg health, spatial, infrastructure), the planning and budgeting, the activities of local government and the concerns of communities. The IDP brings together a range of sectoral initiatives such as spatial, infra structural, environmental and economic initiatives.

Integrated development planning is a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long-term. The main steps in preparing an integrated development plan are:

- assessing the current social, economic and environmental reality in the municipal area - the current reality
- assessing the needs of communities;
- developing a vision for development in the area;
- auditing of available resources, skills and capacities;
- prioritising of these needs in order of urgency and long-term importance;
- setting goals to meet these needs within specified time frames;
- devising strategies to implement these goals and developing and implementing projects and programmes;
- setting targets for the measurement of performance;
- ensuring effective budget processes;
- using monitoring, evaluation and reviewing tools to measure impact and performance.

IDPs allow local authorities to be the co-ordinators and enablers of development rather than to be the dictator of the urban area. In effect, IDPs are planning and strategic frameworks to help municipalities fulfil their developmental mandate since they serve as a basis for engagement between local government and citizenry at the local level and with various stakeholders and interest groups. They enable municipalities to weigh up their obligations and systematically prioritise programme and resource allocation.

3.3 Comparison between the Integrated Development Planning and Communicative Planning

In communicative planning planners should not adopt a role that ignores the political world because they will seriously misrepresent public problems and opportunities. In the IDP the important principles are accountability and transparency.

② The IDP process links technical planning to community participation. Communicative planning theorists contend that planning problems can be solved in two contrasting but complementary

ways: one should trust expert judgement based on analytic technique or discuss the matters and reach group consensus. Planners' technical work, says Forester (1989), should be complemented by the cultivation of networks, liaison and contacts with communities.

The proponents of communicative planning place emphasis and importance of capacity building to hitherto excluded communities and the importance of effective participation and negotiation.

✕ The IDP requires the local authority to be the co-ordinator, enabler and not dictator of urban development. This is part of developmental local government functions which entails empowerment and capacity building. In the IDP work plan there has to be a public participation plan, empowerment plan and communication plan.

✕ In the IDP there is respect for local indigenous knowledge. The communicative planning approach is based on the epistemology that knowledge is not objective, something external to mankind but knowledge is socially constructed by social beings. Knowledge production and exchange are seen to be "infused with ideological and political practices that protect the powerful and confuse the powerless" (Healey, 1992:10)

In communicative planning listening is regarded as an act of respect showing that we (planners) "take the other seriously" rather than treating him/her as a tool or a numbered client (Forester, 1989). Listening is an act of participation in the IDP which characterises the IDP processes. Both the IDP and Communicative Planning Theory believes that listening to the concerns and interests of all parties in the planning process very carefully to sort out possible political obstacles, struggles and opportunities is vital.

There are other similarities between communicative planning theory and the IDP approach on which the case study LDP is based. There is a belief in both that sufficient consensus can be reached through incorporating the citizens, using political processes of inclusion. Both recognise the importance of local knowledge and experience of the people in the planning process. Planning is perceived as a process and communicative rationality as a means to an end. The role of the planner has changed to include extra expectations. They are both naive about power since there are no conflict resolution measures that are to be taken. In both, there is a strong belief that

participation will diffuse power. Planners and citizens alike are given the task of practising critical listening during planning in order to gauge statements that are insincerely and untruthfully made. This is an assumption since it assumes that people will have this critical listening skill. There is a move in both these theories to democratise planning by allowing ordinary citizens into the planners' tool kit. Plans are not supposed to carry technical planning jargon.

Like the IDP approach, communicative planning theory presupposes argumentation, inclusiveness, debate, talk, dialogue and negotiation. Planners are given an extra duty in their job description and that is to enhance capacity and empower the hitherto excluded.

3.4 Conclusion

✂ This chapter has highlighted the dilemmas in planning between the "good intentions" by the government of bringing people into the development agenda and the global urban governance trends of which South Africa is part. The argument that has been developed in this chapter about the clash of interests between public-sector based communicative planning and the urban governance model, will be tested in a case study of one local council in Durban. The Integrated Development Planning which is underpinned by the Communicative Planning is very demanding in terms of the processes and procedures. Some of these procedures are costly and time-consuming since as part of the process the developer is expected to build capacity to the hitherto excluded. The question is: given profit-driven mindedness of the private sector, when such a task is out-sourced by the local council, will the private sector be efficient in terms of accountability to the citizens or only accountable to the employer?.

Chapter Four: The Local Development Plan (Outer West Operational Entity)

This chapter details and analyses experience with planning in four communities: KwaXimba, Esikhelekehleni, Monteseel/Cato Ridge and Fredville. For each area, the planning process is described as it unfolded over time. The theory of Communicative Planning will be applied in this chapter to real life situations to determine the extent to which it is relevant for the South African situation.

4.1 The Context

This Local Development Plan (LDP) takes place at a time when Local government in South Africa is undergoing transformation. The formation of the unicity is part of the change or transformation of the systems of local government across the country. For Durban this means that the metro area will have a co-ordinated planning and delivery of services across the metro area, rationalisation of rates and tariffs across the entire metro area, the inclusion of more areas that are rural within the boundary of the metro area. In the context of the study area this means incorporation of tribal authority areas which makes the area even larger than before. The amalgamation of the six former local councils to form one unicity council means that development plans have to be approved at unicity level.

The decision to undertake an LDP was made two years back by the then Outer West Local Council in year 2000 but nothing happened until funding became available in 2001 under the amalgamated unicity and its IDP process. The LDP, although not legislated, has to follow the processes and procedures of the legislated integrated development planning approach. There was insufficient funding for this LDP and the other one that is taking place concurrently at Hammarsdale. There were tensions between the former city council and the residents of Outer West because the residents feel that the council has marginalised this local council, in the past, by not servicing the area. Instead the council has showed priority to places like Umhlanga Rocks. This is evident in the interview with Teresa Dominik and during the project launch. The situation has been exacerbated by the equalization of the rates system within the metro area. In the past there was a 'good' understanding between the former city council and the residents as they were

given rebates and charged a fairly low rate compared to other council owing to the topography of the area. Due to staff shortages the unicity council has decided to out-source this planning job and this sends the wrong message to the residents who are already hostile and angry with the newly inaugurated unicity council. To worsen the situation, the council has not taken a decision on how to collect rates from the outlying tribal areas formerly under traditional authority which simply means that already there are tensions even within the area itself.

Whilst this LDP is being prepared, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is being finalised at a unicity level and some white residents are aware of this.

4.2 Institutional Framework

Healey (1992) contends that planners do not work in isolation, but interact with others in complex institutional settings. In conversation among experts these knowledge forms coexist and combine. The participants become actively involved in constructing and filtering understandings and valuing. This was very true of the planning processes in the first phase. These workshops were attended by many affected and interested parties which set the tone for conflicting interests and priorities. Participants brought into these meetings different values and statuses, which gave them the power to accept and oppose others. There were representatives from various interest groups such as the Land Owners, the Ratepayers' Association, the local and provincial officials, the chief and his subjects, the newly inaugurated Unicity Council steering committee comprising mainly of technical experts. People at meetings got swayed in different directions depending on the issue and the power of the group that put a view forward. Certain interests got hijacked, through the use of the discourse of domination, along the way because those who put them forward did not command power in the meeting. This made the lives and responsibilities of planners extremely difficult in their attempt to steer the workshop towards consensus of opinion. Arrogance, personalities and attitudes became a hindrance to effective communication because when these factors are combined with a person's power it aggravates matters. There were some stakeholders who never wanted to compromise and accommodate the interests of the 'voiceless'. They wanted to have a lion's share in the proceedings which turned the workshops into a mockery. Planners were in themselves an interest group but they found it extremely difficult to do their work under the circumstances. Some interest groups felt marginalised in the planning

and participation process.

4.3 Participation and planning process

The main interest groups had too many demands into the process and some bulldozed the participation process. Power structures affected the participation process since the representative of the Ratepayers Association claimed to represent the interests of white property owners and pretended to understand the values and needs of black people. In this way, he claimed to be the spokesperson for the interests of poor black people in the area. His knowledge and experience in development, his language (speaking English but code-switching to Zulu), his ability to take turns gave him more power to dictate terms in the planning process.

White participants were not prepared for any negotiated settlements and compromise. This made a mockery of the whole consensus undertaking that the planning process was trying to achieve through these workshops. White participants wanted to have their political and industrial interests prioritised by the plan. Planners found themselves caught in the shackles of power dynamics between competing interest groups. This hampered the participation capacity during the second phase of development planning.

4.4 The Study

The Local Development Planning (LDP) process was undertaken by Maseko Hlongwa & Associates (development planning consultants) commissioned by the Outer West Operational Entity of the Ethekwini Metropolitan Council. There was a careful, inclusive process undertaken to elect a steering committee to drive the process, which involved the local chief (Inkosi Mlaba) and the Izindunas, experts from various fields, the representatives from development fora, community representatives, a resident planner (Peter Gilmore) and others. The Steering Committee is one of the IDP structures created through the Municipal Structures Act (2000). This structure plays a technical function i.e. drafting LDP.

The first meeting that was held to start the process was between members of the steering committee. In the meeting it was decided to divide the area into four localities to make it easier and cost-effective for the community to take part: KwaXimba, Fredville, Isikhelekehle, and

Monteseel/Harrison Flats. Communities were to participate through workshops in these four named areas. The project was launched on the 19th of July 2001 in a centrally located hall (Ethembeni Community Centre). The meeting for the launch was well attended by people from diverse cultural backgrounds. There were cross-cultural misunderstandings observed in the meeting, especially regarding time and behaviour in public meetings, as will be explained later. In the meeting for the launch, white males dominated the proceedings because they are articulate in the language and have some experience in development. Another reason for this dominance is the economic power: some of them own large tracts of land and are commercial farmers. They provide employment to many black people in the area. Black people took a very subservient role during the meeting that lasted for three hours.

The medium of instruction in this meeting was English and Zulu because of the stakeholders present. The meeting was interactive and saw people from different backgrounds voicing their opinions about the proposed local development plan. Present in the launch were people from all walks of life including politicians, councillors, landowners, a representative from Ratepayers' Association, ward councillors, representatives from the Provincial sphere of government, the private sector (Thor Chemicals) and the general community.

The first round of community workshops was organised in the KwaXimba Community Development Centre. This is a predominantly Black area which consists mainly of rural areas. The area is under traditional authority. The workshop was conducted in Isizulu because the area is predominantly black. During this phase the objective was issue identification. Although planning was characterised by openness and interaction, the discussions are dominated by men in terms of what issues are prioritised and who can talk. Women adopt their traditional role of allowing men to take decisions for them perhaps because of the patriarchal system. This was surprising because in the meeting women were in majority. Gender stereotypes surfaced during the discussion when one woman was brave enough to raise the issue of HIV/AIDS. Men in the meeting scoffed at the idea. In this workshop Councillor Ngubane dominated the proceedings perhaps because he possessed knowledge about projects that are in the pipeline and has experience. In this instance planners relied on what communicative theorists call "local and political knowledge". Knowledge therefore gave him power to dominate.

The second workshop took place in the Ethembeni Community Centre to give an opportunity to the Monteseel/Harrison Flats people to voice their views. The workshop comprised black and white stakeholders, which prompted the consultants to use both English and Isizulu as a medium of discussion. There was continuity since many stakeholders who were part of the launch also came to this workshop. The process was characterised by interaction between planners, there being questions for clarity, comments, argumentation, debates, talking points, and remarks. This was a multicultural workshop which posed a challenge for planners since there were diverse views, interests that had to be balanced against the public ethos and in line with the municipal bylaws and budget. Although black participants were in majority, white participants dominated perhaps because the medium of instruction was English (of course with verbal translations). English is the language of power.

The most dominant interest group was the land owners and the Ratepayers' Association Representative. White participants were pushing for economic development whereas black participants wanted social development first because of lack of basic facilities. Political issues beyond the understanding of consultants surfaced and the white participants wanted such issues to be prioritised and for the Unicity Council to come and address them before any development can take place.

The white respondents wanted industrial development in Cato Ridge and nothing else. They were adamant that this was the only way of reducing crime and poverty that has characterised the area. The development of a motor industry in Cato Ridge was believed by these white participants as having some positive spinoffs for other motor industry related activities such as manufacturing. They made it clear that tourism is not the answer because money generated through this sector goes to the hands of the government. The white participants wanted to know the reason for this development - "what is the hidden agenda behind this project" - someone asked. White participants were suspicious about this project and needed clarity.

Planners found themselves circumscribed and embroiled in this political fight between residents. Their efforts were undermined by lack of political legitimacy (authority) to quell the situation and channel the discussion to more progressive debates. White participants made many demands

and instructed consultants on what to do.

The workshops of Esikhelekehleni and Fredville were not well attended by the locals. The majority of people were women. At the end of the phase, an interview with one of the consultants showed that consensus was possible up to that far because of the abstract nature of issues. It would be interesting to see if the same will apply when more concrete projects are discussed.

In Phase Two of the Cato Ridge/Harrison Flats Local Development Plan (LDP), which is termed the Development Framework, a similar method of involving the public in planning processes was used by the consultants: a presentation followed by opportunity for the community to challenge, add and subtract where necessary, and agree or disagree with the speaker. The presentation was mainly based on a long list of issues that were raised by the stakeholders in the previous phase. The only difference was that the planners had synthesized them, using their values and knowledge from their educational background. What was termed issues in the first phase were now called scenarios to which development has to respond. The issue of value-neutrality of planners raised by Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) was founded because planners had to synthesize the information using their values and knowledge from their educational background.

The failure of the council planner to attend these planning meetings was raised once again in each workshop. As a major political power, the council was expected to come and address the people on issues that were raised in the first phase. In almost all the workshops numbers had dropped.

This second part of the chapter provides an analysis of the results with the view to determining the extent to which Communicative Planning is relevant to South Africa's new approach: Integrated Development Planning. In doing this, I will extrapolate on the analytical works that have been done by Patsy Healey in the context of British Local Development Plans and the analytical framework used by Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas (1998). Forester's four validity claims of comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truth will be tested out in real life planning practice with the aim of determining its usefulness as an indicator of whether or not mutual

understanding between interlocutors takes place when these four validity claims are met.

The research explores the extent to which the present planning approach in South Africa is an interactive activity. The section will therefore analyse the communicative acts of planners during various phases of LDP, contributing to the study of planning as an interactive activity. The types and forms of knowledge used and the communicative work undertaken will be examined. The section also identifies the way power is exercised through communication. It shows how planners make their expertise available and transparent to the clients and communities they serve.

4.5 CRITERIA FOR A DEMOCRATIC PLAN

From the planner's side of the conversation, it is possible to suggest an evaluation, using Forester's Habermasian principles that seek to limit distortions in speech acts. These require the speech act to be comprehensible, sincere, legitimate and true (Forester, 1989).

In assessing the democracy of the plan I am going to do this through Habermasian principles for open public debate. Developing these, Forester (1989) explores how far communicative acts in the conversation between planners and others can be judged to be comprehensible, sincere, legitimate and true. Statements which are true help to reveal the intentions of those making them. Statements sincerely made increase the trust listeners have in the speaker.

In the first phase of the workshop that was held in the Kwaximba Community Development Hall, it was clear that one could use Habermasian principles of comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and truth to judge the extent to which the planning process was democratic and interactive. The Kwaximba workshop was aimed at eliciting data regarding the needs of the people. The workshop was comprised of a homogeneous 'group', all participants were from the same cultural background. The workshop took approximately three hours and of those three hours the planner spent most of the time listening to the community representatives drawn from councillors, women groups, youth representatives, tribal authorities and the general community. This is very well captured by Forester (1989). Forester (1989) contends that listening is an act of respect, showing that "we take the other seriously rather than treating him or her as a tool or an object or a numbered client" (p112).

Sandercock (1995) asks an important question about the politics of inclusion/exclusion: how does this moral vision and political practice (as postulated by communicative theorists) translate to the domain of planning? She provides the answer by stating that: "we should look around the room when we are in planning meetings and ask whether the faces present represent the diversity of the population" (1995:p86). The workshops in the first phase were fully representative of the youth, the elderly, women, the poor, the rich, the landowners, the disabled and ordinary people.

Planners during these planning episodes displayed efforts at comprehensibility through the way they conducted themselves non-verbally, using overhead projectors to enhance their explanation, and using simple terminology that was accessible to ordinary people in the workshop. During the discussions one of the planners acted as a translator when the English speaking planner was presenting and the same thing when something was uttered in Isizulu. The planners never claimed to be the fountain of knowledge and allowed the communities to correct them where they might have got it wrong. One could argue that in terms of truth the information presented was truthful and that it was checked against the local knowledge of the ordinary citizens. These planners displayed sincerity in their actions because at the end of each workshop the planner did not create high hopes about the issues raised and emphasized that this development process would take time. This was important because there are many people in this local authority who live in abject poverty. It was important for the planner to avoid creating expectations of immediate delivery of development projects.

The question of legitimacy of the process was raised by councillor Ngubane who wanted to know how this development fitted into other development projects that were taking place in the area. An explanation was sincerely provided by the chief consultants to clear the confusion this might have caused. To ensure comprehensibility, neatly drawn and labelled maps were displayed on the OHP to augment the verbal communication. Through these maps people were able to understand the context spatially and otherwise.

The consultants were probably comprehensible in the first phase. There is no evidence to suggest that planners were not sincere, even their own personal comments into the conversation. As

regards legitimacy, the boundaries of their discretion were very clearly and carefully outlined. Nor is there any reason to suppose that her communication lacked integrity. Nothing was said here that could not also have been said in public arena.

In the second phase of the Local Development Plan, the planners were probably comprehensible to the aggrieved community members. The planner's language shifted to a more everyday vocabulary. Certainly the planners conveyed sincerity. Once again the boundaries of their discussion were clearly stated.

The planning process therefore exemplified the possibility of achieving the principles proposed by Forester. Here was an example of a principled and progressive planner, providing information and seeking to avoid misinformation.

These planners were surrounded by pressures that made an honest, open and reasoning approach to communicating as a planner a rational strategy to adopt. The communicative skills were informed by professional knowledge and values, personal principles and a great deal of experience. What becomes clear from these workshops is that these planners could not just rely on moral-practical knowledge as stated by communicative theorists but that the planner requires an array of knowledge eg rational-technical, aesthetic-expressive, moral-practical, "everyday knowledge" or "politicians knowledge". Statements were legitimately made by the planners in the context of socially accepted rules governing power relations.

In the second phase of the Local Development Plan, in the Kwaximba workshop, the planner was very careful not to confuse the participants. Although most of the talk was done by the planner, there was no hidden agenda. The reason was that the planners had realised how difficult it was going to be for the participants and had opted for a thorough explanation (comprehensibility). The planners' domination of these workshops could be justified because of the level of education of the representatives. Knowledge of the discourse gave the planners power to provide lengthy discussion where they took the lead role. Compared to the previous phase where planners spent most of the time listening to communities, planners in this phase spent time elaborating, clarifying, explaining and interpreting concepts that were unfamiliar to the participants.

Sandercock (1997) contends that communicative planning is a shift from instrumental reasoning/rationality to communicative rationality. In these planning episodes it became clear that planners relied on both instrumental and communicative rationality in their community work. They had to rely on instrumental rationality during their desktop planning and through the use of maps, research and other graphics. The research showed that in collaborative planning these two types of rationality are intertwined and blurred. They are two sides of the same coin.

On the issue of comprehensibility, instead of bombarding the participants with planning jargon, the planner took time to lead the discussion to a fuller understanding of the technical terms and the process. This was evident in the construction of the vision for the area where the locals appeared lost. The planner had to provide a clear and comprehensible explanation. The issue of legitimacy came to the fore when participants wanted a hard copy of phase one report. The planner's response was accurate and truthful, sincere in that he never promised to make copies for everyone but stated that given the costs of making copies from such a thick document, they were unable to provide a copy to individuals. The planner explained very sincerely that the document was too thick for everyone to have a personal copy. He was trustworthy when he avoided apportioning blame to the resident planner for his failure to distribute copies in time. He said that he was going to make at least one copy available to the community centres. He also stated that he would refer this kind of request to the resident planner of the Outer West Operational Entity.

It was at this stage that participants started mumbling and showing non-verbally that they were not happy with the failure of the proxy planner to meet the obligation. At this stage, the participants doubted the legitimacy of the planning team and of the process if the planners could not keep to their promises. The excuse was appropriate and legitimate since the planner could not afford to make copies for everyone. One would have expected the planner to show more trustworthiness, more sincerity about the fact that the whole document was written in the target language and that there was no translated version of the document. That could also have been interpreted by others as politically incorrect and insulting to the participants ie. saying that they are not educated enough to comprehend the terminology without the assistance of someone. Perhaps the planner was showing respect here.

Comprehensibility was achieved through verbal translation from English to Zulu. Of course, there are many differences between Zulu and English expressions and syntax. This means that meaning might not be fully conveyed when complete reliance is placed on translation. The four main development goals, which are steps toward addressing the elements of the vision, were clear and comprehensible even to ordinary people.

In the presentation of the spatial framework the planner did not misinform and manipulate the information in the planning process which could lead to distortions. The planner used a base map and other maps on the overhead which were clearly labelled graphically. The detailed map was not used because of the amount of information contained but the planner built the participants' understanding step-by-step by using a series of maps to ensure comprehensibility. The map key was explained to the community. The planner's efforts to achieve comprehensibility were shown when she put forward accurate and truthful information and by not dwelling too much on planning terminology. Visuals were used for clarity. The participants were clearly not conversant with the development jargon and the planner provided assistance rather than manipulating the situation to one's advantage. For example, participants find it difficult to comprehend the difference between a node and a corridor - a primary activity and secondary activity corridor.

There was an outstanding display, on the part of the planner, of some commitment to ensure comprehensibility, sincerity, truthfulness and legitimacy in one explanation. This was an example which proved that the planning team met all the conditions of communication in the planning exercise. This happened when the consultant presented the high road development scenario and the middle road development scenario. After painting a very clear picture about the desired development in the area, she stated that unfortunately the high road scenario was going to be constrained by many factors including:

- macro-economic trends (recessionary downturn, falling demand for industrial landholdings)
- metropolitan growth trends (declining rates of growth, capital flight, lack of strategic direction)
- institutional support and investment

- aggressive marketing, strategising, competing, packaging
- champion lead projects
- negative perceptions of investors and property developers
- skills training in growth industries
- access to land
- control and management systems to accommodate growth
- improved public transport (goods and passengers)
- linkages to local communities.

The middle road scenario was going to be constrained by critical factors such as:

- tourism development
- linkages to supply and distribution markets
- institutional support for SMMEs and farming activities
- skills training
- property rating system
- access to land
- encroachment onto land with high agricultural potential
- pressure on natural resource base
- negative perceptions of land owners and investors
- adequate thresholds for services and facilities
- public transport system.

The planner stated that both the high road and middle road scenario could not happen in the short-term. She mentioned that negative perceptions about the area needed to be turned around. Such efforts parallel the strategies identified by Forester (1989) as corresponding to truth and sincerity. Planners were very thorough in this phase perhaps because they understood the level of complexity that the planning process had reached.

Planners showed neutrality from the structure and transparency and accountability when they shared concern with the community about the lack of institutional coordination in this area, a structure that will incorporate all stakeholders in driving the process; a structure that will determine future development projects. It was unanimously agreed by all participants that the

area needs a structure that will coordinate all projects and provide area-based project management - independent but working with the municipality.

4.6 POWER RELATIONS

In the Kwaximba workshop most of the participants were male and therefore they had more power to take decisions during debates in the workshops. Male participants were very outspoken and dominated the proceedings. Women only participated in discussing the bread and butter issues. Men contributed more on economic development, infrastructure, commercial agriculture, and other 'men' issues. Women's issues in the chart were recorded last. Surprisingly the issue of HIV/AIDS was only raised by women, perhaps because they are the ones who bear the brunt of looking after the AIDS sufferers. The raising of the issue in the workshop was frowned on by men judging from their non-verbal response when this was tabled to the facilitator. Women talked about women's issues namely health services, water, subsistence farming and the absence of electricity in the area. Topping the list in these workshops were men's issues. In terms of turn-taking men were more vocal than women perhaps because of the presence of the Izindunas and the patriarchy associated with African culture. Although it was the responsibility of Councillor Ngubane to keep his constituents informed, it was clearly a power struggle between politicians and those who represented the development fora. Representatives from the development fora complained about Councillor Ngubane's report stating that it was a report from a politician and that he did not leave any room for them as representatives of everyone.

In the Monteseel workshop there was a battle of power between the diverse cultural groups present. The discussion was dominated by white males who were owners of property in the area, who owned large tracts of land on which they employed black people. They used their economic power to dominate the meeting by threatening that they were going to pull out if their interests were not catered for by this plan. In the list of issues, their issues topped the list and they stressed that the issue of rates should be included.

Power relations were very clearly marked. Those from the western culture, who are skilled in negotiating and debating, had their say many times compared to their black counterparts who

were reserved. Their power to dominate the proceedings could be attributed to their knowledge of the processes and they understood the development discourse which proves that knowledge is power. The dominant group in the Monteseel workshop wanted to block development because they felt that they were being robbed of their fiscus. The Unicity was perceived as undertaking development in the area at the expense of those who had previously contributed to the rates in the area.

With regards to power relations, in the second phase, participants (both male and female) seemed to share the same power and participated equally in the discussion. This could be attributed to the fact that present in the meeting were the community leaders who sit in development committees, development fora, executive councils and who are familiar with the procedures, formalities. They appeared to be assertive individuals who knew that it was their right to express themselves in this democracy.

4.7 FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE

The analysis here focuses on what knowledge is being used, what knowledge forms are represented, how that knowledge is validated and in what ways power relations are embodied in the possession and use of knowledge (adapted from Healey, 1992).

During the first phase of the planning process planners relied, to a certain degree, on the local knowledge; for example, a planner was corrected by a white participant on the population figures of the area and the crime statistics current in the area. The representative from the ratepayers association seemed to be very knowledgeable about the previous development projects and had other valuable information. In the Kwaximba workshop planners were informed by the locals that there are, for instance, twelve clans in the Kwaximba tribal authority. Councillor Ngubane was also very informative about the developments taking place in the area which was helpful in avoiding duplication of projects in the area. Councillor Ngubane provided information in the workshop about the kind of tourism-related developments that are going to take place in Kwaximba: for example, he said that the King of the Zulus (His Majesty) would now have a homestead in the area to attract the tourist rand. This is highlighted by Forester (1989) when he

says that "it has become increasingly clear that problems planners face will not be solved by technical expertsit will instead be solved by pooling expertise and non-professional contributions too; not just by formal procedure but also by informal consultation and involvement" (p152).

Planners in these workshops tended to combine technical-rational reasoning, moral reasoning and aesthetic-expressive understandings. Planning work engaged these knowledge forms with what is sometimes called "everyday knowledge" or "politicians knowledge" (Healey, 1992). Harbemas' categories of rational-technical, moral-practical, and aesthetic-expressive forms of knowledge were represented in the workshops. The rational-technical knowledge no doubt underpinned much of the planners' store of knowledge about the city. The most evident knowledge forms in these conversations represent the moral-practical: what was it right to do in particular circumstances?

The episodes thus illustrate the way skilled planners operate across knowledge forms in their daily work, rather than solely within the confines of rational-technical discourse (Healey, 1992).

According to Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998) communicative rationality presupposes that individual stakeholders participating within the discourse arena should possess either the same knowledge about issues to be discussed, or else perfect knowledge, to enable debate to occur with honesty and integrity. It also presupposes that individual stakeholders possess the required skills to enable effective participation within the discourse, when it is self-evident that debating and interpersonal skills vary from one individual to the next. The problem was that planners opened the platform to engage stakeholders in deliberations but stakeholders could not understand the issues tabled for discussion, and did not have enough knowledge and expertise to enable them to participate effectively.

Participants in the second phase of the Local Development Plan were reluctant to participate and debate because of the limited knowledge and understanding about the process and the technical jargon in the discussion. Some of them did not have the necessary skills and competences to engage planners and other participants in a debate. Black participants who had never been

exposed to planning discourse were silent and reserved because of embarrassment. It was only some (but not all) white counterparts who were able to engage in debates and discussions. Other participants resorted to asking questions only.

4.8 THE PLANNING WORKSHOPS

Planners were responsible for structuring the agenda. This was most evident in the opening and closing statement by the planner in the workshops. The planner ended up restating the agenda for the next round of communications, structuring the arguments to be used and bringing in the norms that would come into play. Forester has also noted the planners' role in anticipating and structuring arguments in developer-planner interactions (1987). It is in this communicative work that the planner is potentially most powerful and hence most in need of ethical principles (Healey, 1992). The potential for power lay in the capacity of focusing discussion (eg during the visioning), to filter what issues were to be discussed and how, and to select ways in which discussion takes place (Healey, 1992). The planner played a skilful and critical role in managing political relationships during the Monteseel workshop.

The planner used two legitimating strategies. First, as an official, she referred to the procedural norms set by the council. Secondly, she drew on an ethical principle she personally upheld as a public professional to be open and transparent about all dimensions of issues involved to allow others to challenge her interpretation if they so wished. As an open, honest broker, she provided information and discussed the arguments.

The most taken for granted status of various kinds of technical rationality that still inform most daily planning practices in the OWLC's Local Development Plan is the knowledge of modelling systems, economic theories, design procedures, decision-making, organisation of consultation, layout and design, local economic development and environmental impact assessment

This involved working out what should be done next, exploring and testing options, and developing agreement as to subsequent action. What was striking in these cases was that strategy development was a collaborative exercise within the conversations. The planner was skilful, resourceful and transparent in her communications. Her store of knowledge and her

communicative skills made her powerful. The language used was English accompanied by translations (verbal). In terms of imagery and vocabulary it was not likely to be shared by other participants of non-mother tongue language group.

4.9 CONSENSUS BUILDING

It is argued in literature that while consensus-based decision making may lessen scientific and bureaucratic normalisation, it may induce other forms of constraints. One of the constraints is the public exposure of the inner self. For Forester and Hoch open communication also means openness about one's individual values, needs, feelings, fears and vulnerabilities.

Does the IDP produce, at best, a 'thin' consensus that is quite fragile if not merely co-opting? Can participants set aside their interests and not exercise power in their discussion as is Habermasian assumption? It will be of interest to see the way in which communicative acts are created and used to sustain or challenge power structures. Communicative acts are said to contain assumptions and metaphors which may carry power relations or structure within them.

In an end-of-phase interview with the consultant, she indicated that it was difficult to reach sufficient consensus in these meetings because of the degree of participation - people are only asked to comment after the presentation of the planner. This is not conducive to planning practice that attempts to get people to discuss and debate issues. Williamson stated that it is difficult to reach consensus in planning meetings because of knowledge/experience, dominance/silence, antagonism/reluctance, vested interests, power relations and understanding of issues. This point was echoed by Mr Tony Mackewicz who asserted that consensus in planning is very difficult to achieve. At a strategic level of discussion it is possible to achieve consensus. There are degrees of consensus: there could be consensus about where to go, how to get there but at a project level it is not easy. The female consultant said that it depends really on what issue is being discussed. At an abstract level it is possible to reach some consensus but at a specific project level it is not. She stated that in most cases if people fail to reach consensus there must be a willingness on both parties to compromise. Language and experience was another barrier to consensus since there was complete reliance on translation; the planning terminology and technical terms made it difficult for participants to engage in debate which is a necessary ingredient for consensus.

Understanding of issues was very limited. Sometimes there was a willingness to step down from one's position. However, many theorists would argue that consensus should seek to accommodate rather than compromise the interests of all concerned.

4.10 Planners' role during the process

There were many roles that the consultants had to play simultaneously depending on the context. The planners had to lead the process, investigate the interests of the various stakeholders, try to reach joint decision, or in cases where this was not possible, they had to make formal decisions by themselves. They had to combine at least three roles: as an expert, mediator, and representative of public interest, including taking delicate judgements which were not to violate the public ethos and municipal bylaws. They had to attend to each stakeholder's interest whilst representing public interest. Basic orientation in meeting techniques, conflict resolution, and mediation gave them a more stable base from where to apply their technical expertise. This is what one could call using communicative rationality as a means to an end, the means being the communication episodes that lead to the end product, the technical plans.

Generally, planners in these meetings had to act as facilitators. They had to synthesize information presented to them by various stakeholders during workshops; coordinate activities by telephoning the interested and affected parties and communicate with ordinary people using the community structures such as development fora, councillors and committees. They had to act as synthesizers of multi-sectoral interests and provide a strategic overview of the whole process. They had to prepare a plan that would satisfy the economic, social and environmental needs.

Consensus-building was part of their role but the achievement of this ideal was dependent primarily on the issue. For abstract issues it was possible to achieve but for specific issues it was not possible to achieve. What made it difficult to achieve consensus were the degrees of participation; language and experiences, domination of discussion and the silence from those from cultures where silence is a sign of respect. Antagonism between participants was another reason for the difficulty with consensus. The reluctance of some participants to 'speak their minds' was one reason for the failure of the consensus-planning initiative. The issue of vested

interest kept cropping up in almost all workshops. The most important element in the failure of the consensus planning model was power relations. Planners had to deal with diverse interest groups. Some participants wanted to use their power to dominate the proceedings. Some participants wanted the development plan to address social imbalances but the white participants wanted the plan to prioritise economic development and to convert Cato Ridge into a gigantic economic base. The understanding of issues was another reason for the difficulty in reaching consensus in these planning episodes. According to the interviewee on this aspect of consensus when asked if consensus-building was an achievable ideal, she stated that if it was not possible to reach consensus, planners should resort to a compromise situation but there must be a willingness on the side of participants to adhere to the compromise.

Tewdwr-Jones & Allimendinger (1998) contend that planners themselves can equally be stakeholders eager to implement either their employers' political or planning desires (normatively regulated action) or personal planning ideologies developed over the years of planning education and training (teleological action). They strongly argue that to assume that planners would act neutrally in this respect, in the face of competing (even opposing) interests is naive. Planners are said to be able to participate, even to promote, mutual understanding within multiple discourse arenas, but simultaneously may not be prepared either to abandon completely their personal beliefs and values or to amend their values to reflect the values of other stakeholders. What is the position of the professional planner within a collaborative planning exercise? The recurring theme of the communicative rationalists' theory is to deny a central role or expert role for the planner in discourse arena as it is believed that the planner is tarnished by the power and political trappings of the administrative elite. What happens during planning scenarios where the planner's powers are minimised?

Healey (1997: 309) calls for "a more interactive relationship between experts and the stakeholder communities they serve", for planners to act as "a knowledge mediator and broker" or as "a critical friend" (Forester: 1989). What is the role of the planner within the IDP processes?

Generally, the role of the planner in these episodes was to act as facilitator, coordinator, and to resolve conflicts. The planners acted as the synthesizers of information - to reorganise the issues

into programmes, to provide a strategic overview and lead the process and to perform technical tasks relating to mapping, geographic information system and research. The work of planners takes place in a situation of increasing cultural diversity therefore planners did not naively think that they could represent the interests of the public. Their day-to-day activities during these workshops centred around talk, dialogue, persuasion, listening and negotiating especially when the vision for the area was constructed.

Communicative planning theorists have placed the notion of undistorted communication at the centre of their philosophy. To many people this principle has become at best a distorted normative horizon. According to Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas (1998), communicative planning theorists have argued for two key conclusions. First, that consensus as a collaborative basis for planning is made the more difficult by systematic distortions in communication between social groups, distortions which reflect asymmetrical power relations between participants. Secondly, they contend that it is possible to minimise these distortions and thereby facilitate mutual appreciation of the rationality of participants' stances in communication over planning. Collaborative planning will then result.

In order to assess fully whether these are plausible in planning practice, the research has assessed how the planners in the LDP of the Outer West Operational Entity have addressed the issue of minimising distortions to communication and then recognised, valued, listened and searched for ways of translating the predominantly disadvantaged communities' desires into practical planning issues and policies. This is adapted from Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas (1998).

I have also used Healey's (1996: 222-223) useful list of questions or what Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas terms 'dimensions' which Healey advances in order for "communicatively rational" political communities to consider when they are implementing planning initiatives.

4.11 THE ARENA OF THE DISCUSSION

"where is the discussion to take place, in what forums and arenas; how are community members to gain access to it?" (Healey, 1996, page 222)

Healey contends that as the public participation gets underway individuals have a moral obligation to consider ('inclusionary ethic') who the members of the political community are, how they are to gain access to the arena to enable their viewpoints to be heard and appreciated, and whether they are to be permitted to have a stake in the participatory process. The second practical point is that the physical arena, within which inclusionary discourse is to occur, should not be fixed in one location or indeed "biased' in favour of the local authority.

Planners within the local authority (consultants) recognised the need for communities to be seen to participate within the planning process without the institutional barriers that normally accompany local plan policy making. There was a crack in the power relations process or institutional structure within the Durban City council as the proxy planners had no support from the resident planner - only the support from the politicians serving on the development committee. The 'inclusionary ethic' encouraged the planners to attempt to be both spatially (geographically) representative and community (village) representative in deciding on a list of public meetings.

The 'where' issue was dealt with simultaneously by ensuring that the open debates would occur in the heart of each community and away from the local authority headquarters. This was done to encourage members of a community to talk more freely about the desires and problems and generate a higher participatory level than if they had been required to travel a great distance for public meeting attendance. Many of the outlying communities within the Outer West are poorly serviced by public transport and the planners were reluctant to organise meetings away from the more populated hamlets for fear of creating an exclusionary ethic of meetings consisting solely of car owners.

4.12 THE STYLE OF THE DISCUSSION

"In what style will discussion take place" (Healey, 1996, page 223)

The scope and style of the discourse is an important part of an inclusionary effort, or ensuring that issues are opened up, of assessing what they mean to different stakeholders, and barring and preconceived ideas (Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998).

This was extremely difficult to achieve given the multicultural nature of some workshops. Debate was influenced by the communicative routines, that is, through the way the other people speak or are addressed, at what time, and in what style of language. The conversation was that of adversarial meetings since the planner was accorded the role of being the facilitator/authority who had to ensure formal fairness in terms of access to debate, to ensure moderation in language - to ensure that the language was appropriate for meetings and designed to develop shared understandings and collaboration within a community. Choosing a style of discussion with which everyone was comfortable was not that easy. In fact, it was problematic.

Another aspect of this dimension was language. These meetings invariably provided people with an opportunity to discuss and listen; discussants brought with them vocabularies and modes of expression which reflected their social position, their occupational background and their education. On a number of occasions people talked over other participants' heads on similar issues but in different styles of expression.

"Inclusionary argumentation requires that all styles of language and expression be appreciated; not every participant will recognise or even understand some individuals' discussions. It is then important for the variety of modes of expression to be somehow translated or, at least, for some common points of reference to be found which allow a foothold for shared understandings" (Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998:138).

In these workshops the variety of modes of expression were used. Translations from English to Zulu for some common point of reference to be found allowed for shared understandings between interlocutors. The procedure through which the discussion developed and the degree to which individuals were respected by other members of the meeting was an important issue. There was a time when one discussant physically removed the other from his seat because he was angry that the other participant had arrived late for the meeting therefore did not deserve to sit in front of him. The role of discussion shapers (planners) in this context was important but they decided to keep quiet until a politician came into the conflict. One could say that these discussion shapers did not want their role to become translated into exclusionary politics.

The discussion shapers did not recognise the importance of the point raised by Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas (1998), where they state that some individuals require an open discussion among themselves but some would prefer to present their arguments in a variety of formats (written comments as opposed to public speaking). Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas (1998) contend that there must also be a recognition that some people who may not be present at the public meeting will also have opinions. The workshops and public meetings failed to live up to this expectation perhaps because of time constraints on the part of the planners.

4.13 THE SORTING OUT OF THE ISSUES AND ARGUMENTS

"How can the jumble of issues, arguments, claims of attention, and ideas about what to do which arise in discussion be sorted out?" (Healey, 1996, page 223)

Because the planner in public meetings is expected to adopt "an anything goes" format (remove barriers to discourse) this could raise a number of issues and contentions. The role of the professional planner in this scenario is to facilitate discourse, to provide links between the multifarious discussions, and to question the speakers continually to ensure clarity (Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998). Planners summarised and acted upon these agreed discourses and this played a role during the second phase in reassuring people that their issues had been included in the first phase document.

4.14 TRANSLATING STRATEGIES INTO NEW DISCOURSES

"How can a strategy be created that becomes a new discourse about how spatial and environmental change in urban regions could be managed?" (Healey, 1996, page 223)

Once the discourse was agreed upon, merits and demerits within the inclusionary argumentative arena and then by the planners within the institutional (political, legal and bureaucratic) context, a draft discourse strategy was presented which enabled the community to test out ideas and to consider the implications of those ideas before any professional, political and legal commitment was made within the statutory planning process.

4.15 SUBJECTING THE STRATEGY TO AGREEMENT AND CRITIQUE

"How can a political community get to agree on a strategy, and maintain that agreement over time while continually subjecting it to critique?" (Healey, 1996, page 223)

According to Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas (1998), Healey does acknowledge that however inclusive the process of plan-making, its support will never be universal. There must therefore be formal opportunities for objections and critique.

It is stated that whatever consensus initially supports a planning strategy, it cannot be assumed that it will remain unchanged. This, as Healey puts it, is because people's perceptions of the world and what is significant in it, can change over time. These changes must be allowed to influence planning strategy. This is perhaps why the Integrated Development Planning approach is based on strategic planning principles to allow for changing tastes.

The argument is that once the strategy has been formulated to completion, and is being implemented it must be assessed to see whether it is still in line with the anxieties and needs expressed by the community or whether it has become redundant as a consequence of changing political circumstances, changing socio-economic or environmental conditions. Life is not as rational as the inclusionary discourse suggests (Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998).

Forester (1989) is postulating a critical, ethical content of theory that focuses on the systematic and unnecessarily distorted nature of communicative interactions. He says that "all practical communication requires skilful attention to both content and context" (Forester, 1989:145). Forester (1989) is interested in both the content of practical communicative action (a factual claim, and a rhetorical or comprehensibility claim) and the contextual or relational side of practical communicative action which involves a claim to legitimacy and an expressive claim. He contends that in order to communicate content (facts) planners and their audience need to share a language and that meaning of words is derived from the context/situation in which the language is used. The context is defined by the historical, political and social relations, for Forester (ibid).

Planners should listen critically to citizens so as to be able to respond and counter distorted

communication, according to Forester (ibid). He contends that "to be rational, effective and ethical planners must anticipate and counteract pressures that stifle public voice, that manipulate democratic processes of consensus building and that ignore the many in need so that a few may prosper" (Forester, 1989:137). Listening critically gauge the extent to which another speaks comprehensibly, for without comprehensibility in interaction we have no clear statements but obfuscation; without a measure of sincerity we have manipulation or deceit rather than trust; when the speaker's claims are illegitimately made, we have the abuse rather than the exercise of authority; when we cannot gauge the truth from what is claimed, we won't be able to tell the difference between reality and propaganda, fact and fallacy (Forester, 1989:144). Critical listening would enable planners to identify, assess and counteract manipulative strategies, ideological claims, racial and sexual biases and plain misunderstandings. Planners should confront systematically distorted communication as Forester (1989) asserts.

According to Forester (1989) we experience communicative distortions at the following practical level: face to face, organisation, political-economic structure. He asserts that planners should therefore be able to use strategies of response to expose and counteract the distortions otherwise democratic political action will be crippled.

As far as Forester (1989) is concerned there are four perspectives that planners may cultivate in their practice with each perspective suggesting a different power base. These perspectives reflect technician, the incrementalist or pragmatist, the liberal-advocate, the structuralist and the progressive. In the case study planning practices planners did combine several of them in the control and management of information to make a practical difference in planning and in broader political processes (p29). Information became the source of power for planners since they reflected the perspectives of the technician, the incrementalist or pragmatists, the liberal-advocate, the structuralist and the progressive. The control and management of information formed the basis of power that planners cultivated in their practice. These development planners strategically combined the attitudes of technician and progressive and utilised approaches of both the pragmatist and the liberal-advocate. They knew where data could be found, which questions to ask and how to perform relevant data analysis.

They acted as liberal-advocate because they responded to a need created by a pluralist political system. They sought to redress inequalities of participation and distribution by bringing into the fray previously excluded groups (women and youth) into political processes with an equal chance, equal information and equal technical resources. They displayed a progressive stance to information by combining the insights of the liberal and the structuralist views. There was a recognition amongst them that political-economic power may function systematically to misinform affected publics, by misrepresenting risks, costs and benefits (pers. Comm). These progressive planners anticipated structurally rooted misinformation and organised information to counter this “noise” or “ideologizing”.

The critical theory of planning suggest how existing social and political-economic relations actually operate to distort communications, to obscure issues, to manipulate trust and consent and to twist facts and possibility (ibid; 141).

Forester (ibid) is advocating a critical planning theory that looks critically at both the distortions to communication that are brought about by actions of the planner (sender) and the actions of the participants (the receiver) or vice versa. He is fully aware that communication is the transference and understanding of meaning. For communication to take place there has to be a sender, a message and a receiver. He is equally aware that barriers to effective communication can arise as a result of actions from both parties which hinder democratic planning practice. Planners require three essential kinds of knowledge and skills that are put into practice in the form of technical, practical and critical judgements.

Forester (ibid) talks about two main types of misinformation, namely the socially systematic/structural and socially ad hoc types of mis-communication that planners should be able to identify and counter. Some misinformation in the workshops were ad hoc, random and spontaneous. Some white speakers spoke too quickly and unwittingly used technical terms which the audience failed to comprehend. As a result, communication suffered. This was an ad hoc type of misinformation because it came as a result of cross-cultural mis-communication, the problem of pacing and pausing which is culturally-relative. Planners anticipated and accepted these as what Forester calls “inevitable distortions”- idiosyncratic personal traits affecting communication

and random noise (Ethembeni Workshop). Planners varied their practical responses accordingly eg. impromptu and informal measures were adopted in response to non-systematic distortions of information “because such distortions may merely be matters of blind habit” as Forester(1989:35) puts it. Clarifications were requested, time for questions and cross-examinations was allotted in meetings and the chairperson showed sensitivity by intervening to suggest that the speaker should speak slowly, more directly to the microphone and less technically.

Systematic misinformation is said to be rooted in the political-economic structures that define who initiates and who reacts; who invokes authority or expertise and who is mystified or defers; who appeals to trust and who defines agendas of need and who is thus defined (Forester,1989: 35). In the multiracial meeting held in Ethembeni centre, white participants initiated the conversations, invoked authority and expertise due to their organisational structures. They also appealed to trust and they defined agendas of need (forcing the planner to write all that they said on the chart). The black residents, by contrast, reacted to what had been initiated, using deference strategy of politeness since knowledge is power to those who have it. They had no choice but to trust the white man’s claims no matter how unfounded. Planners were sceptical about all the information provided (*pers. comm.*). The Black community seemed to be thus defined since they had to accept that, for instance, the central economic hub in the area should be Cato Ridge as per previous plans. There were instances of misinformation that one could term socially necessary (Forester,1989:35) and unavoidable since there is some division of expertise and knowledge in society. It was socially acceptable that some people had developed skills for community organisation and others for farming and this could be picked up from their registers. The challenge was for the planners to counter such distortions which they did to a greater or lesser degree. For Forester (1989:35) responses to systematic misinformation must be more strategic, based on the planners’ analysis of power structures at hand.

Forester (1989) contends that the most important or influential distortions are systematic, political-economic distortions of voice and argument that both planners and largely the unorganised public face together. Planners in the Outer West LDP were capable of facing the structural management of public attention by involving those from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. The legacy of racism and sexism that subverted voices of women and the people of

colour was dealt with through control mechanisms in the form of turn-taking via the chairperson and the appeals by the planners for women and youth voices to be heard.

Satisfying the four criteria of mutual understanding (comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, truth) was so problematic that it revealed the ways in which every interaction is contingent upon, precarious, and subject to distortions or failure (Forester, 1989: 147). This is an acknowledgement that made by many communication scientists that although most acts of communication are at least successful, not all of them are perfect. Generally, some meaning is lost between the sender and the receiver. The four diagnostic questions (regarding comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truth) have become more important in the planning practice because "they help us to check claims we face" (Forester, 1989: 149). These questions are particularly important in the planning citadel because of the "bureaucratic and political pressures on planners, planners may feel compelled to be less open than they might wish" (Forester, 1989: 149).

Manipulating the neighbourhood organisation's trust was countered by the progressive planners through revealing instances of such misinformation (the issue of the previous plans for the area). Weeding out communication that was meant to undermine the intelligence of other participants was a very diplomatic strategy employed by the planners. This was also done by calling attention to important planning issues that were otherwise obscured by the sheer volume of data in the consultant's oral report.

Planners themselves produced misinformation. Justifiably so, since they had to plan in the face of power. They were faced with organisational and political pressures to legitimise existing processes, to avoid conflict and to gain consensus and consent from potentially warring factions (resident community and the local authority). Forester (1989: 42) is correct in saying that the production of misinformation by planners often does not occur just by happenstance; rather it may be encouraged by the very structure of the bureaucracy in which planners work. This was exactly the case in the Outer West LDP. Misinformation was caused by the local council bureaucrats failure to come to all meetings to address non-technical but political issues.

This illustrates Forester's contention that each type of misinformation does call for a different type of response from planners.

Planners' Responses to Misinformation

Power and misinformation in Local Development Planning: an illustration of the management of comprehensibility, Trust, Consent & legitimacy

Modes through which Power is exercised	Managing comprehensibility (problem framing)	Managing Trust (false assurance)	Managing consent (illegitimacy)	Managing knowledge (misrepresentation)
Decision-making	differences in opinion and conflict within the local meeting; shuttle diplomacy to dealing with conflict; clear and powerful writing used in the report for phase one	participants appear "democratic" claim "representative" "objective"; some reps claiming to speak on behalf of "public interest", planners defend against false appeals to trust by checking the records of past promises	involved shared tradition, precedent and established rights; steering committee nominations and official appointments into the development structures.	Participants were expected to cite the references from which their claims were based to ensure reliability of info; decisions not to entertain some issues because they were not relevant eg checking and testing data, checking information
Agenda setting	overwhelm the meeting with data from various sources; counter the obfuscation of issues through the use of jargon by using simplified explanation; quantity of information presented to the audience	ensure that cooperative individuals chair the development committee	selectively schedule and time announcements; use of professional language "planning discourse"; what issues are to be discussed at that meeting to avoid bombarding the participants	avoidance of sensitive issues of current relevance to the agency
Shaping felt needs	countering the claim that there is one best form of local development (economic development) ensuring two-way flow of communication thus strengthening the channels of communication	avoid sensitive issues that require another level of authority which is above planners, covert wheeling and dealing	tendency to exclude CBOs in such meetings in the past is reversed by inviting them to air their views	present information so communities believe they need what you already think they need "playing God"

Source: adapted from Steekler & Hertzog 1979, in Forester (1989)

Through observations, the research has been able to link the discussion during workshops to three modes of power, as discussed by Forester (1989). The modes include: decision making, setting of agendas; the ability of major actors to shape the needs of citizens. This did thwart the efforts of planners and informed citizens who sought to participate in a democratic planning process. This is how it happened:

1. Decision-making - ordinary representatives were not allowed to be part of a decision-making body (the steering committee) because it was felt the body was supposed to consist of people with technical expertise. Decision makers here misinformed citizens by virtue of their ability to prevail in this formal decision-making situation - people were left in the dark about decisions made.

2. The setting of agendas - a subtler exercise of power occurred- especially in the second phase- controlling which citizen found out what and when, about which projects, which options and what they might be able to do as a result of the meeting. Shaping who finds out what and when shaped action (and inaction) This is an information brokering role often attributed to planners.

3. "Shaping the needs of citizens"- another more insidious exercise of power exists in the ability of major actors to shape self-conceptions, the sense of legitimate expectations, and the felt needs (Forester 1989). There was an impression created by the white residents as major economic actors in the region and in the local economy (employers) that poor citizens (black) must acquiesce in the face of big business, that the dominant strategy for development should be the local economic development that is dominated by sophisticated industrial growth (industrialisation). Industrialization was put forward by the white planner as the only way out if people in the area are to develop (lack of truth and sincerity). Through their ability to shape agendas for discussion and citizens' perceived needs, planners exerted power which resulted in the community participation later on being characterised by passivity and deference. This betrayed trust of local citizens.

The question is: How do planners seek to anticipate and counteract misinformation that hampers publicly accessible and informed and participatory planning? Forester (1989) states each of these mixes of power (decision making; agenda setting, and needs shaping) and each dimension of misinformation (obfuscation, false assurance, pretension to legitimacy or misrepresentation of

facts) may present obstacles to progressive planning practice and that each obstacle calls for a distinct response (Forester, 1989:46). Planners did not have any opportunity to prepare participants in the planning process to face misinformation - with facts, questions to ask, arguments, expertise and warning. This was because of time constraints. In the first launch meeting participants were not prepared to face misinformation as presented by some outspoken participants. However, they did warn the participants of misinformation and allowed them question and discussion time in the three hours that was allocated.

Planners did respond to decision-making power by anticipating political pressures and mobilising countervailing support. Letters of invitation were circulated throughout the region to mobilise people to participate. As a result a steering committee was formed which consisted of the local chief (Chief Mlaba), the resident planner, community representatives, the ratepayers' association, councillors and the planning team.

In anticipating the agenda-setting attempts of established interests, planners responded through a variety of informal, information brokering roles, keenly attuned to the timing of the planning process, its stages and procedures and the interests and perceptions of the participants all along the way. The planning process was to break the local community into four separate communities through workshops. It was to consist of four stages and the procedures were laid down to enable the ordinary people to have their interests heard. It was timed in such a way that these interests were called upon very early in the planning process. The only difficulty was that time only favoured those who were unemployed since these workshops took place during the day and not on weekends or the afternoons. Planners sought ties and worked to include those who were hitherto excluded eg. the workshops were spread very evenly to include remotely located areas (such as Esikhelekehleni). The language used was Isizulu for their convenience. Attention to alternatives was encouraged otherwise dominant interests might have suppressed the minority one's.

Misinformation can be anticipated and counteracted by astute planners but planners can be sources of misinformation too. Forester (1989) states that in dealing with power imbalances - where severe inequalities exist, treating the strong and the weak alike ensures that the strong

remain strong and the weak remain weaker. The planning consultants in these episodes acted as neutral regulators thereby perpetuating and ignoring existing inequalities. Planners failed to put the interests of weaker parties "on the negotiating table" thereby perpetuating the inequalities. Planners provided just the facts and seemed to treat everyone equally. Forester (1989) says if planners defend neighbourhood interests in the development negotiations, they may indeed challenge existing inequalities. In the face of conflict, these progressive planners resorted to shuttle diplomacy (Forester 1989) but failed to appear useful to the two conflicting parties.

In the workshop that was held in Ethembeni Centre, when the planner's factual claim failed, the result was the listeners' disbelief; there were instances where their rhetorical (comprehensibility) claim failed which resulted in confusion: for instance, when they were asked to give the population statistics as per the latest research that had been done in the area. The planners' claim to legitimacy failed since the white community tended to doubt their legitimate power (authority) to act on the information that would be provided to them and this resulted in lack of consent. Although the planners' expressive claim failed they showed sympathy and concern. The planning team tried to be even-handed but their detached or formal manner instead created distrust and resentment with white locals. Legitimate power (authority) was lacking on the side of proxy planners and this was picked up by the white residents in the first phase and later on by the black community (kwaximba workshop) in phase two when planners failed to produce a copy of the first phase report. Planners made a sincere and honest statement about the fact that the document was to be made available by the resident planner. There was distrust.

The consultant was wholly sincere in saying that the high road scenario would depend on many factors, but the scenario may not, in fact, have those consequences which she alluded to. The representative of ratepayers was an expert in the context, but was incomprehensible. Angry white residents spoke the truth about the rates issue, were clear and sincere, but they were not in a position to speak legitimately for the whole community (black and white). It is said that the "language" through which a bureaucracy speaks is not a language for problem-solving (together), but one-way communication. It was clear in the discussions between the planners and the white community that bureaucratic language is a language for passing on solutions, for instance, when white participants spoke in these meetings they used language for passing resolutions which

tended to intimidate both planners and the black community.

The following were some corrective measures adopted by the planners to minimise communicative distortions, the organising practices of planners:

(refer to the table)

CORRECTING COMMUNICATIVE DISTORTIONS: ORGANIZING PRACTICES OF PLANNERS
TYPES OF DISTORTIONS (CRITERIA FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING NOT MET)

Practical Level	Comprehensibility	Sincerity	Legitimacy	Truth
Face to Face	Planners worked hard to weed jargon out of the language through translation from English to Zulu and vice versa.	Through asking the speaker some probing questions to get the full intended meaning - checking intentions	Determining roles and contexts in which statements were made- individuals found it unacceptable that the resident planner was absent from all meetings	Some facts misrepresented by planners and individuals - measures taken to check evidence against statement made by individuals
Organizing	Editing the document to weed out planning jargon but failure to publish the document in Isizulu as promised - resolution to the problems was institutional coordination through the creation of a committee to coordinate at grassroots level thus eliminating confusion about projects and duplication.	Checking with colleagues and technical experts about the trustworthiness of statements made regarding the area.	Ensuring that decisions were made in a participatory manner by improving the participatory measures and procedures (workshops) - thus giving voice to women, the poor, youth and the not-so-educated	Using independent, critical third-party expertise especially on the claim made about the geology of the area. Checking the data and calculation figures to see if the statistical figures were true as given out by the ratepayers' representative
Political-Economic Structure	Demystification through questions and desk top planning -counter argumentation, debating issues trying to explicate- it all really meant- disambiguating the statements.	Exposing unexpressed interests of the poor, critically listening to the people to gauge the extent to which they perceived themselves as losers in the rates issue.	Democratizing the local government by urging the resident planner and the Director of the local authority to be accessible, transparent, accountable - politicising planning by involving every ward	Institutionalizing debate and argumentation, allowing political criticism, democratising inquiry and politicising planning

Source: adapted from Forester (1989: p 150-151)

Strategies of response that expose or counteract distortions were varied by the planning team. These strategies were used to address a wide range of obstacles to democratic political processes. The Representative of the ratepayers inflated his claims to expertise to gain consent of other locals in the planning meetings and planners countered by marshalling dissenting expertise thus exploring the issue to clarify just what expertise was appropriate in the case at hand. In the second round of meetings, the representative of the ratepayers raised some "important" issues that planners should know about regarding the history and geology of the area. The reason for the large tracts of vacant land was, according to him, that the whole of Cato Ridge area was covered by rock which made development impossible hence residents had devised new ways to deal with human waste. He also said "are you aware that we have a petrol pipeline that runs through the area which hinders development of bulk sewerage. These facts were presented with greater sincerity but they were proved as fallacy by the planners. In the workshop, one expert in this field rejected the claim made by the ratepayers' representative stating that it was scientifically unproven. In this instance planners called for expert assistance to counter the distortion. The explanation was given by the expert that there used to be a rumour about this issue but it had now been proved unfounded. The statement/claim by the representative was wholly sincere but, unfortunately, factually incorrect. It was also an illegitimate claim since he made this claim to represent the views of other "ill-informed" citizens. He even speculated that the reason for the poor turnout of people to this meeting is that there are too many meetings happening simultaneously, some of these meetings are conducted by council planners which makes it difficult for people to choose and trust the legitimacy of this workshop". The statement was true and sincerely made but it was illegitimate for him to speak on behalf of all people.

The progressive planners should have countered distortion created through the use of planning jargon namely: "nodes, corridors, secondary corridors, primary corridors, vision" (second phase). In this way, Forester (1989) says, planners may avoid the assault on comprehension that can paralyse citizen action. One could also say that this distortion is unavoidable since there is no Zulu equivalent of these concepts. The blame should be taken by the local authority for their failure to build enough capacity in these hitherto excluded communities to make it easier for proxy planners. Forester (ibid) asserts that in order to aid their organising and democratic efforts, progressive planners need to supply information to citizens and communities. The documentation

provided by the planners for public review did not discuss project flaws or alternative as candidly as project virtues. The resident planner failed to make the first phase document available in good time for public scrutiny before the commencement of the second phase. As a result the legitimate power(authority) of the proxy planners was questioned by the communities. Planners as organisers (or disorganisers) of public attention selectively shaped attention to options for action when Amanda presented the middle and high road development scenario (phase two) thus shaping attention to particular costs and benefits and particular arguments for and against proposals.

To correct structural distortions and to challenge the ideology, planning was politicised by diversifying alternatives, by strengthening participation, by including the hitherto excluded groups in particular giving a voice to women and the youth.

With regards to comprehensibility (rhetorical claim) citizens found the issues barely comprehensible, irrelevant to their own concern and framed in bureaucratese. Citizens' comprehension suffered as a result of the failure by the local council to publish the reporting documents in Isizulu, which is the dominant language in the locality.

Planners' communication successfully met the validity claims of reaching mutual understanding in their oral communication as well as in the Development Framework Draft document for the LDP. This is how planners communicated the process in writing:

Validity Claim 1: *The contents of plans are to have factual credibility.*

In the draft development framework document there was no factual mistakes in the contents of the plans. The plan reflected the discussions that went on and it was presented to the participants for perusal.

Validity Claim 2 : *The contents of the plans have to be sincere.*

The draft plan does not promise more than the responsible actors intend to keep, and it does not contain any hidden motives behind what is written. Against this criteria, the area's plan seems to have a very weak claim. The total numbers of proposed actions seem unrealistic compared to available resources. The council is left with the responsibility for many actions in areas where they have little control, for instance, development in tribal land.

Validity claim 3: *The contents of the plans must have 'rightness'.*

The area's strategic industrial plan contains most about the normative values in the vision for the development. The vision, however, contains a blend of many values that cannot be easily mixed, for instance, economic growth and ecological balance. The political conflict between values are not clarified through the formulation of strategies, tactics and projects in the plan.

Validity claim 4: *The contents of the plan are to be understandable.*

Since the validity claims of truth, sincerity and rightness are fulfilled, it could be expected that the claim for comprehensibility is fulfilled too (Forester, 1993). One evaluation of this validity claim is that the plans should not have used a language that makes the documents harder to understand. The plan is written in simple and straightforward English and there is no evidence of overuse of planning jargon. It would have been made more comprehensible, however, if the planning consultants had taken the trouble of translating the document into Isizulu since the majority of the interested and affected stakeholders are Zulu speakers. This would of course have financial implications given the tight budget on which the consultants are working.

In both oral and written communication the planners have managed to produce a 'speech' that meets the four validity claims and mutual understanding was attained. However, their communication was hindered by other factors including power relations.

Research has shown that Communicative Planning theory is relevant to South Africa's Integrated Development Planning Approach and that LDPs are underpinned by the principles of the Communicative Planning theory. The research has shown that mutual understanding can be distorted by other factors other than comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and trust. The planner has to be aware of broader contextual factors which are above the level of one to one communication but are at the level of politics. Lack of political legitimacy was the cause of distorted communication.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions

The application of communicative planning theory to real life settings has shown that planning should not only be about the application of technical rationality but that it should also be about achieving consensus through a political process of inclusionary debates. This research has revealed that this consensus comes at a price to those who drive it, especially the planners. There are so many interest groups in the planning workshop. Whose interests do you include in the plan and whose do you exclude? Whose voices does the plan reflect and whose ideas and arguments fall by the wayside?

Planning has taken different forms at different times. Paradigm shifts are dictated more by the political dispensations of the time as we have seen in the context of the Local Development Plan of the Outer West.

This research has attempted to provide the answer to the question that was posed earlier on: given the new and changing role of the planners, can the planners' professional judgement be "neutralised", can they act as value neutral participants as the communicative planning theory purports. Clearly, this is not easy because planners themselves are an interest group ready to apply the knowledge from their education and training background. They are social beings who have their own values, who can judge between what is right and wrong. This was evidenced by the manner in which land use conflict was handled in the planning process by the planners. Planners 'refused' to have their interests compromised in the process.

For integration, participation, accountability, equity and transparency to take place, there has to be a two way communication process between those responsible for development planning and those who are affected by and interested in the planned development. During the planning episodes in the case study, it was clear that communication centres around the ability to listen critically to what the other participant is saying. The problem, of course, was that humans are not born with the ability to listen critically to what others say; it is a skill acquired through training and experience.

The relevance of communicative planning theory to Integrated Development Planning was, in this research, determined through use of Forester's Habermasian criteria for mutual understanding: comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truthfulness. These criteria were found useful in critically analysing the development planning process undertaken by the Outer West Operational Entity. However, the results showed that although planners tried to speak comprehensibly, sincerely, legitimately and to speak the truth, it was not sufficient. We have to look at the wider political context. Planners' claims to legitimacy (authority) failed because the stakeholders (especially whites) wanted the city council to come and address them regarding the issue of rates, which seemed to be a political obstacle.

The evidence from this research has highlighted the importance of communication in planning - the removal of barriers to communication that could distort and cripple political action. The research also set out to determine the extent to which planning in South Africa, particularly in the Outer West, is interactive or communicative (communicative rationality). The research found that planners integrated their technical work (technical rationality) into larger "organising" strategies in a variety of ways. To complement their technical work, planners cultivated community networks of liaisons and contacts, rather than depending on the power of documents, both to procure and to disseminate information they listened carefully and critically to gauge the concerns and interests of all participants in the planning process to anticipate likely political obstacles, struggles, and opportunities; notified less-organised interests early in the planning process, but perhaps because of time constraints, they did not educate citizens and community organisations about the planning process both formal and informal "rules of the game". They supplied political and technical information to citizens to enable informed, effective political participation and negotiation and encouraged community-based groups to press for open, full information about proposed projects and design possibilities (Forester; 1989: 155). These organising actions were done in addition to technically calculating solutions to problems. Planners incorporated into their practice some elements of "organising" practices, actively mobilising concerned and affected persons. In this regard one could say that planning was to a large degree interactive since it met some of the principles put forward by Forester (1989) for communicative planning.

The findings have shown that the planners' role should change. Depending on the context they should be able to contend with conflicts, politics and asymmetrical power relations. Planners had to be creative under the circumstances. Such problems as encountered by planners in their field of work can be solved by conducting mini-research about the area in which the planning team will be involved. This is, however, not possible especially if a planning team comes into the area as consultants. It is in fact the role of the resident planner to orientate the consultants but what happens if the resident planner does not honour the expectations of planning meetings.

The findings of this research have implications for planners as facilitators, for wider development and changes in planning, and for planning more generally. At the level of planners the results have shown that statements by planners can be made comprehensibly, sincerely, truthfully, and legitimately. The wider context is equally important and planners need to be attentive to other information about the area, not just to rely on what is in publications. They need to do mini-research of their own before they undertake any development planning initiative to get a full understanding of the local politics. In the case study area, planners had to understand and anticipate conflicts given that the area was now enlarged due to new demarcations. They had to anticipate that white residents were not willing to pay for the rates because there is at the moment no formal rates billing system in place for the areas formerly under traditional leadership. Even the question of land has not been tackled, according to Teresa Dominic. These planners required excellent conflict resolution skills and conflict management in order to forge ahead. It was a lesson for the planners that shuttle diplomacy when dealing with conflict is not very fruitful since it derailed the process. Planners found themselves having to plan in the face of conflict, whether they were prepared and trained for that or not. They found themselves sandwiched in between the power struggles. They did not have the power to force the council (employer) to come to the negotiation table.

The results of this research have implications for wider development and changes in planning. Communities should obtain the capacity to understand the language and technical jargon used in planning meetings otherwise there could be communication breakdown. Participants were unable to anticipate and respond to statements that were made illegitimately, without sincerity,

incomprehensibly and untruthfully. How do planners train and educate participants to be able to listen critically and be able to challenge statements that fail to meet the criteria set by Forester (1989) ?. Planners found themselves having to plan for multiple publics (heterogeneous) and that meant that they were dealing with people whose knowledge and critical awareness was different given the legacies of the past.

The research has highlighted one of the biggest flaws with collaborative planning, the thinking that planners' professional judgement can be "neutralised". Planners in this planning paradigm, at least according to some proponents, are said to be neutral. It was clear in the planning process that such a stance is naïve. Planners themselves were stakeholders eager to implement their employer's political/planning desires (normatively regulated action). This was evidenced by the decisions taken by the white planner when describing the spatial development framework of the local development plan. Planners tended to want to implement 'personal' planning ideologies developed over the years of planning education and experience (teleological action). I concur with Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) that to assume that planners could act neutrally in this respect, in the face of competing (even opposing) interests, is naive. The spatial development framework was more rooted in planner's 'personal' planning ideology based on her planning education: the knowledge of where to locate industries, housing, open space, roads to the area etc.

I would like to argue that planners participated and promoted mutual understanding within this multiple discourse arena but certainly not at the expense of their 'own' values. They were not prepared to abandon completely their personal beliefs and values or even amend their values to reflect the values of other stakeholders. Statements made by the physical planner in the presentation of spatial considerations of the plan showed clearly that it was the beliefs and values versus those of the community and she was not prepared to abandon the values (sustainability) as a planner so as to accommodate those of the stakeholders. This meant protecting the areas which are ecologically sensitive, locating the houses where it would be socially acceptable, locating the roads and sewerage pipes where it is more acceptable in terms of zoning and municipality by-laws. Some people argue that such decisions are general overarching principles and not necessarily personal decisions.

It is clear from the communicative planning theoretical framework discussed in this dissertation that there are some prospects of this theory in South Africa. This is evidenced by the theory's where emphasis is on participation, capacity building, etc. In various legislations there is emphasis on grassroots representations in all development planning initiatives. One such piece of legislation is in the Constitution of this country.

Theory is grounded in the belief that people will be honest and sincere in their utterances but what about their own interests for which they might want to push. The role of the planner in this approach is diminished since the knowledge of the planner does not count; the knowledge and value of the planner becomes unimportant. There is a lack of attention to power, a naive assumption that the in planning process there are no power inequalities. The so-called consensus will always favour the dominant interest. The communicative ideal is to neutralise power. There is a strong belief that consensus will stifle difference. A purely communicative planning activity ignores the positive elements of instrumental rationality. In planning these two rationalities are equally important. There is too much focus on process rather than on outcome. Dialogic process is time consuming, costly and sometimes done to the detriment of planning outcomes. Planners were employed by the council but it was interesting to see these planners using their judgement and understanding of situations to take decisions. Planners uniquely served the interests of development and not necessarily of the employer, as was suspected by a white speaker in the Ethembeni workshop. A Communicative planning approach teaches us to be tolerant and appreciate the multiplicity of values and sensitivity to the diversity of cultures.

This research has attempted to answer the question of the taken-for-granted obstacles to community participation. One such assumption is that when participants take part in planning workshops they possess at least equal knowledge and skills to take part. This was shown not be the case because in the second phase participants were reluctant to discuss issues not because they were bored but because they did not have the necessary skills to engage with other participants. This resulted in meetings being dominated by articulate individuals. This could be addressed through capacity enhancement programmes. However, such programmes are costly and time consuming.

A central argument based on it is that it is meaningless to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent. Planners had to deal with power dynamics from left, right and centre, which derailed the good intentions of the plan and planners. Power is an important factor in the determination of outcomes, as has been seen in the planning workshops discussed. Power penetrated communication to the extent that it hijacked the whole planning and participation process. Moreover, there was a display of power at different level and not just at micro level as argued by Forester (1989). Power asymmetries were observed between planners themselves and between local government structures (the local government office and unicity level).

The findings from the research have shown that communicative rationality is certainly not an end in itself but a means to an end. Through political processes of inclusion, debate and argumentation, people get the opportunity to air their views, but it is not enough. At a technical level, those views have to be captured by a computer system using certain powerful programmes. The end product is a combination of both technical and instrumental rationality. There has to be design and analysis. Planners in this workshop have to use their research capabilities and design skills using the GIS package to produce a document (the plan). At a more general level, the opportunity to air views is insufficient in that such views have to be presented in a professional manner for decision-makers.

The research findings have shown that consensus is not an easily achievable ideal given that there are many factors that influence the success of the consensual model to planning, namely, the integrity of the process, commitments of participants, openness, explicit objectives, early stakeholder identification, strategic communication, astute facilitation, solid information, clear policy guidelines, interpersonal dynamic, clear operating principles, relationships, funding, continuity of participants, plain language, size of the group and representativity of a constituency. Consensus processes can be time-consuming and expensive, as has been seen in the case study. The process must be credible and seen as legitimate by all. Each participant has to have respect and trust others and the organisation they represent. Personalities can affect the outcome as it was evident when more articulate people say more they get their way more often.

Personalities can make the process or break it since some people are destructive. There is a need to build trust through knowing each others values. The above discussed factors show how broad communication should be defined before a claim for consensus can be made. The integrity of planners was unquestionable, characterised by honesty and responsiveness to citizen input. Participation was a communal exercise which meant that politicians and their political and technical advisers shared the stage with the other participants in a genuine effort to create a better living environment for all in the Outer West. This was, however, nullified by the power struggles between various interest groups.

What makes consensus an even more difficult process is that it is defined by many as the process of developing a plan through the input and acceptance of diverse and even competing groups of people.

Planners did all they could to make the planning process as interactive as possible by giving participants ample opportunity for comments, ample announcement of opportunity for involvement and ample opportunity to exchange views. There was ongoing feedback and acknowledgement provided through the development forums of each area. Workshops were structured to allow for participation according to ability and interest level. Planners showed respect for cultural diversity during meetings. All this was made in vain by other forces beyond their control.

The research recommends that local authorities should embark on capacity building programmes that will enable fruitful and effective participation by the hitherto excluded. Such capacity building programmes should be geared towards the empowerment of women as well.

Planners themselves should be equipped with conflict management and conflict resolution skills. This should be included in the planning curriculum as part of planning/professional practice module in universities to enable students to plan in the face of conflict. The planning curriculum should heighten the awareness of students about cross-cultural communication, raise their understanding of intercultural communication differences especially now that they are to plan for multiple publics.

The research also recommends that community empowerment should be implemented so that communities can be self-reliant. There needs to be a structure in the locality that will be responsible for ensuring an "area based management system", to keep records of all development projects, plans and their completion dates to avoid duplication- a matter about which participants complained . There was a complaint about too many meetings. Such a structure would ensure communication between the council and the local residents. There are development committees in this area but they are equally confused about the number of projects that they are expected to participate in (especially in the tribal area). Institutional co-ordination must be encouraged in the study area so as to forge collaboration between the formerly tribal areas and the white areas.

The eThekweni municipality should understand the challenge and complexity of the problems they are now facing given the enlargement of boundaries to include the areas formerly under the jurisdiction of chieftaincy. The council should therefore empower the development committees, CBOs and NGOs by recognising them since they have access to the people's felt needs at grassroots level. There is, at the moment, fragmentation in the Outer West since there are many piecemeal development projects taking place. The council needs to forge collaboration with other stakeholders. Planners in the planning process were required to draw from both technical and communicative rationality equally in drafting the Outer West Local Development Plan.

The research, in conclusion, has shown that instead of removing the planners from the centre to the periphery what needs to be done is to equip prospective planners with skills to face the challenges that are brought about by the context. This was evident in the planning process which has been described above. It should also be known that planners are an important interest group since their interest lies in getting the process completed smoothly. A long process has cost implications. They are an interest group since they are employed by the council and are thus accountable. The reports and plans are to be submitted with drawings which places a strain on a planning team working around the clock to satisfy both the citizens and the employer. The report has to meet certain standards, in other words, not just in communicative abilities that count but technical skills as well. Planners have to produce plans using sophisticated computer packages such as GIS. They have to do mini-research about the area before going to meetings

otherwise they get embarrassed by the participants. They have to know legislation, keep up-to-date with current development news, remember municipal bylaws and be able to interpret them. Planning education does not train planners in conflict resolution skills yet this research has shown that this is becoming an important skill.

Planners are charged with enormous responsibilities which place pressure on planning education and training to change and embrace the new challenges that face planners. They are to prepare plans that incorporate biophysical, socio-economic and political developments (sustainability). They have an ethical and moral obligation to deliver to the needs and aspirations of diverse people. This was evident in the planning processes and participation procedures of the case study.

Key Preliminary Study Boundary

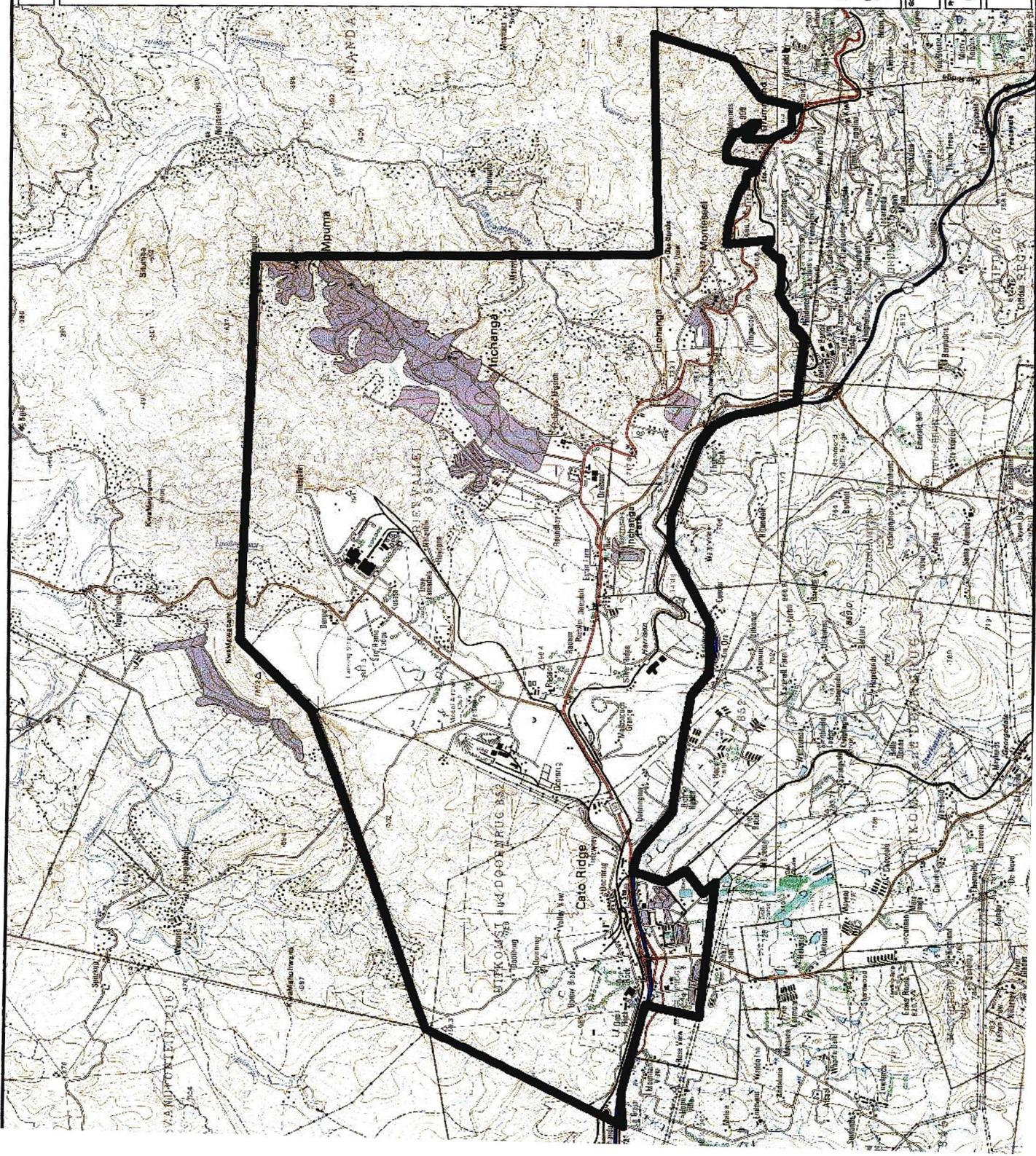


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0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 Meters

Source of Information

PROJECT **CATO RIDGE LDP** STUDY AREA

MAP No **1**
Date **June 01**



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2. Interviews conducted

Interview with Teresa Dominik, Urban Strategy

Interview with Anthony John Mckewicz, October 03 2001

Interview with councillor Ngubane, Kwaximba locality

Interview with Amanda Williamson, the consultant

3. Focus group interviews with representatives from different development forums, Kwaxiba Tribal authority.