UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEOLIBERALISM AND THE NEGOTIATION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IMPERATIVES WITHIN PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN DURBAN

By

JENNIFER HOUGHTON

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

School of Environmental Sciences

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Durban

May 2010

As the candidate's supervisor I have/have not approved this thesis for submission.

Signed:…………………….. Name: ………………………….. Date:………………

For it is in the nature of ordinary cities that their multiplicity and complexity will always escape us, and in a world of cities, there will always be much to learn.

(Robinson, 2006, 172)

Instead of thinking in terms of surfaces – two dimensions – or spheres – three dimensions – one is asked to think in terms of nodes that have as many dimensions as they have connections…modern society cannot be described without recognising them as having a fibrous, thread-like, wiry, ropy, capillary character that is never captured by the notions of levels, layers, territories, spheres, categories, structure, systems.

(Latour, 1997, 370)

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously, for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student name

Date

ABSTRACT

As neoliberalism has risen into ascendancy, cities have shifted their development approach, often in ways that produce problematic and heavily critiqued outcomes (Bond, 2005a; Leitner et al, 2007). In many instances, cities have taken on a development agenda characterised by the prioritisation of economic growth and improving the quality of life in cities (Pieterse, 2008). Thus, cities, often with limited resources and skills, face the challenge of negotiating between these imperatives. In this context, public private partnerships (PPPs) have emerged as a development mechanism through which local, redistributive, and global, economic, urban imperatives can be negotiated. Building on the theorisation of neoliberalism and urban development in the contemporary city, this thesis draws on the concepts of the 'ordinary city' (Amin and Graham, 1996; Robinson, 2002; 2006) and 'entanglement' (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). The adoption of this theoretical approach facilitates an understanding of the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of competing urban development imperatives in public private partnerships. This understanding is relational and freed from the constraints of developmentalist or global cities approaches, which have come to dominate theorisations of urban development.

The empirical research concentrates on two public private partnerships in Durban, South Africa, namely; the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture. These partnerships have produced significant interventions in the urban landscape since their inception in 1999 and 2002, respectively. In addition, the empirical investigation includes the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City mixed use development. These projects have been implemented through the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture. The empirical study predominantly relies on a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders involved in these partnerships, their projects, and within the broader urban development arena of Durban. Documentary evidence and observation has further contributed to the empirical material examined in the research.

The research findings reveal how actors in Durban enmesh and co-constitute the competing priorities of economic growth and post apartheid redress through a range of discourses. This discursive inter-relating of the imperatives produces their entanglement. In turn, this entanglement produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). The form of this local version of neoliberalism is shown to be strongly shaped by the contingent conditions in Durban and the broader context of transition in South Africa. Furthermore, the examination of the two PPP projects brings to light the nuanced character of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' and how variably it is materialised within urban development. Through these findings, the thesis gives evidence of the active agency of places in the production of neoliberalism, and thereby challenges the assumption that cities, especially in the developing world, are simply passively responding to the global impulse of neoliberalism (Hart, 2002). As such, it responds to the need for new insight into how neoliberalism is produced at the local level, and addresses concerns for the lack of agency ascribed to cities in theorisations of neoliberalism (Larner, 2000, 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Castree, 2005; 2006; Hart, 2002; 2006). Finally, conceptualisations of the binary relationship between the global and the local, and between competing urban development imperatives, are challenged (Hart, 2002).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The dynamism of political transformation in the country and the resurgence of interest in global issues and their importance to all countries of the world mean that spaces of engagement with global and local issues are wide open.

(Ramutsindela, 2007, 125)

In 1999, five years after South Africa's first democratic elections, the city of Durban faced the challenges of political transition, social inequality and economic stagnation.[1] In this context, two public private partnerships (PPPs) arose to address the need for transformation in the city, namely, the Durban Growth Coalition in 1999, and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture in 2001 (Moffett and Freund, 2004). In the first instance, this research is about these public private partnerships and the processes of urban development which they have facilitated. Specifically, it is a thesis about the ways in which these partnerships negotiate the competing urban development imperatives of economic growth and post apartheid redress to produce particular kinds of development interventions in the city.

By concentrating on these partnerships and their negotiation of urban development imperatives, this thesis offers an intensely local account of urban development. However, since places are constituted by the interaction between multiple socio-economic relations in a particular locality (Massey, 1993; Cresswell, 1999), this is an account which is framed by the broader contexts of transformation in South Africa, the global political economy and the dynamics of global urban change. For instance, the emergence of economic growth and post apartheid redress as imperatives for development in Durban is linked to the post apartheid transition in South Africa and the reintegration of South Africa into the global economy. Furthermore, South Africa's engagement with the discourses and materialities of an intensively globalised economy; the dominance of the neoliberal approach; and the persistence (and deepening) of global inequalities, is interwoven with these priorities for urban development and their negotiation in Durban's PPPs. In this way, the examination of the local in this thesis offers a space in which to examine the global (Hart, 2002).

---

[1] Durban remains the officially recognised name of the city, however, the municipal structure which governs Durban and its jurisdiction is known as eThekwini Municipality (Low et al, 2007). Thus, throughout the thesis, the city will be mainly referred to as Durban. The name 'eThekwini Municipality' will be used in cases where reference is made to municipal governance and the jurisdictional area of the municipality.

The opportunity to examine the global offered by this localised account of public private partnerships in Durban, raises a number of questions. Why choose to examine the local and the global through public private partnerships in Durban? What aspects of the global and its inter-relationships with the local can be examined? And to what end? It will take the whole thesis to answer these questions, however, a preliminary response can be found in the rationale for conducting a study of PPPs as a development mechanism and for situating the study in Durban.

To begin with, PPPs offer a valuable lens through which to examine the relationship between the global and the local because they constitute a development mechanism through which local, redistributive and global, economic urban imperatives are negotiated. Within both the post-apartheid and the global context, traditional discourses and practices of planning and urban development are increasingly being viewed as insufficient to meet the competing development priorities which have emerged in cities (Harrison et al, 2008). New development mechanisms, such as public private partnerships, have emerged in cities across the world and in a transforming South Africa to address the complexities of the urban development agenda and produce urban change (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Cleobury, 2006; Weihe, 2006). In South African cities, such as Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, these partnerships have become significant drivers and implementers of development projects and have played a significant role in reshaping the urban landscape (Rogerson, 2004; Cleobury, 2006).

Durban, in particular, has a strong history of partnership-driven development and by the early 1990s, business representatives were collaborating with local government and other political and community representatives in public private partnerships (Pillay, 1996; Freund and Padayachee, 2002a). Strategic partnerships have emerged in the post-apartheid period, based on these earlier networks, to address the city's dual post-apartheid development mandate of economic growth and redress and redistribution. The early partnerships were used as a mechanism for economic and infrastructural development in the city and resulted, for example, in the successful development of Durban's International Convention Centre in the CBD (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). Following this tradition of PPPs in Durban, the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture Partnership emerged from 1999 to address development concerns within the city (Moffett and Freund, 2004). These strong but varied partnership formations within Durban offer the potential for gaining new insights into the wider development processes at work in South African and other cities.

But exactly what new insights about urban development will be gained through this study? Firstly, the empirical research on public private partnerships in Durban examines the ways in which urban transformation arises through the inter-relationship between locally derived development goals and the global dynamics of urban change. The thesis then presents an argument which moves beyond an explanation of the local to provide insight into how contemporary urban development processes in all cities are forged in different ways through an articulation between local conditions and global-scale approaches i.e. neoliberalism (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). To this end, the argument brings to light the ways in which actors in cities inter-relate the competing priorities of economic growth and social upliftment and, consequently, produce a localised version of the global development approach of neoliberalism. In this way, it reveals that context is integral to the process of neoliberalisation.

These insights are especially significant in light of an emerging body of literature in South Africa that points to the need to develop local 'indigenous' conceptualizations of what interventions need to be developed to plan and develop South African cities (Parnell, 1997; Oldfield et al, 2004; Ramutsindela, 2002a; Robinson, 2006). This interpretation of development processes within a South African city broadens the understanding of how urban development occurs within a context of transition and within all manner of cities in which these dual imperatives co-exist and compete. In addition, the analytical arguments presented here, as a means to better understanding the nature of local urban development trajectories, offer insights into how global approaches such as neoliberalism are formulated, and operate, at the local scale, thereby extending the theorisation of neoliberalism as a development approach. In so doing, this thesis presents a theorisation of urban development which begins with the localised engagements between business and government in a city which many would consider 'off the map', but which, ultimately, strives to challenge the assumed hegemony of the global by taking account of the specificities and nuances of place (Robinson, 2002a).

As a first step in presenting this theoretical argument, the specific aim and objectives of the study are outlined below. Furthermore, a brief review of South African urban geography, in section 1.2, offers an entry point into the study.

1.1 Aim and objectives

This study aims to investigate the relationship between neoliberalism and the ways in which public private partnerships for urban development negotiate the imperatives of post-apartheid

redress and economic growth. These issues will be examined through an assessment of contemporary public private partnerships in Durban.

In order to meet this aim, the following six objectives have been formulated to guide the research process:

1. To identify the overarching public and private imperatives for urban development.
2. To examine the ways in which these urban development imperatives are negotiated within the public private partnerships.
3. To interrogate how neoliberalism is articulated with the negotiation of urban development imperatives in the public private partnerships.
4. To examine the implications of the articulation of neoliberalism in the negotiation of urban development imperatives, for the formation of neoliberalism at the local level.
5. To examine how the context of transition in South Africa impacts on the urban development agenda and outputs of public private partnerships.
6. To interrogate how neoliberalism is manifest in the urban development projects of the public private partnership.

This study is a local account of urban development in South Africa. Therefore, it is framed within South African urban geography. The following section offers a review of the major themes in urban research in South Africa after apartheid. This review provides an entry point for understanding urban restructuring and development after 1994 and therefore situates this research in relation to recent urban research in South Africa.

1.2   Geographical Perspectives on Urban Change in South Africa

Sixteen years into the national transition from apartheid to democracy, geographical research in South Africa has strongly risen to both the challenge of explaining, critiquing and, indeed, facilitating many aspects of change in the post apartheid context (Rogerson, 1990, 1996; Parnell and Mabin, 1995; Ramutsindela, 2002a; Oldfield et al, 2004; Pirie, 2005; Mather, 2007).[2] Geographers have actively engaged with the core of this transition, i.e. the work of overturning the social, spatial and developmental inequalities created by apartheid, through academic endeavour and assistance in policy formation and implementation, as well as in building capacity in multiple arenas (Oldfield et al, 2004; Mather, 2007; Mather and

---

[2] Some South African geographers have adopted a systematic opposition to the post-apartheid state, arguing against its neoliberal tendencies and the inequalities inherent in the character and practice of its developmental agenda (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002; Oldfield et al, 2004; Bond 2005, 2005a).

Ramutsindela, 2007; Parnell, 2007).[3] In line with the (somewhat dizzying) array of interests within the discipline as a whole[4] the academic work of geographers in the post apartheid period has tended to focus on a diversity of issues across multiple scales and contexts.[5] This research intends to travel down just a few of these avenues of contemporary geographical scholarship, in particular, those which journey through work that contributes to an understanding of urban transformation in South Africa.

Critical to the work of many South African geographers, both presently and historically, is concern for the main characteristics of cities, the processes of urban transition, and the role of cities as pivotal spatial fixes for broader economic, political, social and environmental processes.[6] Consideration of South African cities is no different[7] and in the post apartheid era geographers have involved themselves in building a body of knowledge which both reveals and informs an understanding of the city in a period of dynamism, upheaval and transition. The geographical perspectives on the (contemporary) South African city discussed below serve as an entry point into this research, which examines the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives within public private partnerships in Durban, South Africa.

1.2.1   The South African city from a geographical perspective

Framed by statements such as Williams' (2000, 167) claim that "the future of South Africa is inextricably linked with the future of its cities", urban studies in post apartheid South Africa has been extensively involved in documenting and theorising the nature and transformation of South African cities. Geographers have made many efforts to understand the nature of the contemporary South African city, with its diversity of struggles, opportunities and constraints and with consideration for the overwhelming need for transition towards a better and more equitable quality of life for urban communities (Seekings, 2000; Williams, 2000; Pieterse, 2002; 2006; Pillay et al 2006; Boraine et al, 2006; Pillay, 2008).

---

[3] Especially recently, these endeavours are, at times, the 'grey geographies' resulting from contract-based research (Peck, 1999).

[4] See Seekings (2000).

[5] For example, see the wide-ranging review of South African geography undertaken in the commemorative issue of the South African Geographical Journal (2002) undertaken for the IGU conference held in Durban in 2002.

[6] A reading of any compendium of urban research will reveal these issues as common themes within the field of urban studies (see Bridge and Watson, 2000; Paddison, 2001; LeGates and Stout, 2003; Miles and Hall, 2003; Pacione, 2005).

[7] There is a history of studying South African cities as a unique case and of considerations of the urban geography of South Africa being atypical or isolated from those of the wider urban world. However, there is much to be argued for the complementarity and interconnectedness of South African urbanism with that of 'elsewhere' and this needs to be more frequently emphasised, allowing for greater theorization of urban issues for the wider audience (Parnell, 1997; Visser, 2002; Mather and Ramutsindela, 2007; Ramutsindela, 2007).

Urban research in South Africa is reflective of the fact that "transformation of South Africa in general and urban areas in particular is shot through with multiple tensions, contradictions, conflicts and struggles" (Williams, 2000, 171). The imperative to focus on transformation in the post apartheid era is widely evident and across the spectrum of geographical interests both issue-based and city-specific studies typically give evidence of the need for ongoing transition, the struggles over the particular forms of change and the tensions which emerge as transformation unfolds (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002; Boraine et al, 2006).[8]

Seekings (2000) highlights this focus on transformation in his review of post apartheid urban geography. He categorises the four key areas in which geographical research was most widely undertaken in the period immediately after the democratic elections in 1994 as, deracialisation and the limits to desegregation; poverty, inequality and the social structure of towns; development and public policy; and political change and conflict (Seekings, 2000).[9] Desegregation and urban (re)integration studies have tended to document and critique the pace and characteristics of desegregation (Oelofse, 1994; Ballard, 2002; Western, 2002; Lemanski, 2006a) and to evaluate the complex negotiations of identity, race, community and neighbourhood change as they unfold in cities across the country (Oldfield, 2000; Ballard, 2002; 2004; 2004a; 2005; Bass, 2006; Low et al, 2007; Pillay et al, 2009).

Examinations of poverty and inequality abound within the geographical literature on South Africa and its cities; with much emphasis being placed on highlighting and critiquing the increasing social polarization in cities (Lohnert et al, 1998; Christopher, 2005; Lemanski, 2006, 2007) and on documenting the processes which attempt to address apartheid-driven urban inequality. Furthermore, the need for social justice and the tensions and difficulties associated with the need to provide support and infrastructure to the marginalised in South African cities are frequently highlighted (Smith 1995; 1995a; Visser, 2001; Ramutsindela, 2002; SACN, 2004; 2006).

---

[8] When considering the spectrum of geographical 'encounters' with the South African city, Boraine et al (2006) argue that urban assessments are either city specific or issue specific, with some research addressing cross-cutting urban issues such as poverty and the environment. City-specific studies have addressed multiple aspects of transition related to the larger and more prominent cities in South Africa, with works most commonly being written on Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (Pillay, 1996; 1996a; Saff, 1999; Tomlinson, 1999; Bremner, 2000; Wilkinson, 2000; Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Beall et al, 2002; Bouillon et al, 2002; Robinson, 2002; Nel et al, 2003; Tomlinson et al, 2003; Visser, 2003; Beavon, 2004; Pirie, 2004, 2005; Freund, 2007; McDonald, 2008).

[9] These are particular foci of issue-based research but it must be acknowledged that in reality these aspects of urbanism and transformation cannot be isolated from one another.

Considerations of urban political transformation have drawn geographers into debates on democratization and spatial change at the municipal level (Smith 1995a; Cameron, 1996; Maharaj, 1996a; Robinson, 1998; 2008; 2008a)[10], the rise of developmental local government; along with increasing responsibilities for delivery at the local scale (Maharaj, 2002; Parnell et al, 2000; Nel and Binns, 2003; Wilkinson, 2004; Harrison et al, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008), and post-apartheid policies and practice in the realm of urban development (Parnell et al, 2000; Todes, 2000; Grest, 2002; 2002a; Pieterse, 2003; 2005; Cameron et al, 2004; Pillay et al, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008). Debates over the relative values and success of integration and compaction versus the historically sprawling and divided South African city are a further theme in the considerations of urban policy in the context of transition (Todes 2000; 2002; Turok, 2001; Giraut and Maharaj, 2002; Pieterse, 2004a; 2005; 2006; Pillay, 2008). Here, there is a strong argument that policy for the spatial reintegration and densification of the city does not correspond to the private sector practices of spatial development in which urban sprawl is intensified (for example, see Todes, 2000; 2002).

Further to thinking about the relationship between development activities and new policy, a large portion of policy work and research has been on housing and the adequacy of housing subsidies and building programmes, along with concern for the allocation of housing to the poor (Seekings, 2000; Tomlinson, 2001; Oldfield, 2002; Harrison et al, 2003; Khan and Thring, 2003; Todes, 2003; Pillay, 2008). The provision of services has also become a strong area of interest, especially in recent years, as geographers have sought to examine the conflict and civil unrest which has arisen in protest against inadequate service provision, despite policy (and intention) to the contrary (Seekings, 2000; Oldfield, 2002; McDonald and Smith, 2004; Bond, 2005; Ballard et al, 2006; Pillay et al, 2006; Naidoo, 2007; McDonald, 2008).

Urban development and the formulation and implementation of new public policy have been extensively investigated and evaluated (Pillay, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008) and it is in this arena that this research most comfortably sits. There is evidence of a change in urban policy direction over the last decade. Initially the thinking on urban development and change was one of "restitution and integration" (Boraine et al, 2006, 261), largely related to the post apartheid Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), but now there is growing evidence of a concern with urban environmental sustainability and an emerging focus on 'good governance'. With the shift away from the RDP and an acceptance of the broader

---

[10] Also see the works by Watson (1998), Visser (2001), Bouillon (2002), Giraut and Maharaj (2002), Grest (2002), Wilkinson (2004), Beall (2006), Pieterse (2006), Pillay et al (2006), Ballard et al (2007), Ballard (2008), and van Donk et al (2008).

linkages between cities, there has been an emergence of "internationally recognizable aspirations of urban development …in the city halls of contemporary South Africa" such that "there has been a change (in the discourse of city governments) from the particularistic expression of the imperative of overcoming apartheid to a more generalised aspiration for urban innovation led by a developmental state" (Boraine et al, 2006, 260).[11]

This shift is not viewed uncritically (Bond, 2005; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Lemanski, 2007; Pillay, 2008; Pillay and Bass, 2008) and Boraine et al (2006, 260) have thus argued that the contemporary South Africa city cannot be fully understood without "consideration of trends towards urban innovation, competition and the drive for (economic) growth" that are evident in both the contemporary globalised context and in international urban geographical literature. It is contended here that although the focus on urban innovation and the growth of city competitiveness opens the door for new strategies which can be used optimistically to resolve urban challenges, the move away from directly targeted development interventions needs to be carefully evaluated and actioned. This will prevent a significant loss of focus on restitution which could create an environment where private sector profiteering occurs under the guise of urban development and the marginalised remain without help (Lemanski, 2007).

With a growing interest in governance (Parnell et al, 2002; Pieterse, 2002; van Donk et al, 2008), South African urban research has also encompassed an evaluation of the shift away from a total reliance on local government for urban change and management. This is evident in the increasing trend of multi-agency responsibility at the local scale (Hart, 2002; Boraine et al, 2006; Ballard et al, 2007; van Donk et al, 2008). This shift opens avenues of urban practice and research which both critique top-down interventions and question the nature of multi-agency-facilitated development. This includes that of public-private partnerships (PPPs) which are increasingly being encouraged and utilised as mechanisms of urban development in a variety of contexts (Pieterse, 2002; Moffett and Freund, 2004; Wilkinson, 2004; Ballard et al, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Smith and Morris, 2008). This study aims to contribute to these debates, particularly through an in-depth assessment of how public private partnerships are operating as locally embedded vehicles to create change in South African cities rather than simply as responses to global pressures imposed from above.

Further to Seekings (2000), the relationship between development and change in South African cities and the trends of globalisation is an emerging area of study (Carmody, 2002;

---

[11] See also, Pillay (2008) and Robinson (2008).

Pillay, 2004a; Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Robinson, 2008a). Cases under investigation include questions regarding whether South African cities have the potential to emerge as world cities (Pillay, 2004a); the following of global trends in urban development practice; the interrelationships between globally derived economic goals and more locally focused concerns with socio-economic and spatial redress (Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Miraftab, 2007; Robinson, 2008; 2008a); and social polarization resulting from globally-oriented development (Lemanski, 2007). Furthermore, there is evidence of a growing shift towards the consideration of how cities are responding to changed economies and economic needs resulting from the combined demands of new development policy and an increasingly globalised pressure for development, particularly in a context of transition and amplified local autonomy (Rogerson, 1999; 2000; Nel and Binns, 2003; Nel et al, 2003; McDonald, 2008). These studies include evaluations of both the difficulties arising from the adoption of global approaches to development which potentially exacerbate urban inequalities, and the possibilities for innovatively integrating broader approaches into urban development approaches in South Africa.

Related to the concerns over the links between globalisation and urban development in South Africa, urban economies are an area of significant research in the context of urban development. Research on the informal economy and shifts in economic productivity especially related to local economic development, has abounded (Tomlinson, 1994; 2003; Pillay, 1996a; 2004; 2008; Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998; Rogerson, 2002; 2003; Naude and Krugell, 2003; Nel and Binns, 2003; Simon, 2003; Dobson and Skinner, 2009).

A growing area of geographical research on the relationship between cities and globalisation, and one which is central to this study, is that which addresses the character and role of neoliberalism in South African cities. This research has emerged in response to the adoption and strengthening of neoliberal economic policy and thinking at the national level and through the pressures of urban competition which require cities to function effectively in a global market dominated by neoliberal assumptions and practices. Literature on this theme includes assessment of the growing role of neoliberalism in the cities and spaces of South Africa along with a critique of its impacts (McDonald and Smith, 2004; Bond, 2005; Miraftab, 2005; Dierwechter, 2006; Oldfield and Stokke, 2007; McDonald, 2008; Pillay, 2008). Concern for problems associated with the privatisation of service delivery (Miraftab, 2004; Bond, 2005; McDonald, 2008) and the consideration of the marginalised in a neoliberal system (in

particular, the poor and the labour force) (Cheru, 2001; Bond, 2005a; Dierwechter, 2006; Lemanski, 2007; Naidoo, 2007; McDonald, 2008) are most commonly researched.

Amongst these publications can be found a radical criticism of the 'neoliberal turn' in South Africa which argues that the new South African city and state continues to serve the interests of capital just as the apartheid government did (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002; McDonald and Smith, 2004; Bond, 2005a; McDonald, 2008). These analyses, however largely concentrate on the impacts of a neoliberal agenda on the South African city, providing an important critique of the ways in which these impacts limit the transformation agenda in South Africa and further entrench division and poverty. To this end, little has been written on how these impacts have come to occur in practice in South Africa. This thesis aims to understand the processes of negotiation between the neoliberal growth and the social transformation agendas; and which form of these discourses have become accepted and subsequently institutionalised and practiced.

Beyond these issue-based considerations, research has been conducted on particular South Africa cities; attempting to draw together the various aspects of urban change through analyses at the city scale. This city-specific, rather than issue-based, research has facilitated lessons for South Africa and other urban places by deeply examining the respective complexities of single cities. Furthermore, post apartheid urban research contains a wealth of case studies "that trace and interpret the impact of the state of urban life" (Boraine et al, 2006, 260). City specific work includes mostly bodies of research on the three major cities of Johannesburg (Tomlinson, 1999; Bremner, 2000; Beall et al, 2002; Robinson, 2002; Tomlinson et al, 2003; Beavon, 2004), Cape Town (Saff, 1999; Wilkinson, 2000; Watson, 2002; Visser, 2003; Pirie, 2004; 2005; McDonald, 2008;) and Durban[12] (Pillay, 1996, 1996a; Freund and Padayachee, 2001; Bouillon et al, 2002; Nel et al, 2003; Ballard et al, 2007; Freund, 2007; Low et al, 2007).

David McDonald (2008), in discussing his research on Cape Town in *World City Syndrome*, remarks that research in urban South Africa constitutes chasing a 'moving target'. This is because the urban dynamics change so frequently and the urban contexts are so volatile that it is difficult to keep up to date with the latest facts and figures and configurations of power. However, the smaller details that keep changing do not prevent the examination of the broader

---

[12] In the works by Bouillon et al (2002) and Freund (2007), Durban is assessed and theorised extensively, but in comparison with other cities. A much more intensive focus on the urban geography of Durban is provided in Chapter Five.

trends of urbanism and urban development dynamics. It is often a case that 'the more things change the more they stay the same', with the overarching trend of development being the neoliberalisation of the urban environment: "what this means analytically is that the target may be moving but it is moving in a relatively predictable (if volatile) direction" (McDonald, 2008, xix). This study adopts McDonald's conviction that one should then not be paralyzed by the speed of change within the cities of South Africa but should seek to understand the broader trends in these rapidly changing urban contexts.

Further to the thematic and city specific geographical endeavour outlined above, geographers have begun to question the theoretical underpinnings on which urban research in contemporary South Africa is grounded. These geographical perspectives, discussed below, are an important foundation of this study.

1.2.2 Broader concerns for the contributions of South African urban geography to the discipline

Geographers have begun to critique the focus of South African urban geography, and even the discipline as a whole (see Magi et al, 2002 and Ramutsindela, 2002a), arguing for a widening of the issues under examination and greater theoretical contribution to, and integration with, literature on cities elsewhere and from related disciplines (Parnell, 1997; Seekings, 2000; Oldfield et al, 2004; Mather, 2007; Mather and Ramutsindela, 2007; Parnell, 2007). Thus, given the developmental focus of much post apartheid urban geography, there has been a call to expand the spectrum of urban geographical research to include a deeper knowledge of basic urban processes and city structures as a whole (rather than through fragmented case study-based work), as well as to further examine themes such as the geographies of everyday life, new urban economies, and cultural and postcolonial perspectives (Seekings, 2000; Bass, 2006; Boraine et al, 2006). Furthermore, geographers have required (and begun to develop) new conceptualizations of the South African city, moving beyond parochial examinations (Parnell, 1997; Boraine et al, 2006) and shifting away from the pre and post apartheid dialectic to recognise that sixteen years on, in 2010, much has changed and much is continuing to change (Nuttall, 2004).

In addressing the need for broader theoretical themes and a shift away from studies which entrench a sense of the 'uniqueness' of the South African city, Parnell (1997) argues that we need to look beyond apartheid as the dominant or sole force shaping South Africa cities to broader and more general theoretical frameworks. She argues that, "a range of theoretical

perspectives usually reserved for consideration of the cities of advanced capitalist societies can be productively deployed in exploring those aspects of cities usually depicted as Third World" (Parnell, 1997, 891). This is especially the case since South African cities, like many others, display characteristics of what has been theoretically confined to either the North or the South. She examines ways in which what could be considered 'third world' aspects of South African cities, can be freshly investigated using interpretations related to what would typically be considered northern urban characterizations (Parnell, 1997). Parnell (1997) highlights how shifting the geographical gaze from an internal, apartheid focused view to a broader theoretical landscape can allow for new understandings and theorization of the South African (and Southern) city. In this vein, she argues that "perhaps in South Africa the time has come to abandon the claim to specificity and to look beyond the end of apartheid and, among other places, to the restructuring of the world economy in order to explain patterns of urban change" (Parnell, 1997, 900).

In addition, recent urban cultural geography by Nuttall (2004; 2009) has contributed a fresh perspective to examinations of contemporary South African cities. She argues that since the demise of apartheid much of what is thought about the South African city continues to be defined by the systems of apartheid and the associated historical academic interest in this system and its impacts. The geographical lens, she argues, therefore, is continuously tinted by the pre and post apartheid dynamic. Nuttall (2004; 2009) attempts to define new ways of seeing the South African city that do not abandon the consciousness of the role of the apartheid city but which move beyond its limitations, to seek theoretical frameworks through which to understand South African cities. She asks that recognition be given to the fact that so much has changed in South Africa and its cities. She requires us to move away from the thinking that all that happens in South Africa is leading to or as a result of apartheid and what it did in the country. The danger in framing everything through an apartheid lens, Nuttall (2004) contends, is that you might miss the contemporaneity of what is actually going on.[13] She therefore argues for new readings of the city, moving away from the political economy of cities, urbanization and poverty to new research into the nature of city life. She argues that given the dramatic changes taking place in South African cities, we need theories to understand culture and the city which take this into account. Although her work focuses on cultural geographies, there is much to learn from Nuttall's (2004; 2009) commentary and her ides will be specifically addressed in chapter three.

---

[13] Also see Robinson's (2008a) arguments which call for a new historiography of the South African cities so that continuities and discontinuities can be uncovered, rather than simply adhering to the apartheid vs. post apartheid periodisation as a lens through which to assess shifts in cities and local government.

Further to these arguments, Robinson (2002a; 2006; 2008) has called for a new theorisation of cities. In her conceptualisation of the 'ordinary city', she argues that western urban theory which considers urban development from the perspective of a global urban hierarchy is inadequate. Instead, she argues for a consideration of 'ordinary cities' in which the uniqueness and creative potential in each city is recognised (Robinson, 2006). This would allow for a consideration of cities, especially in the developing world; and South Africa; which encompasses the powerful agency of the local and embraces the potential to derive new understandings of the urban condition from in-depth examinations of individual cities (Robinson, 2006).

Beyond these arguments about consideration of cities in South Africa, geographers have been increasingly critical of their role in the wider discipline and have examined their ability to contribute to the growth of geographical theory.[14] These discussions involve the recognition of the relevance to South African cities of the theorisation of urban processes emerging from elsewhere, and the potential contribution of theory emerging from South Africa to the wider disciplines of geography and urban studies (Smith, 1995a; Parnell, 1997; Visser, 2001, 2002, 2008; Oldfield, 2002; Dierwechter, 2003; Oldfield et al, 2004; Harrison, 2006; Lemanski, 2007). These concerns regarding geographical perspectives in South Africa are integral to the research in this study as they highlight the ways in which research on South Africa intersects with broader fields of social theory and can contribute positively to the advancement of these bodies of knowledge; something which this study intends to do.

Critiques of the positionality of South African geography include a concern that thinking and theorizing in South Africa have been too closely reliant on the theoretical trends and epistemologies of the North (Magi et al, 2002; Dierwechter, 2003; Oldfield et al, 2004; Mather and Ramutsindela, 2007; Ramutsindela, 2007). It is possible that, at least to some extent, this reliance may have been unavoidable – given the overseas training of many academic geographers, the involvement of foreign academics in South African research as well as the need to publish in internationally recognised journals and to garner (international) funding for research (Ramutsindela, 2002, 2007). However, as Dierwechter (2003, 1), in discussing Allen Scott's (2001) argument for new possibilities of a spatial direction in learning, states, "instead of a world where an 'advanced' North – ahead in time and thus

---

[14] Rather than the more commonly found application and adaptation of theory generated from the Anglo-American core of the discipline (Parnell, 1997; Mather, 2007).

ahead in space - teaches through diffusion and a 'trailing' South… lessons can, should, and increasingly will, come from almost anywhere".

Oldfield et al (2004) highlight the disparity between the focus of urban studies in the North which examine the changes and opportunities provides by globalisation, while in the South, cities are viewed in terms of their developmental problems and poverty-stricken circumstances. This theoretical and empirical binary disrupts the potential for shared learning and limits the foci of urban research in both the northern and southern urban contexts as cities are deemed to have little in the way of shared experiences – even as the connections between these places and their experiences are growing in the globalised world (Oldfield et al, 2004). They argue for a reconfiguration of the discipline which facilitates "space for ideas and actions to theorise dynamics that are hidden and silenced by mainstream development and globalisation discourses" (Oldfield et al, 2004, 287). Of particular importance here is Oldfield et al's (2004, 294) argument that "the failure to produce ideas that move beyond the hollow critiques of neoliberalism and offer alternatives has had the effect of deepening dependent relations on Northern sources…in the terrain of theoretical and applied knowledge in South Africa". This study aims to uncover some of these dynamics by undertaking empirical research which integrates both the concerns of development in post apartheid South Africa (overcoming apartheid induced inequalities) and the ways in which neoliberalism interfaces with the developmental context in cities such as Durban.

Arguments abound that geographical research in the South is seen as a site for the collection of empirical data rather than theory formulation and development. This peripheralisation of geographical thought is seen as entrenched by academic positionality and practice in both the South and the North and needs to be addressed through critical reflection and through the formulation of alternative positionality and new ways of theorizing (Oldfield et al, 2004; Mather, 2007; Mather and Ramutsindela, 2007; Ramutsindela, 2007). With pressure to contribute to change in both the apartheid and post apartheid state, geographers have been involved in case studies and practice-oriented research which are often deficient in theory (Ramutsindela, 2007). There is therefore limited opportunity for the engagement of local geographers on general themes and broader theory which can bring about deeper understandings of South Africa (Parnell, 1997; Ramutsindela, 2007). However, researchers should recognise that South African experiences offer lessons and insights which are relevant elsewhere and can lead to the advancement of geographical understanding as a whole (Ramutsindela, 2007). Furthermore, greater and new forms of theorization stemming from

South Africa can serve to disrupt the notion that the south is a 'data bank' for the north, a task which is necessary for all southern researchers, including geographers (Ramutsindela, 2007).

The nature of urban change is an important aspect of the geographical terrain of South Africa with the many dimensions of urban transition being researched and theorised. This study takes as its starting point the existing analyses of contemporary urban geography of South Africa and heeds the calls for greater theorization within and from South African geographers. This research therefore aims to expand this body of knowledge through critical reflection on urban development processes which have occurred in the city of Durban as it experiences transformation.

1.3   Outline of Chapters

This section outlines the structure of the thesis chapters, commencing with the description of the theoretical framework of the study, followed by the background to the study, the research methodology and the results and discussion emerging from the analysis of the data collected in the study.

As is evident above, this first chapter introduces the study, positioning it within the context of South African urban geography and presenting the aims and objectives that have formed the guiding framework for the research. Chapters Two and Three review a range of bodies of literature to create a theoretical framework through which the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives in public private partnerships can be examined.

Chapter Two concentrates on three bodies of literature, namely, those of neoliberalism, the development dilemma in contemporary cities, and public private partnerships as a tool for urban development. The theorization of neoliberalism is initially presented as a set of widely accepted tenets of neoliberalism and the associated arguments for its diffusion and entrenchment across the world. The discussion of neoliberalism then advances to address literature which critiques this approach to development and its associated impacts, and furthermore engages with theoretical debates which challenge the nature of neoliberalism itself and call for alternative theorizations which move beyond those presented earlier in the chapter. Further to this discussion, the chapter includes a review of the theorization of the main development agendas in contemporary cities, highlighting the relationship between cities and the global economy. On the whole, these agendas require that urban development

incorporates both economic growth-focused development, which is intended to boost the competitiveness of cities and improve their levels of global connectivity and foreign direct investment, and development to address urban social problems such as lack of services and infrastructure. These competing agendas create a dilemma for actors within cities as they are required to juggle these imperatives, often with scarce resources and in the face of dire need for improvements to the quality of life of urban residents. Finally, Chapter Two critically considers public private partnerships as a mechanism for urban development and regeneration, which have become increasingly popular within contemporary cities, particularly in the light of neoliberal 'reforms' in cities.

Chapter Three responds to the calls for alternative theorisations of neoliberalism presented in Chapter Two, and argues for ways in which to better understand how actors in cities address the development dilemma which has arisen in a context of globalisation and neoliberalism. To this end, the Chapter includes a review of the active role of space and place in conceptualizations of the relationship between globalised approaches to development and the local scale. Furthermore, the discussion engages with the theorisation of the 'ordinary city' as a concept which acknowledges the uniqueness of cities and facilitates an understanding of cities as creative, dynamic places which are able to do much more than merely respond to global forces. Building on the opportunities for theorizing urban development offered by an ordinary cities approach, the discussion turns to an examination of the notion of 'entanglement'. This discussion presents a critical examination of the concept of entanglement and of the ways in which it has most recently been used by cultural critics and geographers to address the dynamics of contemporary societal relationships and relationships of power. It is argued that this concept offers opportunities for a relational interpretation of the engagement between urban development imperatives and their articulation with neoliberalism which moves beyond the dualism inherent in the mainstream theorisations of their competition.

Chapters Four and Five present the background to the study. Chapter Four presents characteristics of South Africa's national transition that are pertinent to this study. The chapter includes details of the increasing involvement of South Africa in the global community and economy as well as the national and municipal transition which has followed the democratic elections of 1994. Furthermore, the impacts of these processes on the development trajectories of South Africa are examined. Chapter Five focuses particularly on Durban, including a brief outline of the history of the city followed by a presentation of the

contemporary political, economic, social and urban planning characteristics of the city. Furthermore, the urban development processes within the city since the 1990s, and the public private partnerships used as an urban development mechanism in Durban, are presented in the chapter. These chapters thus build the context in which the negotiation of urban development imperatives occurs.

Chapter Six presents the methodology used to conduct the research. This chapter describes the social constructivist approach applied in the study and the techniques used to collect data for the research. To this end, the sampling, collection and interpretation of a variety of primary data sources are discussed, with the predominant focus on the administration of semi-structured interviews which were central to the collection of primary data for the research.

The seventh, eighth and ninth chapters provide the results and analysis of the study. Chapter Seven initiates the analytical argument by providing an interpretation of the ways in which the urban development imperatives of redress and economic growth can be understood to be entangled. This argument relies on critical interpretation of the discursive production of urban development imperatives by actors within the public private partnerships within Durban. Furthermore, Chapter Seven addresses the inter-relationships between the entanglement of urban development imperatives and the tenets of neoliberalism. Chapter Eight further develops the analytical argument of the thesis, highlighting the implications for the urban development agenda adopted by public private partnerships by arguing for the production of a process of 'actually existing neoliberalism' which emerges through the entanglement of urban development imperatives and the consequent reshaping of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). This chapter also addresses the conditions which inform the shape of this 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

In Chapter Nine, two projects undertaken through the public private partnerships in Durban are examined in order to further examine the emergence of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' in Durban's urban development processes. Here, the projects are used to present evidence of both the material outcomes of the negotiation of urban development imperatives and the characteristics of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which are revealed. Finally, the tenth chapter concludes the thesis. This chapter provides a summary of the main findings of the research and crystallises the theoretical argument presented in the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO
NEOLIBERALISM, URBAN DEVELOPMENT
AND PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

2.1   Introduction

This study aims to examine the ways in which neoliberalism influences public private partnerships, particularly in respect to how they negotiate the competing development imperatives of socio-economic redistribution and global competitiveness. In order to address these concerns, two theoretical chapters are presented in this thesis. This first theoretical chapter critically examines existing literature related to the aim of the research, namely neoliberalism, contemporary urban development imperatives and public private partnerships. The discussion critically reviews conceptualizations of neoliberalism and theories that seek to explain urban development and mechanisms, such as public private partnerships, which are used to achieve urban development. This discussion opens doors to new avenues of investigation which can provide further insight into the interrelationships between neoliberalism, public private partnerships and the negotiation of competing urban development imperatives. Subsequently, the second theoretical chapter (Chapter three) proceeds down these avenues to offer a critical discussion of the concepts necessary to advance the theorization of development imperatives and neoliberalism at the local level.

To begin with, section 2.2 presents an examination of neoliberalism from a geographical perspective, which includes a discussion of its main tenets, the commonly argued processes through which it has become a hegemonic approach to development and, in section 2.2.2, the critiques of its outcomes are presented. Furthermore, section 2.2.3 addresses the critiques which have arisen in regard to how neoliberalism has been theorised and highlights the arguments for how neoliberalism can be better understood and theorised. In section 2.3, the discussion moves on to address the dualistic urban development imperatives which have emerged in contemporary cities in the light of global economic restructuring. To this end, the discussion highlights urban competitiveness and economic growth, and the concomitant shifts in governance, as the commonly promoted solution to urban problems. Finally section 2.4, presents a critical discussion of public private partnerships as a pre-eminent tool for urban development in the contemporary city.

2.2   Neoliberalism

Across much of the prevailing literature, neoliberalism is identified as a set of coherent conventions that are understood to be the dominant system through which the contemporary global economy operates and is controlled (Thrift, 1999; Larner, 2003; Barnett, 2005; Massey, 2005; McNeill, 2005). However, numerous scholars across disciplines such as geography, political science, economics, and sociology have recently engaged in fully describing and understanding what neoliberalism is, tracing the paths of neoliberalisation processes and examining the widespread and multiple effects of "neoliberal capitalist globalisation" in a range of contexts (Massey, 2005, 4).[15] The following section draws predominantly on the geographical literature within this collection of work on neoliberalism to critically engage with the range of interpretations of neoliberalism, how it functions and how it has become globally diffused.

2.2.1   Looking at the surface: Defining neoliberalism and examining the emergence of the new orthodoxy of neoliberalism

While acknowledging the many debates surrounding what neoliberalism is and how it plays a role in cities today (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Larner, 2003; Peck, 2004; McNeill, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005; Castree, 2005), this section will begin the examination of neoliberalism by providing a review of some of the most widely accepted tenets of neoliberalism in the literature. These tenets of neoliberalism, namely, market freedom, competition and the sovereignty of the individual, will then act as a point of departure for a more critical engagement with literature on neoliberalism which follows.

As Harvey (2005, 2) has argued, "neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade". Thus neoliberal theory argues that opportunities for individual freedom and an improvement in access to social goods increase as the market is freed through processes of deregulation and globalisation, and as the sphere of influence of the market is enlarged to include public 'goods' areas such as the environment, water and medical care (Harvey, 2005).

---

[15] See, for instance, Larner (2000; 2003); Peck (2001; 2004); Peck and Tickell (2002); Jessop (2002); Brenner & Theodore (2002, 2002a); Massey (2005); McNeill (2005); Harvey (2005; 2006); Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005); Barnett (2006); Castree (2005; 2006); and Purcell (2008).

At its core then, neoliberalism is seen to advocate the achievement of economic growth through the free operation of the private sector in a market economy that is not altered by the involvement, or interference, of government (Pryke, 1999; Mayo, 2005; Shaikh, 2005). According to neoliberal ideals, the state is to remain uninvolved in the economy, except in its role of creating the institutional framework to support free market practices such as free trade and private property rights (Dumenil and Levy, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). Where markets do not exist the state is required to create a market; such as in the case of electricity and water provision, and environmental pollution, but once this market exists the state should withdraw from influencing its functionality (Coronil, 2001; Harvey, 2005). Under neoliberalism the market is depoliticised as far as possible, with arguments abounding that deference to the market is necessary (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001). Therefore, under neoliberalism, economic politics becomes about 'adjusting to and accommodating' the market as opposed to changing, controlling and manipulating the market for the public good (Peck, 2004). It is argued that these restructurings lead to less bureaucratic delays and increased efficiency and productivity which are beneficial for the market and for the consumer. Therefore, to achieve these goals the state must work to increase privatisation, tax reforms and financial liberalization along with deregulation of the economy and therefore increase competitiveness within the global market (Peet and Hardwick, 1999 in Peck, 2001; Barnett, 2005; Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberal theory holds that competition is good (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Barnett, 2005; Harvey, 2005, 2006). Competition on a variety of spatial scales, such as between cities and/or regions and between both individuals and businesses, is encouraged (Sheppard, 2000). In ensuring competition, the neoliberal state must ensure that capital is freely able to move through the global market. Therefore free trade should be ensured through the reduction of trade barriers, competitive exchange rates and the formation of multi-state free trade agreements which facilitate trading on a global scale to further options for competition and its resultant benefits (Peet and Hardwick, 1999 in Peck, 2001; Harvey, 2005). This issue of competition becomes especially important when considering the development processes in cities which are discussed in section three below.

Furthermore, the sovereignty of the individual is a central pillar of the neoliberal approach where the freedom of choice by individuals is promoted. People must ensure their individual quality of life and become consumers of services rather than recipients of basic needs provided by a more welfare-oriented state (Painter, 2000; Mayo, 2005). This reflects a

significant move away from the welfarist Keynesian models previously dominant in nation states and underlies shifts in the constitution of civil society and the nature of issues which reach policy and protest agendas (Painter, 2000; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Coronil, 2001).

In this section, the key tenets of the neoliberal approach are presented. The following section outlines the main arguments as to how this approach has become widespread across the globe and has become established as the dominant paradigm of economic development in the contemporary globalised world.

a)   Neoliberalism across the globe

Since its emergence in practice during the late 1970s, neoliberalism has "become hegemonic as a mode of discourse" with few alternatives being sought to counter the modes of capital accumulation which it advocates and institutionalises (Harvey, 2005, 3). Although there are continuous calls for caution in ascribing the theoretical and practical origins of neoliberalism to one body of ideas or to a few geographical locations (Larner, 2000; 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Barnett, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005), some consensus exists regarding the emergence of neoliberalism and its diffusion across the globe (see Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2003, 2005, 2006). The arguments presented below typify this consensus in explaining the dispersion and entrenchment of the neoliberal approach across the globe (Larner, 2000; Jessop, 2002; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberalism has its roots in a diverse and sometimes contradictory set of ideas which, although they existed as early as the 1930s, were counter to the notions of the Keynesian welfare state and were sidelined by mainstream thinkers and policy-makers until the 1970s (Peck, 2001, 2004; Mayo, 2005). After a number of experimental attempts at neoliberal reform in the 1970s and 1980s[16], the neoliberal approach gathered strength when it became the central feature of the Thatcher and Reagan administrations during the 1980s (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Peck, 2004; Dumenil and Levy, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Mayo, 2005). At this time, neoliberalism became viewed as a possible solution to the limitations and failures of the existing system of 'embedded liberalism' (Harvey, 2005) and was taken up as a response to the conditions resulting from the introduction and entrenchment of Fordist-Keynesian policies

---

[16] These experiments were evident in the changing approaches of a number of states in geographically diverse places such as New Zealand, Chile and even China (Larner, 2000; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005).

and state involvement in the control and regulations of markets and social welfare (Amin, 2001a; Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2003; 2005; Mayo, 2005; Palley, 2005).[17] By the 1990s, neoliberalism had become the new economic orthodoxy with the tenets of neoliberalism becoming the dominant policy-orientation within nation states and in supra-national organizations such as the World Bank (Pryke, 1999; Harvey, 2005).

It is argued that the shift to neoliberalism as a dominant system has been facilitated by conditions which existed in the global economy when 'experiments' with implementing neoliberalism were initiated (Swyngedouw, 2000; Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Firstly, during the 1990s, there was an accelerated move to encourage fewer market constraints to financial investment such that deregulation of markets occurred and much more foreign direct investment occurred across the globe (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Secondly, at this time, international trade agreements abounded and the World Trade Organisation began to unify and consolidate approaches to international trade. This resulted in "the increasing geographical mobility of capital" which strengthened the globalisation of the market and the neoliberal discourses adopted by economically dominant states and global institutions such as the World Bank and IMF (Harvey, 2005, 92). Under these conditions capital could now flow more easily and countries were placed under new pressures to create and maintain an economic climate which would capture and retain foreign investment (Swyngedouw, 2000). These conditions were further compounded by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc from 1989 which had the effect of discrediting state led 'reform' and encouraging economy-led practices (Jessop, 2002; Mayo, 2005).

Since the adoption of neoliberalism was being viewed as commensurate with the creation of a 'good' economic climate, these reforms and restructurings were increasingly adopted by countries as they competed with other states to attract global capital (Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). In addition, in the global South, the adoption of neoliberal reforms was significantly influenced by the adoption of structural adjustment policies imposed by the IMF, which required poor and indebted states to adopt the neoliberal reorganisation of their national economies as a condition of assistance (Painter, 2000; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Mayo, 2005). This occurred even in cases where poor countries did not have the underlying economic conditions of 'embedded liberalism', to which neoliberalism was called to respond in the West (Harvey, 2005).

---

[17] These conditions included a slowing of economic growth in national economies, rising inflation, increasing rates of unemployment, strong trade unionism and a large and unwieldy bureaucracy needed to administer the welfare state (Amin, 2000; Campbell, 2005).

The dispersion of neoliberalism across the globe has not occurred in precisely the same fashion in different places (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; 2002a; Peck and Tickell, 2002). In attempting to decipher patterns in the variable processes through which neoliberalism has been instituted in places over the last few decades, it has been argued that rather than considering neoliberalism a coherent set of ideas or a normative end-point, it should largely be conceptualised as a process of 'neoliberalisation' (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Since it is a process, considerations of neoliberalisation incorporate the various means through which neoliberalism has been instituted and implemented in many contexts across the world such that it can be understood as historically specific, contingent, evolving and incomplete (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Moreover, the concept of neoliberalisation allows for an exploration of the diversity, contradictions, shifts and local specificities engendered in the ways in which ideas ascribed to neoliberalism have been realised in places (Peck, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

Peck (2001) and Peck and Tickell (2002) have offered a theorisation of the processes which constitute neoliberalisation which typically occurs in places. Within this theorisation, neoliberalisation is conceptualised as occurring in two phases, those of 'roll back' and 'roll out' neoliberalism (Peck, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002). 'Roll back' neoliberalism is associated with the practices of neoliberalisation in which the major reform project was to eliminate Keynesian institutions and practices from governments such as in the case of Thatcher's United Kingdom in the 1970s. Following on from this dismantling of the welfare state, 'roll out' neoliberalism saw numerous steps being taken to entrench neoliberal state reforms and modes of governance (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Here, neoliberalism is seen as a process of "regulatory reinvention" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, 392) in which, although crises may arise from the initial rolling back of welfare state institutions, the programme of neoliberalism adapts to take on new processes of reform and 'policy learning' through which neoliberalisation continues to roll out along new paths.[18] Brenner and Theodore (2002a) advance Peck and Tickell's arguments by providing an assessment of the destructive and the creative moments of neoliberalisation. Although similar to 'roll out' and 'roll back' neoliberalism, destruction and creation processes in neoliberalisation are respectively conceptualised as a multiscalar, uneven and multidirectional process rather than the more

---

[18] This is evident in the rise of the 'Third Way' in the 1990s in the US and UK as initial problems began to emerge from the regime shifts of Thatcher and Reagan (Jessop, 2002). As an approach, the 'Third Way' seeks to forge a middle ground between the strictly laissez-faire economy advanced in neoliberalism theory and the much more state controlled economies of the Keynesian approach (Palley, 2005) and has been described as an approach which lies "between the free market ideology of the Right and social democracy (Arestis and Sawyer, 2005, 177).

linear progression of a neoliberal march of reform as proposed by Peck (2001) and Peck and Tickell (2002).

However, beyond defining the processes through which neoliberalism has been extended across the globe, it is undeniable that these reforms have spread very swiftly, diffused and remain largely unquestioned with regard to the need for their adoption. The following section puts forward some of the common arguments as to why this is the case.

Harvey (2005), amongst others, has made a case for how neoliberal reform has come to be so widely accepted as a legitimate course of action. He argues that, as a paradigm, the neoliberal approach became entrenched in the private sector as a means to overcoming the limitations of the Fordist and welfare systems. Initially, the private sector believed these dramatic shifts in policy and practice would be 'good for business' and would ultimately enable the absolute liberation of the individual by facilitating freedom of choice and advancing entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 2005). These notions flowed through to social spheres such as those of higher education, the media, and government think tanks, as the private sector argued persuasively for neoliberal reforms. The adoption of these ideas by powerful decision-makers emerging from higher education institutions which advanced this approach and the widespread promotion of these ideas through the media, led the majority of society to the acceptance of neoliberal ideas as a legitimate and beneficial paradigm. This acceptance has created "a climate of opinion in support of neoliberalism as the guarantor of freedom" which has been taken on by political parties, which are supported into office by a consenting public. This has ultimately resulted in the entrenchment of neoliberalism within state mechanisms (Harvey, 2005, 40). In addition, it is argued that neoliberalism has become widely adopted because of the ideological influence of the arguments which pronounce neoliberalism as a passage to individual 'freedom', resulting in fewer arguments for alternatives to neoliberalisation (Larner, 2000; Harvey, 2005).

Supra-national organisations have also played their role in the diffusion and legitimation of neoliberalism. For example, the World Bank and IMF adopted this paradigm as the foundation of their structural adjustment programme, causing many countries to adopt the necessary reforms with little room for critique or negotiation (Painter, 2000; Zeleza, 2003; Bond, 2005a; Harvey, 2005; Mayo, 2005). In a less direct way, organisations such as the United Nations have furthered the legitimisation of neoliberalism by advocating its tenets with little critique. This is evident in Jessop's (2002) illustration of how neoliberalism has

been entrenched in the realm of urban change and development. In this context, significant works, such as the 2000 World Report on the Urban Future 21 by UN-HABITAT, uncritically use the principles of neoliberalism to conceptualise urban problems and to promote solutions to them in a range of cities (Jessop, 2002).

Further to the broad legitimisation of neoliberalism, some of its power exists in its ability to limit the potential to find alternatives (Guthman, 2008) Even in cases where neoliberalism is not readily accepted, within the processes of neoliberalisation it is often difficult to protest against or to reform the neoliberal agenda, particularly because it is difficult to develop political action against it through bottom up processes (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Guthman, 2008). This is partially because the possibilities of seeking alternatives are subsumed or overpowered by a neoliberal governmentality which precludes that solutions be sought from outside 'the box' (Guthman, 2008). This is evident in the thrust to look outwards to foreign investors rather than inwards for capital and for policy solutions in cities and nation states. Thus, political institutions "may be consumed by the strains of the larger political economy" in which they are pushed towards seeking macro-solutions such as international investment or structural adjustment loan agreements and micro-solutions, such as city visioning processes and regeneration. These solutions are prescribed by powerful institutions such as the World Bank, and which, because they seem to be proliferating across the world, appear to be worthwhile and/or unavoidable (Davies, 2000, 5).

Once a national policy or government adopts a neoliberal framework as a preferred or necessary means to achieve development goals, a local state or an urban centre within it has much less freedom to choose a different path. In addition, neoliberalism has seen the devolution of responsibility to the local state but without a concomitant increase in power or resources. This limits the capacity of the local scale to seek pathways to development which fall outside of the neoliberal approach (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Thus, to a certain extent, in the process of neoliberalisation, "redistributive measures are kept off the political agenda because urban managers are compelled to attract and retain businesses that tend to avoid high tax environments" (Petersen, 1981 in Parker 2004, 123) (see section 2.3 below for further discussion of dilemmas which emerge in cities in this context).

Further to these arguments about the process of neoliberalisation, there is a sense that the absorption of stakeholders into the more inclusive governance processes which are embedded in a context of neoliberalism (see section 2.3.3) actually deepens the power of neoliberal

discourses as the ability to protest becomes weakened. Such processes of socialisation, which occur in the processes of institutionalising neoliberal forms of decision-making and practice, limit opportunities for alternative ways of acting and creating change to emerge (Gough, 2002). For example, activists are more able to participate in formal processes of decision-making but they often have less power to create change than they might have had if they had remained outside these processes. This absorption of protest politics into the neoliberal agendas of personal consumerist freedom thus allows the paradigm to remain dominant at the local scale (see Katz, 2005; Larner and Craig, 2005; Laurie, Andolina and Radcliffe, 2005; Power, 2005; Richardson, 2005). As Katz (2005, 623) has stated:

> "the defanging[19] of oppositional practices and positions, the reliance on newly professionalised activists to compensate for the losses associated with neoliberal policies, the ways the rhetoric and practices of 'partnerships' can mask and even create an alibi for the degradations of neoliberalism."

This limits the power to protest or to seek alternatives to neoliberalism and its effects on the ground.

Thus, through various means, neoliberalism, as a set of conventions which advocate market liberalisation and its benefits, is a relatively new orthodoxy in global organisations, nation states and within the local sphere. However, despite its widespread popularity, neoliberalism, its arguments and its outcomes are not unproblematic and do not remain uncontested. The following sections trace critiques of neoliberalism from a wide range of perspectives.

2.2.2   Looking below the surface: Critiquing neoliberalism

There are multiple and extensive critiques of neoliberalism. These critiques emerge in two predominant arguments. Firstly, these arguments exist with respect to the inadequate realisation of the promises made by the neoliberal approach and the frequently worsening conditions of social and economic inequality which it creates when put into practice. Secondly, the reality of neoliberalism as a unified and singular approach is questioned since many variations of neoliberalism are proposed to exist in actuality. The following discussion will interrogate these arguments to establish the clear disjuncture between neoliberalism as a theory and the outcomes of this macro-economic approach on the ground (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). Furthermore, this interrogation seeks to draw out a more nuanced understanding of neoliberalism itself (in section 2.3).

---

[19] 'Defanging' implies the disempowerment of these practices and positions.

In critiques of neoliberalism and its pursuits, the concerns for market freedom and the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor are held up as central failures of the approach (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b; Harvey, 2005; Leitner et al, 2007). The following section will review these critiques as a means to illustrate how neoliberalism has been opposed.

Central to a critique of neoliberalism is the rejection of the neoliberal argument that the liberalisation of the market is synonymous with democracy (Coronil, 2001; Kohl, 2002; Bond, 2005; Harvey, 2005, 2006). Although a neoliberal state assumes the sovereignty of the individual, under neoliberalism the state actually represents the freedom of private capital, multinational corporations and land owners (Coronil, 2001; Harvey, 2005). As such, the state typically adopts the role of providing a 'good business climate' and does much less to directly address the social well being of citizens. States have thus been seen to shift their social agenda towards the provision of a free market economy that will provide economic freedom for citizens, thereby significantly cutting their social welfare contributions and privatizing service provision (Peck, 2001). The state aims to provide a stable context in which foreign investment can take place and any move to increase democratization is tempered by an agenda of market stability – the creation of a good business climate rather than out of concern for the citizenry (Kohl, 2002). States are seen to continue their support of the agenda of a good market climate despite evidence of reduced quality of life or dissent amongst the populace, calling into question the linkage between neoliberalism and improved democracy and the social benefits usually associated with a well functioning democracy (Harvey, 2005).

Theoretically, in a neoliberal state, the individual has free choice but, in reality, cannot choose to fight for state intervention in the economy since state intervention in the neoliberal economy is typically viewed as repressive (Harvey, 2005). Kohl (2002) argues that, generally, neoliberal states keep a semblance of democracy as the mechanism for social and political stability which limits protest against discriminatory reform, and in turn supports neoliberalisation and sidelines democracy (Kohl, 2002). Overall, these shifts have the potential for widespread disempowerment of citizens, particularly in cases where much of the population is already marginalised.

A further critique of neoliberalism arises from the promotion of competition as a means of increasing market freedom. Neoliberal arguments for competition problematically assume that the landscape for competition is fair, with all having equal access to the same information at the same time and therefore equally able to make decisions (Shaikh, 2005). This does not

occur in reality, particularly when neoliberalism has been introduced in poorer places with lower levels of human and infrastructural capital than elsewhere in the world (Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005; Shaikh, 2005). In addition, the rise of monopolies and oligarchies through processes of competition are seen to conflict with the freedoms supposedly incurred through competition. Thus those who begin in a relatively weak position in the market cannot 'beat' the stronger competition (Shaikh, 2005).

Further to the abovementioned criticisms, the disjuncture between neoliberal promises and realities is evident in the relationship between process of neoliberalisation and the increasing gap between the wealthy and the poor. This has become a cornerstone of anti-neoliberalism arguments (Coronil, 2001; Mayo, 2005). Proponents of neoliberal theory would argue both that poverty can be eliminated through the implementation of a neoliberal system and that there is no possible alternative to this method of poverty alleviation (Roberts et al, 2003; Harvey, 2005; 2006). Wealth is viewed as created through the innovation and entrepreneurialism of the private sector and increased competition such that, through the productive economy, wealth is able to 'trickle down' to the masses, effectively eradicating poverty (Harvey, 2005). A neoliberal state holds to the belief that poverty can be eliminated through a productive economy. In a neoliberal state people are seen as responsible for their own actions and their personal well being. If failure to secure well being occurs then this is seen as the result of personal failures rather than a failure of the state system or economy to support good quality of life (Harvey, 2005).

Research has shown that the reality however is quite different. States withdraw from the provision of social services and an authoritarian market with deregulation allows for little freedom of choice by consumers, while many possibilities for instances of corruption and greed on the side of corporate capital are provided (see Harvey (2005) for an example of how this has occurred in the provision of healthcare). Consideration of places in which neoliberalism has been most extensively applied, reveal that there is an "everyday reality of persistent economic stagnation" where social inequality and poverty increase, and where place based competition results in negative local consequences rather than the extensive economic growth and spin-off social wellbeing benefits which are promised by neoliberal theory (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, 352). Also as neoliberalism has further enriched and empowered the elite classes across the world, it has increased the gap between the wealthy and the poor within and across nations; consolidating wealth in the elite minority and increasing social inequality particularly in the global South (Storper, 2001; Kohl, 2002;

Harvey, 2003, 2005; Zeleza, 2003; Dumenil and Levy, 2005). Increasingly too, the costs of badly invested money must be born by the borrowers and not by the lenders. This is the case in the adoption of structural adjustment programmes by countries indebted to the IMF and by urban citizens in cities in the developing world where there is fiscal crisis (Kohl, 2002; Harvey, 2005).

Socio-economic inequality is further increased by the rising importance of global trade, finance and the relative decline of manufacturing associated with the shifting global economy (Storper, 2001). In many countries, although growth within the manufacturing sector may occur, it is no longer related to overall improvements in per capita income while shifts in the global market impact on daily life more readily than in the past (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Harvey, 2005). As manufacturing declines in importance due to the restructuring of the global economy, this impacts negatively on those states which have little power within the world financial system and which are no longer able to leverage economic growth for social upliftment via the global exchange of manufactured goods (Fainstein, 1996). Growing unemployment is thus frequently seen as a consequence of the implementation of neoliberal policies, particularly in the global South (Kohl, 2002). Furthermore, the rights of labour are arguably diminished under neoliberalism as work security and the social benefits historically provided to labour are reduced. This is especially the case where people are increasingly required to buy their social security through the market, e.g. pension and medical aid schemes (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Zeleza, 2003).

Thus the gap between the rich and the poor has grown and poverty has systematically increased across the globe (Coronil, 2001; Storper, 2001; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002). As Harvey (2005) has argued, no matter how neoliberalism has been adopted it always leads to increased poverty and marginalisation, on the one hand, and a concentration of wealth for the elites on the other. Harvey (2003, 2005) has argued that neoliberalism is a class project, aimed, and succeeding, at consolidating the power and wealth of the elite class, primarily by dispossessing others of their 'wealth' – a process he describes as 'accumulation by dispossession'. The reinforcement of poverty and inequality caused by neoliberal policy and practice have led to increased and consolidated social movement activity and protests against international organizations and against neoliberal 'reforms' at a national or urban level (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Kohl, 2002; Zeleza, 2003; Mayo, 2005; Leitner et al, 2007; Rigg, 2007; Purcell, 2008).

Much of the literature which critically examines the neoliberal approach is dominated by examinations of the abovementioned consequences of the implementation of neoliberalism. The following section addresses a smaller, but seminal, body of work which critiques the dominant understandings of neoliberalism itself and thereby calls for new kinds of research and theorising.

2.2.3 Rethinking what it is we are looking at: 'Impure' neoliberalism

This chapter has thus far outlined the tenets of neoliberalism, the arguments as to how neoliberalisation has unfolded, the entrenchment of this approach as a new global orthodoxy, and the critiques of neoliberalism which provide evidence of the negative outcomes of the neoliberalisation. These themes are typical of geographical literature which addresses neoliberalism but do not encompass all facets of the exploration of neoliberalism being undertaken by geographers and social scientists.

Central to these alternative examinations of neoliberalism and neoliberalisation is Castree's (2006, 4, original emphasis) claim that "neoliberalism is 'impure' at *all* geographical scales." Thus, rather than accepting neoliberalism as a set of ideas and critiquing the repercussions of its implementation, these theorists are scrutinizing the lack of reconciliation between the seeming hegemony of neoliberalism and the reality of the widely variable manifestation of neoliberalism in regions, nation states and cities (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Jessop, 2002; Katz, 2005; Power, 2005). This scrutiny involves questions as to why the institutionalisation of neoliberalism has not led to a 'convergence' of places in which they become homogenised by a process of neoliberalisation (Peck, 2004). Furthermore, the various adoptions of neoliberalism within specific places; adapting, distorting and adjusting the tenets of neoliberalism to accommodate local contexts and to address localised requirements of the neoliberalisation shift, have become a critical area of interest to geographers in particular (see, for instance, Larner, 2000; 2003; Hart, 2002; Peck, 2001; 2004; Harvey, 2005; Castree, 2005; 2006).

Such arguments about the local embeddedness and hegemonic tendencies of neoliberalism are opening new avenues for our understanding of neoliberalism and neoliberalisation that serve to deepen our insights into the variable 'impurities' and complexities of what neoliberalism is and therefore how it functions. The following section thus concludes this discussion of neoliberalism by drawing on the above-mentioned discussions which question how we should research and think about the approach itself.

An important aspect of this research is a concern for the role of the local context in determining the ways in which neoliberalisation occurs, which then impacts on the nature of neoliberalism itself (Hart, 2002). As Peck (2004, 395) has argued, "no transition to neoliberalism was ever solely an 'inside job', nor was it just an 'external imposition'…for this is a locally embedded yet transnational process". Thus neoliberalisation processes have been variously affected by factors such as, the persuasive power of neoliberal ideas and those who hold them; the need to correct a financial crisis in a state; the power of capital in a state; a pragmatic approach to state reforms; and the strength of class forces, including labour and social movements (Larner, 2000; Hart, 2002; Harvey, 2005). These local influences are seen to introduce "difference, path dependency, and unevenness in terms of process and outcome: (producing) neoliberalisations in the plural" (Castree, 2006, 3). Therefore, although it is recognised that neoliberalism may have some overarching or generic qualities across different places, there is also much that is specific to neoliberalism(s) within particular places (Peck and Tickell, 2002). To this end, Brenner and Theodore (2002a, 353) have argued for the consideration of 'actually existing neoliberalism' since it is necessary to understand neoliberalism not as a defined project or ideology, but as a process which is historically specific and continually unfolding, and which "systematically misrepresents" what the effects are of the reform programme of neoliberalism.

When considering the concept of 'actually existing neoliberalism', it becomes necessary for arguments about neoliberalism to accept that there is no such thing as a purely neoliberal state or locality but rather there are numerous examples of places which show neoliberal tendencies to a lesser or greater degree, in a variety of manifestations and in an assortment of often unstable and transitional aspects of the state (Larner, 2000; Harvey, 2005). As Larner (2000, 14) argues,

> "different formulations of neo-liberalism emerge out of a multiplicity of political forces always in competition with each other, producing unintended outcomes and unexpected alignments. Moreover, the emergence of new political projects is never a complete rupture with what has gone before, but rather part of an ongoing process involving the re-composition of political rationalities, programmes and identities."

Therefore, interpretations of neoliberalism at the local or national scale should be considered in relation to the articulations between the neoliberal approach and the characteristics of local urban landscapes (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

Barnett (2005) further argues against the binary conceptualisation of political power as 'imposition and resistance' and therefore critiques the notion of a neoliberal programme

diffusing from the North to the South (as discussed in section two above) and combining with local contexts to produce varied forms of neoliberalism (see also Larner, 2000). He maintains that there is an oversimplification of the complex interrelations of space in the North to South diffusion of neoliberalism (Barnett, 2005). This limits the depth of analysis of the role of local conditions in processes of development and change and undermines the role of social change and local civic movements in determining current conditions and future change in cities (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Larner, 2003; Barnett, 2005). These theoretical contributions propose that analyses should therefore concentrate on deepening an understanding both of how ideas are spread and adopted through 'intellectual, policy and practitioner networks' and how states and places are produced by neoliberalism, and visa versa, rather than continually focussing on examinations of what is lost or dismantled in the neoliberalisation processes (Larner, 2003; McNeill, 2005).

Barnett (2005) further argues that neoliberalism itself is overly simplified as an account of socio-economic and political change and is too easily viewed as a hegemonic discourse. Part of the power of neoliberalism is due to its uncritical acceptance across many spheres of society. The legitimacy of the neoliberal paradigm is often unquestioned. Thus neoliberalism becomes entrenched as a development path because there is more attention paid to arguing against its elitist tendencies that critiquing the reification of the approach itself (Larner, 2003). McNeill (2005) thus argues for questioning the issue of agency in neoliberalism, highlighting that the simplistic stance of assigning an individualistic role to neoliberalism and thereby making it an actor belies the existence of many actors adopting, implementing, rejecting and transforming neoliberalism in various contexts. By subscribing to the confining arguments of neoliberalism, Barnett (2005) argues, we are cut off from broader paths of thought about how current socio-economic and political contexts have emerged and will be transformed in the future. Rather, academics could be more involved in fully uncovering the linkages between everyday life and abstract top-down processes of socio-economic change.

Given the above arguments, it is necessary for scholars and practitioners to adopt caution in reifying neoliberalism as a hegemonic discourse, because then greater power is ascribed to it even as scholars are critiquing it (Larner, 2000, 2003; McNeill, 2005; Castree, 2006). As Larner (2000, 14) argues, considerations of neoliberalism must be made using a theoretical framework which can "make visible the 'messy actualities' of new forms of governance; (and) the contradictions, complexities and inconsistencies that inevitably characterise neoliberal political projects." Therefore, Larner (2000, 2003) and McNeill (2005) argue that

theorists should make the concept of neoliberalism more geographical, moving away from the 'neoliberalism as policy' arguments to include particularised and nuanced context specific accounts which draw on a wider range of theory and build from the basis of actual and localised experiences of neoliberalisation processes.

This study takes up these calls for a more nuanced, geographical analysis of the ways in which neoliberalism emerges within particular places. In particular, the role of local contexts and the diverse agendas and experiences of actors and practitioners within urban development processes, such as public private partnerships, will be examined in the course of the study to reveal how the tenets of neoliberalism become enmeshed within cities in dynamic and often subtle ways.

If neoliberalism is to be more fully understood as encompassing a variable and dynamic set of ideas and neoliberalisation processes, then the contexts in which they are articulated need to be carefully considered. In the case of this research, these are urban contexts, particularly those of the global South and more specifically South African cities. These are considered foremost in this research as spaces of sometimes unique and often overlapping characteristics and problems in which economic and redistributive pressures for development must be negotiated. The following section thus shifts the discussion to these urban contexts, paying attention to their development landscapes which are the concern of this study.

2.3   A Development Dilemma in the Contemporary City

Recently, cities have become a major site for the implementation and adaptation of neoliberalism. They are understood as "significant new territorialisations of the global economy" (Robinson, 2006, 125) and the 'new spatial fix' for neoliberalism since this is the scale at which the impacts and outcomes of neoliberalism are most directly felt in everyday life (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Jessop, 2002; Purcell, 2008). As Brenner and Theodore (2002, 345) have argued, "cities have become a key arena in which the everyday violence of neoliberalism has been unleashed." Invariably then, cities must negotiate their way through the context of the global neoliberal economy as they formulate policies to address their local urban problems and improve the quality of life of their residents. [20] As cities have begun these negotiations, urban development policies in cities have been rearticulated, with a concomitant

---

[20] This is not to say that they must unavoidably adopt neoliberalism but rather acknowledges that cities cannot realistically function without having to address the role of neoliberalism in the city as it is such a dominant paradigm within the global political economy. It is also a paradigm that is adopted as a policy framework by the nation states of which cities are a part.

shift in the discourses and practices of how urban problems should be responded to (Jessop, 2002). The following discussion will highlight arguments related to the relationship between contemporary urban processes and global economic shifts, as well as the consequent nature of urban development discourses and dilemmas. Furthermore, the associated shifts in the kinds of development taking place and the related institutions and mechanisms of governance in cities will be discussed.

2.3.1 The relationship between cities and global economic restructuring

As Pieterse (2008) has so succinctly traced, shifts in the global economy have been intimately entwined within many of the analyses of contemporary processes of urbanisation. Urbanisation has led to rapid increases in urban population, especially in the cities of the South. There has been population growth coupled with massive slum development, decreasing opportunities for employment in the formal economy and rising inequality (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Perlman, 2005; Stevens et al, 2006; Pieterse, 2008). It is argued here that supranational institutions, nation states and local governments have responded to these emergent conditions of urbanisation and the prospects of worsening urban poverty and inequality by adopting neoliberal frames of reference for urban development policy. These policies have been largely defined by the opportunities provided by a service orientated, specialising economy which serves a private and small elite rather than a global majority (Swyngedouw, 2000; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Zetter, 2002; Pieterse, 2008). It is assumed that the implementation of such policies will bring about improved conditions through the trickling down of benefits from an improved economy to the daily lives of urban communities.[21]

Agendas for the resolution of urban problems in the South have continued to emphasise the longstanding list of needs in developing world cities – those of poverty alleviation through to the provision of housing, water, healthcare and other basic needs, improved land tenure, civil rights and education (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Stevens et al, 2006). Urban development agendas have also come to focus directly on the concerns about the exponential growth of urban slums and their related marginalisation and sustainability

---

[21] 'Trickle down' is a commonly used, if controversial, concept which describes the assumption that the benefits of changes in the economy (such as taxation relief for the private sector) will boost the economy, and thereby, will positively, if indirectly, benefit individuals and communities who are not immediately affected by the policy changes (Aghion and Bolton, 1997). The 'trickle down' argument, although strongly evident in neolberalism, is not entirely new. During the period of industrial capitalism, the promotion of growth through the expansion of industrial production was also argued to have a 'trickle down' effect of creating jobs and raising standards of living.

concerns (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; Zetter, 2002; Perlman, 2005; Kramer, 2006; Stevens et al, 2006; Davis, 2007; Pieterse, 2008; Robinson, 2008). However, it has been proposed that the causes of these problems and the possibilities for their resolution have, for the most part, been reframed, shifting away from the direct social policy related interventions of modernist developmentalism of the mid to late 1900s towards the stimulation of economic growth, infrastructural development and urban re-imaging (Graham, 1995; Acioly, 2001; Begg, 2002; Pieterse, 2008). These 'tools' are seen to be capable of enabling a city to generate wealth and limit the restrictions caused by government intervention in the market, thereby addressing the newly identified cause of many problems. They are also assumed to improve competitiveness and attract globally circulating capital with its supposedly concomitant benefits (Painter, 2000; Sheppard, 2000; Zetter, 2002; Caldeira and Holsten, 2005; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Robinson, 2008).

These shifts in urban development policy leave cities, especially within the global South, with a development dilemma. Despite having a very real agenda and need to address inequality in its many forms, many cities have become focussed on development which primarily addresses connectivity and positionality in the global economy (Sellers, 2002; Zetter, 2002; Parnell and Robinson, 2006). In "pursuing these particular infrastructures [those required for improved competitiveness], the location and infrastructure needs of the poor take a back seat to what the city may need to become competitive, and more recently 'creative'" (Pieterse, 2008, 9). This is particularly true in cities where resources are limited and populations that need support are growing faster than ever before and also in cases where urban elites prefer to push an agenda of competitiveness which avoids or quashes alternatives (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; Swyngedouw, 2000; Zetter, 2002; Pieterse, 2008).

The benefits of adopting a neoliberal approaches to urban development have yet to be proven. In cases where urban development in the South is increasingly guided by practices of entrepreneurialism and regeneration originating from the North, the promises of a trickle down of benefits are still highly contested (Fainstein, 1996; Bond, 2005). Thus, urban development policy and practices increasingly assume the assumption that municipalities can accumulate wealth through developments which increase the municipal asset base and its rates-derived income. Furthermore, it is believed that once this wealth is generated, it can, and will, be used to benefit the poor majority through socially-focussed development.

Despite this dilemma, the rhetoric and practise of growth oriented, competition-focussed development has been adopted in cities across the world, and increasingly in the global South, where they must compete with the need for direct and substantive intervention in the lives of the poor (Sheppard, 2000; van Donk et al, 2008). This is also the case for cities in South Africa, where post-apartheid transition has infused the urban, and national, development agenda with a mix of growth-oriented and socio-spatial redress-oriented goals and practices. The pressure to respond to this dual agenda has, arguably, been exacerbated by shifts to a new globalised division of labour, shifting economic experiences and moves toward neoliberalism within international and state-led policy (Robinson, 2008a). These shifts have intensified reliance on the assumption that the benefits of growth-focussed development will be dispersed through 'trickle down' and have engendered the conditions in which actions to improve economic growth can be undertaken.

The following sections expand on some of the central discourses and practices of this joint development agenda, highlighting their roots in the global shifts of recent decades, debating their outcomes for successfully resolving the complex and enduring problems in poorer cities and highlighting the pro-poor agenda as a significant counterpoint to neoliberalism. Subsequent to this, the shifts in mechanisms used to negotiate these imperatives are briefly discussed, leading to a detailed engagement with public private partnerships as a dominant mechanism, in section four of the chapter.

2.3.2 Urban competitiveness as the dominant urban development imperative in the contemporary city

This section (2.3.2) presents a critical discussion of the competitive and entrepreneurial agendas and practices which have emerged as cities have engaged with new forms of globalisation and the related discourse of global hierarchies of cities. In contrast, section 2.3.3 highlights the role of the pro-poor agenda in cities, particularly to reiterate the existence of the dilemma which faces city governments as they struggle to find successful means of addressing the needs of cities and their citizens.

It is widely accepted that since the 1970s, urban competition has emerged as a dominant discourse of urban development (Cox, 1995; Sheppard, 2000; Parnell and Robinson, 2006). Central to this discourse is the belief that cities must compete with each other to gain the benefits offered by the global economy (Fainstein, 1996; Oatley, 1998). Improved competitiveness, it is argued, will facilitate improved access to key players and resources

within the global economy (Oatley, 1998; Thrift, 1999; van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Swyngedouw, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002). In turn, this allows a city to gain the benefits of a better position within the global economy and thus improve the wellbeing of the city (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Hubbard et al, 2002; Thornley et al, 2005). Cities, and city leaders, have therefore become more focussed on the role and position of the city in the global economy than on the more locally specific and 'everyday' imperatives for development that may exist (Harvey, 1989; Graham, 1995; Sheppard, 2000; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; McDonald, 2008). As this happens, the visions and discourses propounded by city leaders show a growing concern with economic development, a reduction of marginality of a city in terms of its role in the global economy, and a move towards more market-focussed approaches to facilitate this (Robinson, 2006). Throughout the world, all manner of cities and urban governments have become more entrepreneurial in style (Harvey, 1989; Newman, 1995; van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Acioly, 2001; Boyle and Rogerson, 2001; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; McDonald, 2008).

Although it had its origins in the crisis of urban decay in the USA and UK in the 1970s and 1980s, the central arguments of this pro-growth imperative have had a significant influence on development in many different kinds of cities across the globe (Cox, 1995; Graham, 1995; Oatley, 1998; Sheppard, 2000). The drive to be competitive also stems from what has become widely accepted thinking regarding the importance of the 'world city' – an incarnation of a particular mode of urbanism to which, it is argued, all cities should aspire in order to reap the benefits of the global economy and thereby achieve 'success' (Robinson, 2002; Thornley et al, 2005; McDonald, 2008). The concept of urban hierarchies has been proposed by academics and researchers (Beaverstock et al, 1999; Taylor et al, 2001). This has led to the establishment of a widely accepted discourse espousing the need for cities to work towards world city status, such that urban policy makers, and many urban theorists, are being blinded to other development options (Robinson, 2002; McDonald, 2008).

Peck and Tickell (2002), furthermore, have argued that the emergence of an emphasis on inter-urban competition and the need for foreign investment are fundamentally constituted by the shift to neoliberalism. They argue that the emergence of city-scale development and competition is a symptom of the systematic neoliberalisation of places as a 'macro process' since neoliberalism has caused the local state to become increasingly responsible for supporting urban economic growth (Peck, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Cities are therefore required to play the role of enablers, creating a good economic climate for the competition

and the free market practices called for by the neoliberal approach (Peck, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Peck and Tickell (2002) ague that in the light of these pressures, decisions to compete cannot be seen simply as local choices, but are the unavoidable consequences of the deepening of neoliberalism as a system across the globe. As such, these decisions can arguably be tied to the sense of inevitability associated with the progression of neoliberalism.

The drive for competitiveness and the focus on entrepreneurialism have led cities to concentrate on policies and development interventions which exploit existing conditions and/or attempt to create facilities, conditions and events that will draw investment from outside and facilitate increased consumption of goods and experiences (Harvey, 1989; Graham, 1995; Fainstein, 1996; Oatley, 1998; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). There is increasingly a focus on urban areas competing at "regional, national and sometimes international scales" (van den Berg and Braun, 1999, 987) and the primary job of urban 'managers' is to be increasingly entrepreneurial with a conscious concern for the use of marketing approaches within urban development and city management (Lovering, 1995; van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Hubbard et al, 2002; van den Berg et al, 2004; Thornley et al, 2005). 'Place-marketing' typically involves a city promoting itself as a business, cultural, tourist or sporting hub (van den Berg and Braun, 1999; van den Berg et al, 2004). Within these themes, cities often market themselves in terms of the individual goods and services or clusters of related services that they offer, or by marketing the urban agglomeration as a whole (Griffiths, 1998; van den Berg and Braun, 1999). In addition, city managers and urban marketers frequently argue for their city's advantage in terms of the skills of urban citizens and the infrastructural, transport and even research support facilities which can benefit potential business investors (Griffiths, 1998; Jessop, 2000, in Parker, 2004; Painter, 2000).

The entrepreneurial shift has meant creating a new imaginary for the globalised world and a revisioning of the city for the outsider, the investor and the tourist, rather than for the poor urban citizen or the city resident (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). Large scale and often iconic projects such as waterfront developments, inner city revitalisation, and gentrification, as well as the development of technopoles and gated communities are advocated as an important means of repositioning the city because they can draw in global capital and satisfy the needs of an increasingly globally connected elite (Smith, 1996; Acioly, 2001; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). Urban regeneration in many forms has become an important focus of urban development within

contemporary cities across the globe (Lees, 2000; Acioly, 2001; Begg, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Pacione, 2005; McCarthy, 2007).

Urban competition and regeneration discourses incorporate the belief that efforts to improve urban competitiveness are inclusive of the poor and marginal and that urban inequalities can be resolved through development which reaps the benefits (for all) of a better position for the city in urban hierarchies. There are many concerns however, that redistributive development processes with socially-focussed outcomes cannot very easily be achieved through entrepreneurial agendas which rely only on a trickle down of benefits to the marginalised, especially when urban problems may have political or social roots (Harvey, 1989; Pacione, 2005; Thornley et al, 2005). These concerns are discussed below.

One critical element of debates around the benefits of a pro-growth imperative in cities is concerned with the notion of the 'trickle-down' effect of neoliberal pro-growth development. This is especially evident in the logic of urban regeneration where large urban regeneration projects are usually viewed as capable of addressing the needs of global competitiveness as well as providing positive spin-offs for meeting social needs (McCarthy, 2007). Justification of these developments usually entails that these projects will improve the revenue gained from the development of urban land through increasing the land values and rents. This in turn improves the urban tax base and should reinvigorate the local economy (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). In the long term, these benefits are expected to 'trickle down' to urban citizens as the now wealthier and more successful city is able to spend additional funding to meet social needs (Pacione, 2005). However, the actual positive and real effect of this trickle down has yet to be established, particularly with flagship projects focussed primarily on spaces and their redevelopment rather than on people and their welfare (Fainstein, 1996; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Pacione, 2005).

Caution must be exercised in judging the benefits of large-scale development to determine whether the benefits will end up with property developers or regeneration partners, or will positively effect the social context in which they are situated and the broader city (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; McCarthy, 2007). If profits do go to the state as a development investor, then it must be investigated as to where these funds are redirected, and if they contribute to social development in other areas of the city or other development sectors such as health or housing.

Furthermore, there is a fear that the "logic of interurban competition…turns cities into accomplices in their own subordination" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, 393). The uncritical adoption of competitiveness as a primary development agenda has the potential to ultimately cause cities to experience negative rather than positive outcomes, particularly in poorer countries where city officials struggle to manage the city and face considerable obstacles to successfully 'enabling' market-led growth (Squires, 1996; Sheppard, 2000; Werna, 2000). As Brenner and Theodore (2002, 375) have argued:

> "neoliberal strategies of localisation severely exacerbate many of the regulatory problems they ostensibly aspire to resolve – such as economic stagnation, unemployment, socio-spatial polarisation, and uneven development – leading in turn to unpredictable mutations of those very strategies and the institutional spaces in which they are deployed."

"Playing the world city game" (McDonald, 2008, 4), however, is often seen as the lesser of two evils because not playing it will prevent cities from adequately dealing with the current form of economic globalisation and may well cause more problematic consequences than those associated with the drive for upward mobility in the world city hierarchies. This potentially leaves governments and institutions in cities in the position of being "either unable or unwilling to protect the poor from the effects of economic crisis" which therefore forms the basis for the subjugation of urban citizens (Parker, 2004).

2.3.3   A pro-poor agenda

Despite its recent dominance, the globally focussed discourse and practices of urban competition do not exist as the sole development discourse within cities. Especially in the global South, a focus on development which directly addresses the needs of the poor remains, particularly through what is termed a 'pro-poor' agenda (Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Robinson, 2008). This discourse advocates intervention which is directly beneficial to urban citizens, rather than indirectly, as through the more neoliberal-oriented process of 'trickle down'. Practices which emerge in this vein include those which support urban livelihoods and vulnerability reductions through housing provision, the supply and maintenance of infrastructure for basic services and intervention to address the broad range of survival, equity and environmental concerns in slums as well as across the city-scale (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; Rakodi-Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Kramer, 2006; Stevens et al, 2006; Robinson, 2008). All of these interventions are viewed as best practised through participatory processes and in a holistic rather than in a sectoral fashion (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; Rakodi-Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Kramer, 2006).

In many places, socially redistributive development practices take up a significant proportion of municipal budgets and typically co-exist and compete with development focussed on improving urban competitiveness, with all its promises of trickle-down effects (Pieterse, 2008). Increasingly, and deeply controversially, the argument for development intended to directly address the quality of life and well being of citizens is further challenged by the neoliberal rhetoric of the sovereignty of the individual which valorises self sufficiency and the independent improvement of an individual's circumstances. Therefore, as Pieterse (2008, 17) has argued,

> "in most cities and towns of the South, public decision-makers are forced to address both economic and social infrastructural imperatives from a very limited and constrained fiscus and invariably find themselves in the invidious position of having to make trade-offs, or at best sequencing decisions, about where public resources will be invested."

Typically, these restraints require decision-makers to accept that relinquishing a directly pro-poor agenda may be necessitated by the demands of the dominant global economic approach (Squires, 1996; Pieterse, 2008).

Thus "in developed countries, and more starkly in the developing world, efforts to govern urban regions confront parallel dilemmas between prosperity, equity and the quality of life" (Sellers, 2002, 1). As outlined above, in the post-Fordist era, urban development has typically become associated with an agenda that advocates urban competition, regeneration and entrepreneurialism. The agenda to achieve equity and quality of life is now frequently, although controversially, advocated as being largely resolved through the results of a 'trickle down' of benefits to the urban citizenry rather than through direct, extensive and systematic interventions into the lives of the poor urban majority. The following section provides an introductory discussion of the mechanisms through which these competing approaches to development are negotiated and implemented.

2.3.4 Shifts in governance

In order for cities to address emerging development imperatives, and overcome the inability of the state to deliver basic services and infrastructure, there has been an increasing relationship between local government, citizens and the private sector within cities, including the shift towards governance and an increase in public private partnerships (van den Berg and Braun, 1999; McCann, 2001; Paddison, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Parker, 2004; Purcell, 2008). This section briefly outlines the nature of governance and the resultant mobilisation of multiple stakeholders in joint developmental decision-making processes.

Governance has become an increasingly predominant mechanism through which cities function because it provides a landscape of urban decision-making and action, thereby allowing for the emergence of public private networks and partnerships within cities (Peck and Tickell, 1995; Tickell and Peck, 1996).[22] These political shifts in urban governance potentially have engendered processes through which an improved understanding of neoliberalism can be generated.

It is widely accepted that processes of governing at the local scale have recently shifted from that of government to governance (Goodwin, 1999; Painter, 2000; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Government has traditionally been concerned with the structures, processes and institutions of the state (Goodwin, 1999; Parker, 2004). In contrast to government, governance is concerned with the flexible relationships between the state and non-government organisations whereby the service provision and management of cities that was previously carried out exclusively by the state is increasingly carried out with the assistance of the private sector and civil society, or where service provision is under the control of the private sector (Goodwin, 1999; Pierre, 1999; Painter, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002; Healey et al, 2003; Parker, 2004; McCarthy, 2007). Within the context of governance, local government becomes one of many agencies involved in decision-making, policy development and implementation, while the traditional mechanisms of government, such as elections and political parties, are increasingly becoming components of complex networks of power (Goodwin, 1999; Pierre, 1999; McGuirk, 2000; Painter, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002; Innes and Booher, 2003).

Thus, although much of what happens in cities is still driven by the traditional hierarchies and bureaucratic processes of government, politics in a governance-oriented context is increasingly focussed on networks and processes of consensus building which work beyond the bounds of traditional government to generate co-operation and trust amongst the role players who are often urban elites (Goodwin, 1999; Painter, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2000; Goldsmith, 2001; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). These networks are required to incorporate a wide variety of interests across multiple and complex issues in their efforts to create change in cities. Engagement occurs in forums which are typically less formal and more fragmented and transient than traditional forms of government (Tickell and Peck, 1996; McGuirk, 2000; Goldsmith, 2001, Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003).

---

[22] For example, in their assessment of African cities and urban management, Stren and Halfani (2001) have shown that shifts in the system of governance are grounded on a framework of partnerships – especially through the recognition that public, private and civic role players needed to be involved in decision-making and project implementation if cities are to respond adequately to the market-led global economic system.

Much of this transition to governance in urban politics has been led by the call for a changed role of the state in response to global economic shifts under the influence of neoliberal ideology and the need for new governance mechanisms to support and address the entrepreneurial agendas emerging in cities (Peck and Tickell, 1995; Tickell and Peck, 1996; Post, 1997; Paddison, 2001; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). Thus, although the state may seem to be withdrawing from market controls under the auspices of neoliberalism, this is often a process of reorientation (and even rescaling) rather than withdrawal (Larner, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2000; Peck, 2001; Hubbard et al, 2002). Market intervention by states has been seen to shift towards creating a 'good' business climate characterised by greater labour market flexibility, entrepreneurship and competitiveness while the devolution of powers has shifted new responsibilities to local government, including the mandate of local economic development (Sheppard, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2000; Peck, 2001; Harrison et al, 2008). Furthermore, state power has been reoriented such that the balance of power between the state, civil society and capital has shifted and whereby the judicial executive power of the state has grown in relation to that of representative democracy (Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005). To this end, Swyngedouw et al (2002, 545) have argued that the institutional and practical shifts to governance and networking "were initiated in an attempt to align local dynamics with imagined, assumed or real requirements of a deregulated international economic system whose political elites were vigorously pursuing a neoliberal dogma."

In the light of these shifts, urban regeneration and other competition-motivated interventions in the urban landscape have been undertaken through numerous, and often overlapping, governance mechanisms. These mechanisms have included more pluralistic forms of governance than traditional mechanisms, such as growth coalitions, urban regimes, public private partnerships, and informal networks in which powerful role players, or elites, in cities share resources and expertise to achieve market-focussed development (Tickell and Peck, 1996; Goldsmith, 1999; Watson, 1999; Harding et al, 2000; Painter, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2000; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Dierwechter, 2003; Hajer, 2004).[23] Furthermore, in recent

---

[23] Growth coalitions were first recognised in the late 1970s and early 1980s as partnerships that developed between business and local government 'elites' that aimed to create a climate for the economic development of a city (Fainstein, 1996; Goodwin, 1999). The elites within a growth coalition operate by attempting to persuade all stakeholders that growth would benefit everyone and cities were often promoted as being 'growth machines' (Cox and Mair, 1989; Logan and Molotch, 1996; Goodwin, 1999; Hubbard et al, 2002). As a response to critiques of growth coalitions, urban regime theory emerged in analyses of Northern cities in the 1980s (foundational works include Stone's (1989, 1993) work on Atlanta and Elkin's (1986, 1987) regime analyses. An urban regime is defined as "an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions" (Stone, 1989 cited in Stoker, 1999, 343) and as such allows for development partnerships in cities that are not limited to addressing pro-growth concerns and which can involve civil society stakeholders (Stoker, 1999). Regime analyses further recognise that each

years municipalities, as the heart of urban governance, have become more actively involved in development (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Pacione, 2005). Rather than operating only as facilitators of development and service providers, as regulatory authorities and as partners within public private partnerships, the local state has become a developer itself, investing in development in the hopes of generating a profit (Swyngedouw et al, 2002).[24]

Overall, these shifts in processes of decision-making play an important role in facilitating how urban role-players negotiate the dilemma over how to conduct urban development in cities and thereby to make the best of a city. Although not without their problems, these processes have allowed for new mechanisms of policy formulation and implementation and have increased the participation of multiple stakeholders in cities. The following section advances this discussion by paying close attention to public private partnerships as one of the most common mechanisms for urban development associated with a shift to governance. These partnerships give evidence of the relationships between business and government as they plan and implement development interventions in the city and thus provide a useful lens through which to examine the negotiation of urban development imperatives and the role of neoliberalism within this negotiation.

2.4   Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) as a Mechanism for Urban Development

As shifts in urban development agendas have occurred in the neoliberal context, mechanisms to achieve urban development which is responsive to these agendas have emerged. Of the range of mechanisms, public private partnerships have been well favoured and are now commonly cited by transnational institutions, governments, business, the press and researchers as constructive and even cure-all mechanisms for development in many spheres (Squires, 1996; Mullin, 2002; Dansereau, 2005; Flinders, 2005; Herzberg and Wright, 2005).[25] However, given their popularity and their multiplicity of forms, purposes and contexts, literature on PPPs is extremely diverse and not all aspects of this literature are relevant to this research (Wiehe, 2006). The following section outlines the theoretical approach to PPPs adopted in this study and then critically assesses this theory accordingly.

---

stakeholder involves themselves in collaborative processes to meet their own agendas – what ever they may be, even though they may vary from those of other partners (Goodwin, 1999; Stoker, 1999; Painter, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002).

[24] This approach is often referred to as municipal capitalism (Pacione, 2005).

[25] Partnerships can involve the public and private sectors and civil society working together through a variety of partnership configurations to meet the needs of specific urban spaces and populations (Rakodi, 1997; Goodwin, 1999; Harding et al, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002; Pendras, 2002). The focus of this study is however limited to the relationships between the public and private sector.

According to Weihe (2006), there are five approaches to addressing and theorizing PPPs, all of which concentrate of specific aspects of PPPs. These approaches include the policy approach which addresses PPPs within specific sectors of government[26] and the infrastructural approach which addresses the technical models of design and operation of projects which involve private capital or activity[27] (Weihe, 2006). A third approach is the developmental approach which typically includes the approach to PPPs adopted by multinational institutions for development of the global South (Weihe, 2006).[28] The governance approach views PPPs as an extension of New Public Management concepts and therefore considers PPPs as a broadly defined mechanism for the delivery of public goods and services which includes outsourcing and service contract (Weihe, 2006).[29]

The fifth approach to PPPs, the local regeneration approach, is most appropriate in the context of this study. This approach is inclusive of the varied formations of public private collaboration which operate to address the need for urban change and renewal in the context of shifting global economies and localised needs for development (Weihe, 2006). This study thus addresses PPPs from the theoretical perspective of urban regeneration rather than from the more technical or limited perspective of infrastructural or policy approaches and therefore these themes are not included in the following discussion. The review of the literature on the urban regeneration approach will include reference to governance and developmental approaches, specifically because of the overlap between these three approaches in the local context of Durban as a transforming city in the developing world.

2.4.1 Considerations of public private partnerships in the context of local regeneration

Logan and Molotch (1987, 52, in Harding et al, 2000, 984) argue that "activism of entrepreneurs is and always has been, a critical force in shaping the urban system". Accordingly, public private partnerships in local regeneration processes became increasingly common in the USA from the 1970s and have a long history of involvement in urban development and regeneration across many American cities, especially in relation to shifts within urban governance (Squires, 1996; Ball and Maginn, 2005; Pacione, 2005, Weihe, 2006; McCarthy, 2007).[30] Thus, as neoliberal conventions became the norm and cities became more entrepreneurial, shifting their systems of governance to include the private sector, these

---

[26] See Rubin and Stankiewicz (2001); Hood and McGarvey (2002); and Awortwi (2004) as examples.
[27] See Akintoye et al (2003) and Hodge and Greve (2007) as examples.
[28] See Kumar (2004) as an example.
[29] See Montanheiro and Spiering (2001); Flinders (2005); and Selsky and Parker (2005) as examples.
[30] Public private partnerships for urban regeneration can, however, be seen to date as far back as the late 1940s (Pacione, 2005).

stakeholders have become increasingly involved in decision-making, development planning and service delivery in cities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, Healey et al, 2003; Pacione, 2005). PPPs have risen to the forefront of development processes as the global shift towards governance has gathered momentum. Partnership formation, in various guises, is therefore now a commonly accepted mechanism of urban governance, especially in the case of service provision and local regeneration (Squires, 1996; Stoker, 1998; Newman and Verpraet, 1999; McCarthy, 2007).

These partnerships come about through widely held concerns that many contemporary problems, including weak local economies, and urban decay, cannot be solved using traditional mechanisms of government (Beauregard, 1998; Harding, 1998; Weihe, 2006). As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003, 2) have argued, in changing global, national and local contexts, different inputs and actors are required to overcome the problem of no or low development outcomes, and governments have come to "see the tie between interaction, co-operation and results." These realisations lead to an enhanced desire for collaborative activities and thus to the formation of various partnerships and collaborative networks which could address mutual concerns for regeneration at the local level (Harding, 1998; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; Nzimakwe, 2006; McCarthy, 2007; Sagalyn, 2007). As such, partnerships should be understood as reflections of the institutional culture and local context through which they emerge (Swyngedouw, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002).

PPPs can be considered as a particular kind of network within cities which can form and operate in quite diverse ways (Squires, 1996; Watson, 1999; McCarthy, 2007). Although many definitions exist (Weihe, 2006; McCarthy, 2007), PPPs are defined here as "cooperation of some sort of durability between public and private actors in which they jointly develop products and services and share risks, costs and resources which are connected with these products" (Van Ham and Koppenjan, 2001, 598). This is not just the case of a service provision contract but rather the gaining of financial reward following a measure of risk-taking through investment of finance, time and skills into a project; often through contractual agreement or the formation of a joint company with the public sector (Muller, 2003; Herzberg and Wright, 2005; Koppenjan, 2005; Cleobury, 2006). Consequently, PPPs can be seen as an emerging urban political format through which long-established public resource allocation practices are altered or overturned (Mullin, 2002).

Partnerships can involve the public and private sector as well as civil society working together through a variety of organisational configurations and multi-sector connectivity to meet the needs of cities (Watson, 1999; Harding et al, 2000; Hubbard et al, 2002).[31] In general, PPPs can be understood as "institutionalised cooperation between the public and private sectors" which are likely to evolve as their context changes (Mullin, 2002, 4). These partnerships can vary in levels of formality, transparency, power-sharing and motivation (Mullin, 2002; Flinders, 2005; McCarthy, 2007; Sagalyn, 2007). Partnerships are often project specific but can be structured as strong and lasting alliances, such as those of growth coalitions and urban regimes (Dowding, 2001). The configuration of these networks creates variability in how partners exercise power, determines which party leads the decision-making processes and facilitates the nature of the partnership's outcomes (Newman and Verpraet, 1999; Healey et al, 2003). This occurs especially in a context of governance as new stakeholders are becoming involved in decision-making and project financing (Swyngedouw, 2000; Dansereau, 2005).

Traditionally, partnerships between business and government in cities have focused on addressing urban blight and the initiation of urban revitalization programmes. Originally this was in response to urban decay and deindustrialisation, and later became a response to shifts in the urban economy and the need for inter-city competition that would garner capital in the mobile international economy (Bassett, 1996; Ball and Maginn, 2005; Pacione, 2005; Cleobury 2006; Weihe, 2006). Partnerships were, and are, frequently enabled to facilitate development rapidly and without the usual bureaucratic constraints (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Pacione, 2005). Contemporary PPPs have widened in their scope and are found to facilitate development, provide urban services and serve as decision-making processes in which interdependent stakeholders can participate (Goldsmith, 2001; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; Nzimakwe, 2006; Sagalyn, 2007).

PPPs can thus form through motivations such as economic growth, a partner's lack of capacity to address urban problems effectively or due to shifts in government policy. The purpose of a partnership can be to achieve a once off goal, perhaps a particular economic development, or they can be established to effect ongoing broader development goals such as shared and more efficient service delivery, enhancement of public assets, urban renewal or to improve urban economic competitiveness (Watson, 1999; Mullin, 2002; Akintoye et al, 2003; Cleobury, 2006). Regardless of the specific details of the partnership, all PPPs are

---

[31] Here, precedence is given to public-private partnerships but in many cases civil society is increasingly involved in networks of decision-making (Scott and Rycroft, 1998; Pendras, 2002).

collaborations which are seen by the respective parties as facilitating greater gains than could be achieved through working separately or in conflict (Stoker, 1998; Mullin, 2002; Flinders, 2005).

Although PPPs are often understood as institutions, Harding et al. (2000) argue that there is much to be learnt from reviewing these partnerships as *processes* with ongoing, dynamic interactions between partners. This is underscored by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), who argue that if traditional structures do not have the capacity to deliver solutions to problems or to meet needs, networks of actors should work collaboratively and creatively in an ongoing process to find decision-making formats that generate trust between interdependent actors. With the formulation of greater trust and mutual reliance, outcomes of partnering "might be a more substantial process of deliberation, shared problem solving and developing regimes of joint responsibility [rather] than merely interest-based bargaining" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, 11) which move beyond the narrow confines of self-interest advocated in earlier theories (Innes and Booher, 2003).

Although PPPs are widely lauded "as viable and politically attractive mechanisms for combining the advantages of both private and public sectors" (Mullin, 2002, 4) questions remain about the power relations within partnerships, the overall impact of partnership activities on the urban environment, in this case, and the wider impact of partnerships on the urban political landscape. These issues are discussed below.

As Watson (1999, 216) has argued "the growth of public private partnerships has led to a new and shifting terrain of urban politics". In particular, the power exercised by partners and stakeholders will vary across and within partnerships (Goodwin, 1999; Deansereau, 2005). It is thus important to assess how power is being leveraged through the partnership and to whose benefit and/or detriment, since it is likely that some interests will come to the fore while others will be "under-represented or ignored" (Goldsmith, 2001, 331). It is commonly argued that the public partner will carry the greater set of costs and risks within the partnership and there are fears that PPPs simply "advance the interests of the private sector and the market, under the banner of sharing power with the poor and the state" (Miraftab, 2004a, 89).[32]

---

[32] Also see Newman and Verpraet (1999), Mullin (2002), Dansereau (2005) and Sagalyn (2007).

There is a need to question whether local government, acting as one of many agencies involved in decision-making, is disempowered in the processes that take place through these networks (Harding et al, 2000; McGuirk, 2000; Thorns, 2002). The disempowerment of the local state is of particular interest here because this may lead to the diminishing of the redistributive agendas of the state within partnership activities even as local government is called upon to make greater inputs into a partnership. Flinders (2005) thus questions whether PPPs lead to a decline in democratic process since private sector involvement may result in the sidelining of issues such as accountability to the public, social equity and justice (Weihe, 2006). Furthermore, there are sometimes concerns that the private sector may use the partnership to exercise undue leverage over the allocation of public funds and resources, especially into projects for their own gain (Miraftab, 2004; Koppenjan, 2005; Sagalyn, 2007). Even given the questions about power and the weighting of costs and benefits, PPPs are recognised as enabling the sharing of expertise, ideas, funds and access to financial institutions and institutionalised processes, such as planning. They also facilitate greater collective bargaining power amongst role-players which can work to move a project or idea forward (Mullin, 2002; Herzberg and Wright, 2005). Partnership impacts can be both direct, in terms of concrete achievements of partnership goals, and indirect, such as the long term impacts on the structure of governance networks and policy making processes. However, with many outcomes of partnerships being qualitative and diffuse in nature, it is difficult to measure the absolute success of partnerships or even their effectiveness as a development approach (Sagalyn, 2007).

Some important internal measures of a successful partnership are considered to be appropriate and sound leadership; good communication within the partnership and with other stakeholders; well defined roles within the partnership; and high levels of receptiveness of partners (Mullin, 2002; Herzberg and Wright, 2005). Furthermore, a public private partnership may be evaluated by the extent to which it "increases the probability of a good economic development effort being successful" (Mullin, 2002, 21) and by the resultant growth of net benefits to at least one partner without negatively impacting on the net benefit of any other partner (Cleobury, 2006).

It is important to recognise though, that the actual outcomes of even a 'successful' partnership may not ultimately benefit the city and its citizens since any short term economic gains may occur at the cost of diminished state accountability, cohesion and civic participation (Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Flinders, 2005). This is particularly the case when partnerships

instigate urban development which in itself can be considered successful, but which does little to generate positive outcomes in neighbouring areas or the wider urban citizenry (Pacione, 2005). To overcome these possible negative results of partnering it is helpful to have transparency within the design and functioning of the partnership. Furthermore, Healey et al (2003) argue that partnerships should include stronger consideration of opportunities for the mobilisation of grassroots participation, rather than inwardly focussing on the partnership's agenda for transformation. These engagements with 'outside' stakeholders can widen the positive impacts of the partnership by introducing greater transparency and procedural equity into the operations of the partnership.

Although less tangible, it is nevertheless important to consider the more diffuse outcomes of PPPs. It is argued here that the networked decision-making experiences within a partnership can result in transformation of the overall nature of decision-making processes in a particular local context. Hajer (2004, 31) contends that "policy making is resituated" through the activity of partnerships and networks since it begins to take place within relationships which have a capacity to learn and to "organise their own accountability practices" as they interact. As such, the negotiations of material outcomes form the surface level power relations which can institute one or more specific changes in a local authority. A partnership's long term power to transform governance practice, however, exists to a great extent in the ability of the partnership to create and instil change at a deeper level (Healey et al, 2003). These changes create important effects on local governance such as "shared meaning and purpose, increased social and intellectual capital, [and] networks along which information and feedback can flow" (Innes, and Booher, 2003, 55). These effects influence the framing of problems and the formulation of agendas as well as surface level practices (Innes, and Booher, 2003). Overall, these results may not be the planned direct outcomes for the partnership but they denote significant impacts on the overall context of the partnerships environment, perhaps long after a partnership itself has dissolved (Innes and Booher, 2003).

Thus, as a dominant development approach within neoliberal contexts of increasing reliance on networks of governance, PPPs require careful consideration as a mechanism for urban change. These considerations should include an interrogation of the processes through which public private partnerships achieve substantive outcomes in the urban landscape and the interrelationships between PPPs and the dominant development discourses found within the urban environment (Sagalyn, 2007). This assessment is presented in the discussion in chapters seven, eight and nine.

2.5   Conclusion

The examination of neoliberalism, urban development imperatives and PPPs in this chapter lays the foundation for the examination of the ways in which PPPs in Durban negotiate the competition between the urban development imperatives of economic growth and redress, particularly in the light of the global shift towards neoliberalism. To this end, the chapter has examined the theorisation of neoliberalism from a geographical perspective. This examination has entailed a discussion of the main tenets of neoliberalism and the processes commonly described as producing its hegemonisation. In addition, commonly raised critiques of the outcomes of neoliberalisation are presented. Furthermore, a number of the critiques regarding how neoliberalism has been theorised are discussed; particularly as they raise important arguments for how neoliberalism can be better understood.

The dualistic urban development imperatives for economic growth and an improved quality of life, which have emerged in cities as the neoliberal global economic restructuring has ocurred, are also discussed in the chapter. These discussions have drawn attention to the dilemma facing many cities over how to go about meeting the needs of communities through the urban development mechanisms currently in vogue. To this end, economic growth and urban competitiveness are presented as widely accepted, yet problematic, solutions to urban problems. Furthermore, public private partnerships have been examined as a favoured mechanism for urban development in the contemporary city. It has been argued, that PPPs offer an entry point to examine how neoliberalism articulates with the local sphere. It is proposed here that an understanding of this relationship can provide new insights into how urban development interventions address the dilemma over competing imperatives, as well as deepening the understanding of the nature of relationships between places and global socio-economic restructuring. Chapter three builds on this foundational discussion by offering a critical review of the concepts of the 'ordinary city' (Amin and Graham, 1997; Robinson, 2002; 2006; 2008) and 'entanglement' (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttal, 2009). It is proposed that these concepts offer a lens through which to better understand the relationship between imperatives for economic growth and improved quality of life, and between places and the global impulse of neoliberalism.

CHAPTER THREE
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THROUGH WHICH TO EXAMINE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEOLIBERALISM AND THE NEGOTIATION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IMPERATIVES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a conceptual framework through which insight into the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperative can be gained. This framework is built on the acknowledgement that "the point is not only that neoliberalism affects cities, but also that cities have become key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving", and responds to those arguments which envisage an active role for cities in processes of neoliberalisation and within the very production of neoliberalism itself (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 345). Furthermore, this conceptual framework is offered as a means through which to respond to the calls for a more nuanced understanding, and recognition, of the 'visible messiness' in theorisations of neoliberalism (Larner, 2000, 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Castree, 2005; 2006). In addition, it is argued that the concepts presented in this chapter facilitate an examination of neoliberalism which offers new insights to those theorists who have a concern with the critical engagement between the ways in which neoliberalism occurs and the nature of the particular contexts in and through which it occurs (Larner, 2000, 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Barnett, 2005; McNeill, 2005; Castree, 2005; 2006).

The discussion therefore turns to concepts which may be better able to express *how* 'actually existing' neoliberalisms are produced in Durban, and in other places. These conceptual tools provide a lens through which to explore the role of neoliberalism within the negotiation of urban development imperatives that take place in PPPs. This will allow for an understanding of the nuanced interrelationships between the localised negotiations over development and neoliberalism. To this end, the discussion will include an interrogation of the possibilities for new understandings of urban development which might emerge from consideration of the concept of the 'ordinary city' and from the critical examination of the concept of 'entanglement'. Firstly though, the following section highlights the particular conceptualization of space on which these discussions of neoliberalisation, and its articulation with local-global interrelations, rely.

3.2 Making Space Active in Considerations of the Interrelationships between Neoliberalism and Cities

Neoliberalism is seen by some scholars to represent "a strategy of political-economic restructuring that …uses space as its 'privileged instrument'" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 343). Therefore, a further examination of the role of space in processes of neoliberalisation are necessary. As Massey (2005) has argued, the proponents of neoliberal capital globalisation often reduce the notion of space to one of time. As arguments are made in which neoliberal reforms are seen as being inevitable in all places, there is little room allowed for difference and uniqueness within and across space. Differing local characteristics are seen to exist merely as a result of time, i.e. places which appear different are merely at an "earlier stage in the one and only narrative it is possible to tell" (Massey, 2005, 5). Space is thus eliminated or hidden from view within this inevitable march of the path of neoliberal development over time (Massey, 2005).

Implicit within this disempowerment of space is the sense that local spaces have no significant role to play in determining the nature and outcomes of the current processes of globalisation. Thus theorists frequently work from the assumption that the nature and form of contemporary urban change is typically a result of the dominance of globalised neoliberal capitalism. In this way, globally-derived development imperatives are imposed onto a local scale to cause specific and predictable changes in how cities are being organised, managed and developed (Amin, 2001; Kohl, 2002; Sellers, 2002; Parker, 2004).

This sidelining of geography is not only mistaken and problematic, it is highly limiting for those with a 'spatial bent' who wish to question or critically evaluate the processes through which the global and the local are interconnected and enmeshed (Hart, 2002; 2006). Theorists who argue against these assumptions maintain that the premise for the abovementioned assumptions is an oversimplification of the nature of places and the relationships between the local and the global and thereby limits understanding of the processes and implications of globalisation (Hart, 2002; 2006; Hubbard et al, 2002; Theodore and Brenner, 2002; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2005; Massey, 2005). As evident in Chapter two, these theorists argue instead that space is an important consideration within theorisations of neoliberalism allowing the relationship between the local and the global to be reviewed in more complex, nuanced and imaginative ways (Thrift, 1999; Flusty, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Hart, 2002; Sellers, 2002; Barnett, 2005; Massey, 2005).

There is often an emphasis on the local scale, and on 'place' when stressing the importance of space in facilitating an improved understanding of neoliberalism (Hart, 2002; Massey, 2005). These concerns have also been taken up through a re-assertion of the concept of place as spaces to which social meaning has been ascribed and in which meanings are produced (Cresswell, 2004; Jackson, 2006). Place is understood to be anchored in physical space but is furthermore a product of the connections that are inherent in a relational conceptualisation of space (Cresswell, 1999; 2004; Jackson, 2006). In this vein, Castells (1997, 123), in his discussion of the network society, argues that currently, society exists and functions in two 'spaces' - "the space of flows and …the space of places". The "space of flows" enables social practices to occur between and across physical spaces through the use of telecommunications and information systems (Castells, 1997, 123). This allows society to be uncoupled from physical space. But the "space of places" is where people's interactions and society's institutions are directly rooted in physical spaces and are influenced by the characteristics of these spaces (Castells, 1997). Global forces interact with the local conditions of a place to create specific outcomes. Because of different conditions at the local level, similar global forces (such as the greater economic power and technological expertise of the developed world) which reach a place can have different results. The nature of the outcomes of these interactions between the global and the local is dependent largely on the conditions which exist at the level of local spaces in which people live and act.

Thus Massey (1999; 2005) and Hart (2002; 2006), argue that places, as the meeting points of multiple histories and contexts have become the sites in which global exchanges are being materialised in unique ways and where the global and the local are relationally integrated. Furthermore, Thrift (1999, 264) argues that cities should be understood as "actors in their own right" within the global economy. In concert with this view is that of Hart (2002), who argues that the local must be conceived of as an actor within globalisation processes, thus spaces (in this case, cities) are not just responding to global forces but are actively contributing to the nature of these forces and their outcomes at multiple scales (Hart, 2002; Hubbard et al, 2002; Massey, 2005). In turn these active engagements of local processes have the potential for creating spaces of power which then impact on the neoliberal global economy (Hart, 2002; 2006). Thus the role of the local in determining the specific development trajectories in cities should not be ignored and, in particular, the "critical role played by new spatial forms in helping to constitute the parameters of contemporary capitalism" need to be recognized (Goodwin, 2004, 75).

The discussion of the interconnection between neoliberalism and urban development imperatives argued here adheres to the notion that space, particularly through the general qualities of place and their specific individual networks and characteristics, is a significant actor in the articulation of neoliberalism within cities. At one level, places are deemed important because they provide the contexts in which neoliberalism is played out. This provides evidence of diversity within global/local engagements and hybridity of outcomes as multiple versions of neoliberalism emerge across the globe (Castree, 2005; Guthman, 2008). However, context is more important than this, since places, given their nature, as will be shown below, are active in producing the processes and outcomes of engagements with a globalised agendas, such as those of neoliberalism (Camoroff and Camoroff, 2001; Massey, 2005,). As Thrift (1996, 3) has so well put it,

> "by 'context' I most decidedly do not mean an impassive backdrop to situated human activity. Rather, I take context to be a necessary constitutive element of interaction, something active, differentially extensive and able to problematise and work on the bounds of subjectivity".

The concepts of space and place considered below show how geographical context can and does play a constitutive role in society and its variable practices, including the creation of 'actually existing' neoliberalisms.

3.2.1 A critical consideration of space and place

Broadly, places can be understood as distinct localities with unique economic, social and physical characteristics (Massey and Jess, 1995). These localities can be both the context within which the structures of society and the action of individuals and groups are played out and the product of those interactions (Cresswell, 1999). Furthermore, place is the product not only of current structures and actions but also of the layering of historical linkages across a variety of scales (Massey, 1993). Because places can be understood as a product of interrelations (Thrift, 1999a) they cannot be viewed as entirely separate from other places since the particular characteristics of a place will often result from that place's relationship with other places[33]. Thus places become sites that display a "distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations…(so) that the juxtaposition of these relations may produce effects that would not have happened otherwise" (Massey, 1993, 68, emphasis altered).

---

[33] For example, Sellers (2002) argues that the nature of the local urban political economy is influenced by internal factors such as spatial and social structures and by external factors such as the influence of translocal markets and market actors, as well as governmental and political influences which can stem from other localities and across differing scales.

As Abu-Lughod (1999, in Robinson, 2006, 119) has argued "common forces operating at the level of the global economy operate always through local political structures and interact with inherited spatial forms." These characteristics of place therefore influence how the seemingly 'common force' of neoliberalism is produced in cities. The context of the city in which neoliberal reforms are being instituted or imposed are seen to have complex and interconnected layerings of historical and contemporary political, institutional, socio-economic, developmental, cultural and spatial structures and institutions in and through which neoliberalisation must occur. Furthermore, the relationships between places and their broader contexts, across a range of scales, influence how neoliberalism is interpreted, implemented, contested and formed. In this vein, Brenner and Theodore (2002, 368) argue that "patterns of neoliberal localisation in any national or local context can be understood adequately only through an exploration of their complex, contested interactions with inherited national and local regulatory landscapes".

Even as space and place are strongly constituted by the situated, interrelated and multi-layered processes of production and the practices of society, they are created not only by their materiality but by their associated discourses (Lefebvre, 1989; Hart, 2006). Therefore, part of what creates the particularities, and interconnections, of space and place is discursive (Hart, 2006). Further to this understanding is an appreciation of localities as, "in varying ways and degrees, centres of collective consciousness" and, therefore, as active rather than passive (Cooke, 1990, 242). This is a conceptualisation of a relational space in which a multiplicity of narratives exist and interact in ways that produce both positive and negative meanings and material and social outcomes (Darian-Smith et al, 1996). However, not all narratives are equally powerful and they will often challenge or compete with each other in order to determine, or alter, the characteristics of place (Watson, 1996). Localities can therefore be understood as relational spaces that provide the foundations from which society can intervene to affect local interests. In addition, localities can also 'act' on an individual or group to create particular understandings and consequent actions. They therefore influence the ways in which people interpret the nature of a place and the kinds of individual and collective actions that occur in places and which make places (Johnston, 1991; Oelofse, 1994; Darian-Smith et al, 1996).

Following this argument, it is deemed necessary to view individuals and groupings within society as key to the formation of local level development policy and practices that result in particular outcomes for urban populations and the urban landscape, i.e. for places (Sellers,

2002). Sellers (2002, 3) further argues that "sources [of change] often trace more to actors and interests within urban political economies than to pressures from without". Therefore, role players such as local business, institutions, voters and activists, along with a regulatory landscape imposed 'from above', are important to decision-making processes. These actors play the most significant role in making the decisions which influence the outcomes of local urban development processes even in a context whereby the trans-local influences which exist in an interconnected world cannot be ignored (Sellers, 2002).

The abovementioned conceptualisations of place highlight the ways in which space must be considered as relationally produced through the intersection of a wide range of assemblages of economic, social, political and physical resources and systems (Cresswell, 2004; Jackson, 2006). As Hart (2006, 981) has argued, these critical constructions of space "provide a means for grappling with the divergent but increasingly interconnected trajectories of socio-spatial change that are actively constitutive of processes of 'globalisation'". In such formulations the local and the global are co-constituted through the multiple trajectories of both the material and the discursive which intersect and coalesce to create the qualities of particular places. It follows therefore that the nature of place allows for an understanding of neoliberalisation which takes into account how relations between the local or global are produced and changed such that processes and outcomes of neoliberalisation are particular to the contexts in and through which they occur.

The following sections will rely on the above understanding of space, place and context as a foundation for interpreting how neoliberalism is enmeshed and formulated in cities, particularly through practical and discursive processes such as those which take place in PPPs engaged in urban development. To this end the following sections address the insights which emerge from a consideration of the concept of the 'ordinary city' and of the notion of 'entanglement'.

3.3   Drawing from the Ordinary City Approach

Theorisations of the city as 'ordinary' (Amin and Graham, 1997; Robinson, 2002, 2006, 2008) open new avenues for the interpretations of all cities, but particularly, create opportunities for understanding cities of the global South in new ways. To this end, the ordinary city approach makes the break with approaches which prioritise a global, hierarchical system of cities which assume the 'imposition' of neoliberalism and 'mimicry' on the part of marginalised cities. This break allows for a consideration of cities and urban processes in

which all cities are rendered equal, each engaging with and connecting with global impulses in their own way. Therefore, this conceptualisation of the city opens the way for theorisations of the articulation of neoliberalism with cities that provides an alternative to the widely accepted theorisations of the, inevitable, imposition of the global on the local. The following discussion thus turns to the notion of the ordinary city to draw out new possibilities for theorising the ways in which cities address their development imperatives, particularly under neoliberalism.

The notion of the 'ordinary city' has been in circulation since 1997 when Ash Amin and Stephen Graham began to seek alternatives to understanding cities which moved beyond the limitations of predominant hierarchical theorisations of cities and urban life (Amin and Graham, 1997). As previously mentioned in section 2.3, much of contemporary urban theory dictates that cities can be understood in two ways; as part of a hierarchical global system of world cities or through a developmentalist approach (Robinson, 2006). In the first approach, cities are seen as operating within a global hierarchy of cities in which the global cities are at the pinnacle of interconnectedness within the system of cities and act as drivers within the global economy and as trend-setters for other cities (Sassen, 1994; Taylor et al, 2001). From this perspective, it is mooted that development in peripheral cities should be of the type which facilitates improved connectivity and movement up the hierarchy (Sassen 1994, 1998; Taylor et al, 2001; Knox, 2002; Robinson, 2006). It is this understanding of urban development which accounts for much of the competition between cities discussed in section 2.3.2. In the second approach, the developmentalist approach, one reserved predominantly for poorer cities, all assessments of cities begin with the premise that they are troubled by numerous problems and that solutions must be found to alleviate urban problems such that cities can advance in their development (Robinson, 2002a, 2006). This typically leads to problem-focussed development approach as highlighted in section 2.3.3.

Although useful in many ways, the reliance on approaches which either foreground a global urban hierarchy or characterise cities by their problems limits the ways in which cities can be investigated and understood and potentially narrows the options for role-players in cities (Robinson, 2006). Robinson (2006, 94) is concerned that world cities theory places "some cities as exemplars and others as imitators." Thus much of the predominant urban theory does not allow for agency and creativity in poorer cities as they are seen simply as appropriating trends and developments from more culturally and economically powerful cities. This often has the result of limiting the scope of development possibilities in cities to changes which

improve their competitiveness and result in greater global connectivity (Robinson, 2006). Thus,

> "in policy terms, the hierarchies and categories in the global and world cities approaches suggest that if cities are not to remain inconsequential, marginalised and impoverished or to trade economic growth for expansion in population, they need to aim for the top! Global City as a concept becomes a regulating fiction" (Robinson, 2006, 111).

Given the limits of world city theory for the understanding of cities and for the formulation of alternative urban theory and practice, new forms of theorising need to be sought to account for the complexities of cities, internally and in terms of their interconnectivity (Robinson, 2006). To this end, Robinson (2002a, 2006) has advanced the notion of an ordinary city. This approach steps outside the bounds of current theoretical restrictions and advocates for careful and open-minded investigation of the actual local dynamics of cities.

As Robinson (2006, 109) claims, "ordinary cities can be understood as unique assemblages of wider processes – they are all distinctive, in a category of one". Furthermore,

> "ordinary cities exist within a world of interactions and flows…bring together a vast array of networks and circulations of varying spatial reach and assemble many different kinds of social, economic and political processes. Ordinary cities are diverse, complex and internally differentiated" (Robinson, 2006, 108).

This approach adopts a view of cities as unique and complicated places which cannot and do not exist without the multiple influences of wider processes such as those embodied in local and broader contexts and multi-scalar connections. Therefore, rather than thinking of cities solely in terms of their position in a world system or as collections of problems, the ordinary city approach allows an understanding of cities to emerge from an interrogation of the complex dynamics of a city under study, including its many internal and external interconnections. This opens new doors for theoretical reflection in urban contexts, such as South African cities, where previously, cities would have been thought of as 'off the map' of global systems and needing to move 'into view' (Robinson, 2002a; Robinson, 2006).

Further to opportunities of relational considerations of 'citiness' offered by the use of the concept of the ordinary city as an interpretive lens, the ordinary city approach prioritises the need for a sense of creative imagination in addressing the complexities of interconnection between places, ideas, people and systems. The ordinary city approach facilitates the uncovering of creativity and adaptability within cities as they negotiate the "circulations of people, ideas [and] resources" within which they operate and through which they are linked. This approach thus provides an alternative to much of the predominant theorisation of cities

which does not take into account the real, and potential, creativity of cities (Robinson, 2006, 65). From a detailed understanding of one city, any city, lessons can be learnt about all cities – including lessons about how cities engage with global processes of neoliberalism. Robinson (2006) thus argues that an ordinary city approach works to dispossess urban theory of the notion that the western or developed world is the source of the urban inventiveness and excitement that is commonly understood as urban modernity. Within an ordinary city framework, innovation in cities which are not western can be acknowledged as innovation rather than as imitation of the so-called developed world cities (Robinson, 2006).

In seeking innovation and creative imagination in cities a language or discourse of 'appropriation' emerges as a useful explanatory conceptual framework. Appropriation is a localised, creative process in which cities are engaged in formulating their own outcomes and performing their own negotiations with western trends (Robinson, 2006). This is a much more powerful process than that of 'mimicry' in which cities of the South are viewed as simply recreating the spaces and practices of the global North and have little ability to do anything other than try to replicate what innovation occurs elsewhere (Robinson, 2006). Thus, from an ordinary city perspective, all cities have the possibility for agency and the potential for creativity and innovation in determining their futures. This is possible because even though cities may have to operate within the limitations placed on them by the specificities of the local context, such as uneven power relations and poor resources; they are able appropriate externally imposed trends to suit their unique localised purposes (Robinson, 2006).[34]

In a context of agency within cities, there are new possibilities for understanding the relationship between what is deemed global and what is deemed local rather than being confined to the perspective which sees the local scale being dominated by the global, and thereby determined by the position of a city within the world economy. From an ordinary city perspective, cities are assumed to have distinctive characteristics. These individual qualities should form the basis from which plans and projects for urban development are formulated since this allows for a more direct response to the local context rather than to globally-focussed imperatives (Robinson, 2006; 2008). However, cities themselves need to believe that they have the potential for creativity and innovation and are capable of contributing to the wider world of cities and urban connectivity if inventive locally derived solutions are to be

---

[34] In other approaches there is little recognition that cities have the agency to appropriate rather than mimic trends within western cities and neither is there recognition of the appropriation of ideas and practices by the North from the South (Robinson, 2006).

developed and used successfully. Furthermore, to truly move beyond an imagination of mimicry, cities in the South must to take ownership of their processes and outcomes of appropriation just as places in the North have taken ownership of adopted and reinvented forms from the South, such as Brazilian architecture used in New York, which they have incorporated into the urban fabric (Robinson, 2006).

Creativity and inventiveness in ordinary cities does not, however, imply isolation from external influences. Cities are spaces of circulation of people, goods, knowledge and services (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Robinson, 2006a). As such, they are places of intersection, assemblage and interaction with multiple ideas, histories, material resources and systems, all of which offer opportunities for the emergence of new ideas and processes that can generate urban transformation in ways which fall outside the bounds and possibilities of predominant theorisations of the city (Pile et al, 1999; Robinson, 2006; 2006a). Overall, it is the combination of both the city's territoriality and its responsiveness to the influence of external conditions and approaches which offers the potential for new imaginings and innovation with which address the complexities of urban development, particularly in contexts of transformation (Robinson, 2006a).

Parnell and Robinson (2006) and Robinson (2006a) highlight some of these issues when addressing ways that Johannesburg has dealt with the existence of dual development imperatives. Since imperatives of improved competitiveness and for the provision of basic needs co-exist in cities, such as Johannesburg, the adoption of imported development processes and techniques which prioritise only one of these development agendas will be insufficient to address the overall needs of the city. In this case, decision-makers in the city need to acknowledge the distinctive development context and requirements of the city and attempt to forge creative pathways of development which are responsive to the city's unique needs (Robinson, 2006a). This need for a creative imagining of the urban future and inventiveness is of special significance in a city which is undergoing dramatic transformation or which does not simply conform to orderly western models of urbanism, but which is still influenced by global trends such as neoliberalism. To this end, Robinson (2006a, 257) argues that:

> "working with the inventive potential of the city, drawing on its complexity and diversity, rather than attempting to control and order its unruliness, offers an important way forward for governance, both in cities in crisis and in cities where forms of governance are being remade in the wake of neoliberalism."

The acknowledgement of the potential for creative agency in and of cities found in an ordinary city approach is of particular importance to the theoretical framework of this study. This sense of the 'ordinary' city "appreciate(s) and aim(s) to work with the creative coexistences implied by diverse economies and social relations" such as they occur in particular places (Robinson, 2008, 2). As such, a theorisation of the ordinary city creates the potential for an understanding of the articulations of neoliberalism in cities which moves beyond the conceptualisation of limits of an imposed or externally driven, i.e. global, process of neoliberalisation. Drawing on the theory of ordinary cities thus provides a more nuanced understanding of how neoliberalism 'comes to be' within a particular place. This reasoning provides the potential for a city to appropriate global structures, conventions and networks in local processes, such as within the negotiations over development imperatives which take place in public private partnerships. It is proposed here that such appropriation occurs during the negotiation processes over development imperatives in PPPs.

The conceptualisation of the ordinary city, which brings it 'back into view', allows for the theorisation of new strategies and policies for urban change and improved equality, moving beyond the limited range of, often incongruent, changes thought possible by world city or developmentalist approaches (Robinson, 2006). To this end, notions of the ordinary city have the potential to provide a framework for understanding the processes through which cities work to find ways to address both their social redress and inequality needs and the demands for economic growth (Robinson, 2008). As Robinson (2008, 3) has suggested, "an ordinary city perspective… resonates with the complex and diverse demands which are made in practice on local policy makers." This study interrogates the role of public private partnerships as a predominantly neoliberal development mechanism adopted by policy makers and practitioners in cities. Therefore, an ordinary city approach allows for a theorisation of the interaction between neoliberalism and urban development agendas which assumes that PPPs have the potential to act as a means of local appropriation of global development imperatives or as mechanisms for creative reimaginings of the city.[35]

Furthermore, accepting the premise of an ordinary city approach allows for a theorisation of urban transformation which begins somewhere other than in the west and developed world. This theorisation of the city prompts the learning of new lessons that can inform cities across the world, rather than reinforcing the dominance of western/northern literature which is

---

[35] In this way, this study intends to follow the lead of Robinson and Parnell (2006) and Robinson (2008) as they have used the globally driven process of city development strategies to think about the relationship between different imperatives for development in Johannesburg and Durban.

pervasive in studies of cities in the South (Robinson, 2002a; 2006; 2006a). It is an approach which encourages the study of a particular city but which simultaneously acknowledges its unique circumstances and its potential for generating new insight into urban processes as they occur in cities across the globe. Thus, this study adopts an ordinary city approach in order to examine the inter-relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives by beginning with the city and processes in question. In this way, this investigation takes into account the concerns and contexts of the global, the post-colonial, the post-apartheid and of the developing world but is unconfined by the limits to understanding imposed by previous theorisations of urban processes in these contexts.

Building on the opportunities for new examinations of urban development processes offered by an approach to cities as ordinary, the following section highlights the notion of 'entanglement'. The concept is an interpretative lens through which local-global articulations in cities can be conceptualised. 'Entanglement' is a concept which does not strictly address the urban. However, the concept offers the possibility for new understandings of the interaction between neoliberalism and the negotiation of a development agenda in cities. These insights move beyond the limitations imposed by theorisations of urban development which emphasise the local-global binary and the inevitability of the imposition of globalisation and its neoliberal economic growth paradigm on the local.

3.4   The Notion of Entanglement

The following section outlines and critically examines the notion of 'entanglement' as a concept for advancing our understanding of the relationships between neoliberalism and cities. 'Entanglement' is a concept in the lexicon of social science that is often used metaphorically and without much interrogation (Nuttall, 2009). However, whether it is used metaphorically or as an explicit framing concept, the notion of entanglement embraces a relational way of thinking and rejects a binary conceptualisation of society and the relationships entailed within society (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). To this end, the notion of entanglement is post-positivist in outlook (Sharp et al, 2000). 'Entanglement' invites an interrogation of language, discourses and social interaction as a means of understanding social relationships. It has typically been used to understand the integrated and dynamic nature of social and cultural relationships in which traditional binary thinking fails to do (Nuttall, 2009). Geographers have used the term 'entanglement' and its theorisation in order to expand geographical conceptualisations of power and of social and organisational networks such as those supporting social and environmental justice (Sharp et al, 2000; Crang et al, 2003;

Cumbers et al, 2008; Pieck and Moog, 2009).[36] Furthermore the concept of entanglement has been used to consider the interrelationships between commodities and culture, particularly in terms of food production and consumption and fashion (Crang and Dwyer, 2002; Crang et al, 2003; Dwyer, 2004; Lee, 2006; Goodman, 2008).

It is proposed here that the concept of entanglement can be applied in this research to provide a subtle and nuanced understanding of the way neoliberalism is articulated with, and through, the negotiation of development imperatives in public private partnerships for urban development. This understanding is made possible through the opportunities to reveal and examine relational connections between urban development imperatives and their inter-connection with neoliberalism. This builds on the conceptual foundation provided by the ordinary city approach which facilitates the rejection of the categorical thinking of the world cities approach as well as the binaries of developed/underdeveloped, first/third world cities which have limited interpretations of urban change in 'ordinary' cities. The following sections review the cultural studies and geographical perspectives on entanglement.

3.4.1 A cultural studies perspective on entanglement

Sarah Nuttall (2009) begins her book on cultural reflections of post apartheid with the following description of the concept of entanglement:

> "Entanglement is a condition of being twisted together or entwined, involved with; it speaks of an intimacy gained, even if it was resisted, or ignored or uninvited. It is a term which may gesture towards a relationship or set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies human foldedness. It works with difference and sameness but also with their limits, their predicaments, their moments of complication" (Nuttall, 2009, 1).

As she outlines, this concept is one which has made appearances in analyses undertaken by "scholars in anthropology, history, sociology and literary studies, although always briefly and in passing rather than as a structuring concept in their work" (Nuttall, 2009, 1). Nuttall uses this concept much more purposefully to structure a nuanced and creative account of moments and experiences of cultural change in South Africa in the post apartheid period. She begins by outlining how the notion of entanglement has been used by other scholars. What follows is a brief description of the uses of the concept of entanglement, as described in Nuttall (2009). Her discussion provides a useful platform from which this study intends to interrogate and apply the concept.

---

[36] This section relies predominantly on two recent works which have concentrated on the notion of entanglement, as well as utilising more tangential uses of the term to try to fully describe how entanglement is understood and used in social theory.

Nuttall (2009) argues that the notion of entanglement has been used in six different ways, mostly in relation to issues of race, identity and (post) colonialism. These include the themes of historical entanglement, the time of entanglement, the notion of the 'seam' and of complicity and fourthly, the entanglement of people and things. Fifthly, Nuttall (2009) presents the use of the notion of entanglement in relation to the social consequences of new scientific understandings of DNA signatures, and sixthly, she offers a discussion of racial entanglements.

Firstly, the sense of historical entanglement is one which argues that in the history of race relations, processes of imperialism and their impacts on everyday concerns produce complex and diverse interrelationships (Hofmeyr, 2004; Nuttall, 2009). This occurred as vastly different worldviews came into the same ambit and began to entangle (Nuttall, 2009). For example, the relationships between Africans and Europeans within the colonial process were forged not simply as a process of the subjugation of African by European 'masters' but as an interdependency in which Europeans relied on Africans to provide labour and dispossessed African relied on Europeans for employment. In this way, each group relied on the other for survival (Nuttall, 2009). In these relationships, interdependency and difference were negotiated and enmeshed to form particularised colonial institutions and notions of separation (Nuttall, 2009).

Furthermore, Nuttall (2009) shows how the historical circulation of texts and their related ideas highlight the entanglement of historical space and time thus illustrating the false dualism of core and periphery. In this argument, Nuttall (2009) highlights Hofmeyr's (2004) critical analysis of the interconnections between the core and the periphery in the complex movement of texts, and their associated ideas, through the imperial world. For example, ideas and new insights generated in the periphery through colonial experiences were transported to the core through travel, personal and official communications, and furthermore, could be published and disseminated through the many parts of the British Empire such that new and entangled meanings have been created which exceed the expected transferral of ideas from the core to the periphery. This opens the way for an understanding of more complex processes of connectivity between ideas, such that they can be understood as interlaced' and translated across and between different places (Nuttall, 2009).

Secondly, entanglement has also been understood in a temporal sense (Nuttall, 2009). To this end Nuttall (2009) highlights Mbembe's (2001) use of the 'time of entanglement' as a means

of capturing the period of the postcolony as an epoch characterised by the overlaying, interpenetration and (dis)continuities of multiple 'duree's' or periods:

> "Mbembe argues that there is no way to give a plausible account of the time of entanglement without asserting three postulates: firstly that this time is 'not a series but an interlocking of presents, pasts and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts and futures, each age bearing, altering and maintaining the previous ones'. Secondly, that it is made up of 'disturbances, of a bundle of unforeseen events'" (Nuttall, 2009, 4).

In considering the temporal sense of entanglement, Mbembe (2001, in Nuttall, 2009, 4) postulates that paying close attention to "its real patterns of ebbs and flows shows that this time [of entanglement] is not irreversible". This sense of temporal entanglement refutes the sense that development and change occurs in a linear fashion. It therefore attempts to enrich understandings of development processes that previously have been oversimplified, under-theorised and marginalised because they do not fit with imposed linear temporal models, as in the case of many of the conceptualisations of Africa's development (Mbembe, 2001, in Nuttall, 2009). Furthermore, in drawing out the temporal sense of entanglement, Nuttall (2009, 5) highlights recent work by Wenzel (2009) which calls for "an ethics of retrospection that would maintain a radical openness to the past and its visions of the future", thereby allowing for an entanglement of the historical past with the present as new social, and other, processes are forged in contexts of transition such as South Africa.

The third aspect of entanglement highlighted by Nuttall (2009) is derived from literary critics who use the concept to denote 'the seam', and for thinking about 'complicity', particularly in terms of race and identity. 'The seam' is a frontier – a space in which contact is made with an other and over which crossings can take place (De Kock, 2004; Nuttall, 2009). Nuttall (2009, 5) cites De Kock's (2004) argument that

> "the seam is the place where difference and sameness are hitched together – where they are brought to self-awareness, denied or displaced into third terms: 'a place of simultaneous convergence and divergence, the seam is the paradox qualifying any attempt to imagine organicism or unity'".

Nuttall's source of the concept of 'complicity' derives from Sanders (2002) arguments, in which he critically addresses the interrelationships between collaboration and accommodation in the apartheid and post-apartheid period. Sanders (2002) draws attention to the ways in which even those who oppose a social evil, or political regime, in this case, do so from an inherent complicity which exists within the human condition, through membership of society. Nuttall (2009, 6) states that Sanders (2002, 11) believes that,

"we cannot understand apartheid and its aftermath by focussing 'on apartness alone, but by tracking interventions, marked by degrees of affirmation and disavowel, in a continuum of foldedness or responsibility-in-complicity'"

and, therefore, she argues that thinking about South Africa, and about race relations within the confines of 'apartness', is extremely limiting.

Fourthly, beyond the senses of entanglement outlined above, emerging considerations of how people and things are entangled can further contribute to an understanding of the notion of entanglement (Nuttall, 2009). A sense of the entanglement of people and things relates to the commodification of everyday life in the contemporary period, a process which shifts the relationships between people and things beyond earlier analyses (such as those of Karl Marx) and therefore requires new ways of articulation. To this end, possession is viewed as more than just ownership and individuals and physical objects become intricately enmeshed in what constitutes an everyday life beyond the "cultural logic of capitalism" (Nuttall, 2009, 8).[37] This is exemplified in geographies of food in which socio-cultural associations with meat and vegetable products extend far beyond considerations of the usefulness as resources for the human body. Instead, these geographies highlight the ways in which physical objects are transformed as people invest meaning in them within circuits of capitalism and a commodity-based culture (Cook and Crang, 1996; Crang et al, 2003; Dwyer, 2004; Goodman, 2008).

Further uses of the notion of entanglement are found specifically within the sphere of race and ethnicity studies (Nuttall, 2009). In this regard, a fifth, and novel, usage of entanglement is related to its recent use within analyses of genetic research that highlights the formation of genetic maps which use DNA signatures to trace paternal or maternal lines and which thereby highlight the historical entanglement of human genetic codes across racial lines (Nuttall, 2009).

The sixth account of entanglement discussed by Nuttall (2009) is that of racial entanglement. Thinking of race through the concept of entanglement advances recent accounts of race which aim to avoid, or at least limit, a concern with separation and difference. These theoretical arguments call instead for discursive and analytical interventions which shift beyond the limitations of stereotypical and dualist notions of black and white (Nuttall, 2009). In this sense, deconstruction of the notion of race is facilitated by a discourse of entanglement which enforces a shift beyond dualism and concentrates instead on relational processes of engagement.

---

[37] In this argument, Nuttall (2009) relies heavily on Brown (2003).

Thus the notion of entanglement is useful as a conceptual lens through which,

> "we can begin to meet the challenge of the 'after apartheid'… it is an idea which signals largely unexplored terrains of mutuality, wrought from a common, though often coercive and confrontational, experience" (Nuttall, 2009, 11).

Nuttall (2009) further argues that reading South African life through a lens of entanglement enables a somewhat utopian perspective that is needed within the problems and inequities that exist within everyday life in contemporary South Africa, but which does not give up on engaging with these very real circumstances. What has emerged through the application of the frame of entanglement is

> "the importance, too, of holding 'heretical conversations' in order to question and even at times, dislodge or supersede the tropes and analytical foci which quickly harden into conventions of how we read the 'now'" (Nuttall, 2009, 12).

Entanglement, she argues, offers opportunities for 'defamilarising' what has become accepted or common (Nuttall, 2009).

Nuttall (2009) uses all of these applications of the concept of entanglement and her sense of their usefulness and addresses a variety of socio-cultural texts and contexts with contemporary South Africa to draw out new understandings of cultural politics, identity and race. Although these analyses and interpretations are insightful in writing the now in South Africa, they are focussed on cultural studies and are therefore not of direct concern to this study. Nuttall's (2009) critical discussion of the various aspects of the concept of entanglement is, however, most useful in this research. Entanglement is a concept for overcoming dualisms, the oppositions within which can instead be conceptualised as interlinked, co-constituted and enmeshed. The prospects offered by the concept of entanglement in addressing neoliberalism and the articulations of the local and the global will be discussed in detail in section 3.4.3.

3.4.2 A geographical perspective on entanglements of power

As well as the recent theorisation of culture and race in post colonial and South African contexts, the concept of entanglement has been applied to theorisations of power and the geographies of domination and resistance (Sharp et al, 2000).[38] This section outlines this application of the concept of entanglement and further interrogates the concept as a potential pathway towards new interpretations of neoliberalism and the articulation of neoliberalism and urban development imperatives.

---

[38] For example, Sharp et al (2000) was published from a conference in 1996 at the University of Glasgow on the Geographies of Domination/Resistance, in which political and social geographers addressed the entanglements of power (Sharp et al, 2000a).

Traditionally, domination and resistance have been conceptualised as binary opposites which exist as a "dialectic of opposed forces" between the "ruler and the ruled" (Sharp et al, 2000, 9). In an attempt to revise and advance geographical conceptualisations of power, Sharp et al (2000) argue for moving beyond this predominance of binary thinking within theorisations of power and offer an alternative model of power which can begin to highlight the interrelationships and co-existence of these elements of power. Thinking of power as 'entangled', they argue, provides a relational perspective on power which has not been fully incorporated into previous theorisations of power (Massey, 2000; Sharp et al, 2000). This conceptualisation problematises the assumption that power can be understood either as domination or resistance and thereby argues for a move beyond the more traditional liberal and Marxist interpretations of processes of domination and resistance (Sharp et al, 2000).

Sharp et al (2000) ground their theorisation of the entanglements of power in Foucault's work on power and space. In this instance, Foucault's examination of power is read as encompassing

> "a thoroughly entangled bundle of exchanges dispersed 'everywhere' through society, as comprising a 'micro-physical' or 'capillary' geography of linkages, intensities and frictions and thereby not being straightforwardly in the 'service' of any one set of peoples, institutions or movements" (Sharp et al, 2000, 20).

This conceptualisation of power is argued to be a useful way of thinking about power as an entanglement of both resistance and domination because dominating power and resisting power are not viewed in total but rather as occurring in fragmented, overlapping, integrated and interdependent ways (Sharp et al, 2000). Thus, each form of power cannot exist separately from the other but, equally, cannot be reduced to the other, as "the one always contain[s] the seeds of the other, the one always bear[s] a trace of the other that contaminates or subverts it" (Sharp et al, 2000, 20). This formulation of power is therefore, not interested in the uncoupling of domination from resistance but instead motivates for seeing each of these elements of power as entangled within the other; as co-constitutive, at least in part, of each other. [39]

An important aspect of the theorisation of the entanglements of power is that they are understood to be inherently spatial. According to Sharp et al (2000, 24),

> "the term entanglements is meant to conjure up the threadings, knottings and weavings of power, thus deploying a metaphor full of spatial imagery to convey

---

[39] However, even as the enmeshing of these forms of power become fore-grounded, this focus on their entanglements is seen not to presuppose the failure to identify each element in its own right or to limit the need to examine each of these aspects of power in their own right (Sharp et al, 2000).

the complexity of what we see in the workings of power, domination and resistance. Yet, our use of the term is meant to be *more* than metaphorical, and is intended to signal that relations of power are really, crucially and unavoidably spun out across and through the material spaces of the world. It is within such spaces that assemblages of people, activities, technologies, institutions, ideas and dreams all come together, circulate, convene and reconvene – it cannot be but so – and it is only as a consequence of the spatial entangling together of all these elements that relations of power are established."

Thus, Sharp et al (2000) argue that the emergence of power is itself dependent on the entanglements of the many connections within and of spaces. Entanglements in space thus presuppose the manifestation, workings and outcomes of power (Sharp et al, 2000). This argument shifts the conceptualisation of power from one which pre-exists 'spatial assemblages' to one which conceives of power as "an effect of the entanglements emerging from the spatial assemblages" (Sharp et al, 2000, 25). Given the interplay between the characteristics of particular spaces/places and processes of power, Sharp et al (2000) argue that it may be useful to consider the spatialised entanglements of power as 'resistance within spaces of domination' and 'domination within spaces of resistance'.

This spatialised sense of power as entangled, relies on the construction of space as active, dynamic and influential (Massey, 2000). Sharp et al (2000) draw on recent theorisations of space and place in their conceptualisation of places as being both the physical spaces in which activities occur, the product of networked social relations and as active producers of material and social relations. Places are also seen to incorporate the discourses, beliefs and images of those who operate within them and contribute to their creation, through individual and institutionalised activities and processes (Cresswell, 2004). The geographies of power thus incorporate the tensions which exist between various, enmeshed and competing spatial connections; be they material, discursive, individual, collective, institutionalised or even of the imagination. The practices of domination/resistance thus occur in and through the geographies of "social networks, communication processes and economic relations" as they occur within the contingencies of place (Sharp et al, 2000, 27). As Sharp et al (2000, 27) describe, this is "a geography suspended in an interwoven web of specific practices, processes, subjectivities and spatialities of enactment, expression and materialisation."

Given the variance, complexity and dynamism of relationships which are inherent within a theorisation of the entanglements of power, Massey (2000) has argued for the foregrounding of relational thinking as a means towards uncovering, or inventing, new ways of breaking the predominant inequalities of power which continue to exist even though dominance and

resistance are conceived of as entangled. [40] Thus, Massey (2000, 284) contends, "in this model of power it is the relationship which is the thing. The identities positioned within the entanglements are themselves constituted through the practice of interrelation." Stemming from this, it is necessary to interrogate "a politics of interrelation" rather than to concentrate on evaluating and supporting a politics which is limited to struggling for the rights of numerous sets of identities (Massey, 2000, 284). Such an interrogation would open new understandings of, and accountability for, the ways in which relationships of power between individuals, communities, places and societies are created and sustained; and for how they might be changed (Massey, 2000).

As discussed above, Sharp et al (2000), and the contributors to their volume, use the concept of entanglement to shift interpretations of power towards a perspective which is much more relational, spatialised and nuanced than much of the thinking on power and resistance which has come before. Although this approach should not undermine the realities of power inequalities and entrenched structural difference across spaces, communities and individuals, it is argued that a lens of entanglement can offer new perspectives on how different forms of power emerge, are stabilised and even hegemonised.

The prospects that this sense of entanglement, and those offered by Nuttall (2009), offer to an analysis of the role of neoliberalism and, specifically, to the negotiation of development imperatives through PPPs will be examined below.

3.4.3   Prospects offered by an 'entanglements' approach

It is argued here that the application of the notion of entanglement can advance analyses of neoliberalism in cities and in the related interpretation of how local development imperatives of redress and more globally-derived imperatives of growth are negotiated. Entanglement provides for interpretations which are relational and spatialised, and because it encourages the review of discourse, action and practice. It also offers a clearer understanding of the connections and relations between people, institutions, places and ideas. The existing usage of the notion of entanglements as reviewed in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 highlights spaces and

---

[40] Massey (2000) expresses caution in regard to the overall use of entanglements as a framing concept for the creation of new understandings of power. In part, this is derived from a concern that this reconceptualisation of power could allow for a diminished recognition that structural differences in power are real and continue to exist and therefore must be addressed (Massey, 2000). Furthermore, she is wary that a focus on power as the entanglement of domination/resistance may leave little room for finding creative alternatives to the totality of power as it currently exists, especially since the entanglements of power itself could be seen as a totalising framework (Massey, 2000).

contexts in which change and transformation are occurring. This concept has also been adopted here as a theoretical approach which is applicable in situations which are undergoing overt and rapid flux, such as urban contexts. These points will be further elaborated below.

The new insights provided by the concept of entanglement are extremely important because they open new avenues of understanding which move beyond the confines of dualistic thinking such as that which has plagued much of cultural studies and geography (Nuttall, 2009). Examinations of the geographies of power and also of globalisation and the impacts of global processes of neoliberalism on local places have similarly been frequently treated in dualistic terms (Sharp et al, 2000; Hart, 2002; 2006; Massey, 2005). The use of the concept of entanglements offers an approach to examine the negotiation of urban development imperatives in relational rather than dualistic terms. In its metaphorical, real and spatialised imaginary, the notion of entanglement stimulates a shift in interpretation away from a sense of dualism and frequently totalising and/or normative theorisations towards a more complex and nuanced understanding of the interrelationships between the elements which coalesce to produce tangible outcomes in places.

As Massey (2000) has argued in response to the totalising imaginaries of globalisation, geographers have a responsibility to critique the discourses and imaginaries of spatiality and power, especially since to do otherwise would contribute to the entrenchment of their hegemony. This is necessary, firstly, in order to highlight the ways in which processes such as globalisation and neoliberalisation are presented as normative and inevitable; and secondly to keep open the potential for finding and understanding ways of doing things differently. It is argued here that the relational approach offered through the use of the notion of entanglements offers the potential to do just that. This is especially so because relational interpretations of the articulations between the global and the local, and between neoliberalism(s) and place are necessarily nuanced and interwoven. In this way, a relational interpretation opens new possibilities for understanding the interplay, mutuality and co-constitution of what could otherwise be conceptualised as mutually discreet spheres, such as global and local; growth and redress.

Within the frame of entanglements of power, Thrift (2000) has argued for the recognition of the importance of everyday practices through which systems that are viewed as powerful are

being continuously destabilised.[41] This concern for everyday practices is salient when teasing out the interrelationships between neoliberalism and the negotiation of competing urban development imperatives. Everyday practices can undermine, change or recreate the approaches, discourses and practices that have come to be accepted as powerful, and even inevitable, and therefore have the potential to subvert the reification of neoliberalism (Larner, 2003; McNeill, 2005; Castree, 2006). This subversion occurs by uncovering the tangled threads of the processes through which neoliberalism is accepted, rejected, interpreted and (re)formulated. Furthermore, the revelation of the complexity, contradiction and 'messiness' (Larner, 2000) of the ways in which contexts, communities and ideas are entangled, highlights the disorderly but real ways in which the global and the local are enmeshed and neoliberal projects are enacted.

In following Nuttall's (2009) use of entanglement as a framing notion, there are opportunities to examine global-local articulations in a manner which allows for a move away from the much criticised notion of global forces being imposed on the local level. The prioritisation of discourses within the concept of entanglement contributes to a more nuanced understanding of neoliberalism as it enables an interpretation of the ways in which actors envision neoliberalism and the resolution of urban development tensions. Thus, the variety of discourses used by actors as they negotiate urban development practices and processes can be understood as channels through which neoliberalism is (re)formulated in a particular place.

The understanding of the spatialisation of power through a sense of entanglement is also important for this research. The sense of power as entangled relies on the construction of space, as active, dynamic and influential. This is the same understanding of space which is used to refute the notion that the local is merely able to respond passively to an inevitable global 'force'. Furthermore, arguments about the nature of entanglements highlight the centrality of place and the local, and how the local and the global articulate and intersect in dynamic ways (Massey, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). Thus, because of its inherent spatiality, the concept of entanglement offers a means of seeking out and understanding the connections between places and the assemblages, which produce places themselves. This is particularly important in advancing an understanding of processes such as development and neoliberalisation within South Africa and its cities as well as in the wider world because it

---

[41] To this end, Nuttall (2009) provides a number of examples of everyday urban life, art and literature. For instance, the production of a youth culture in Johannesburg in which the meaning of the black body is remade through fashion and behaviour entails a redefinition of race which detabilises the historical associations of 'blackness' created through subjugation in South Africa.

facilitates an interpretation of urban development in which the local scale is actively contributing to these processes.

The argument that 'power as entangled' is strongly spatial, raises the question of how dominant approaches, such as neoliberalism, which seem to be inevitable, are being constituted by and within places, through social networks, discourses and communication, economic and material systems (Massey, 2000; Sharp et al, 2000). Moreover, the adoption of a notion of entanglement allows for an understanding of how particular processes take place, such as those which occur within public private partnerships in specific places, such as the city of Durban. The focus on spatiality, highlighted in the theorisations of entanglement, generates the scope for probing the ways in which 'other', perhaps more localised, discourses and practices within a space are enmeshed or entangled within what are generally viewed as dominant global approaches. The concept of entanglement opens interpretations of the spatialised practices of negotiating urban development imperatives to the possibilities of understanding how they are co-constitutive, co-existing and spatially embedded. To this end, the topology of 'the seam', knottings, threads, webs and 'foldedness' (Nuttall, 2009; Sharp et al, 2009) offer a theoretical framework for constructing new interpretations of what constitutes neoliberalism and its role in the negotiation of urban development imperatives.

Cities are understood to offer an intensification of social, material and political relations (Massey et al, 1999). Cities are hence places of intensive interrelationships of the many trajectories of place; of the local and the global, the material and the psychological. They are therefore places in which entanglements emerge and are formed (Robinson, 2006a; Simone, 2006; Nuttall, 2009). As a spatial fix for capital in general and for that specific version of capitalism which is neoliberal (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Jessop, 2002), cities are, arguably, critically important spaces for the provision of evidence of the shape, formation and outcomes of entanglements of the local and the global. As evidenced in the work of AbdouMaliq Simone (2006), entanglements is a useful concept in examining the relationships between cities in the contemporary world. In his study of 'pirate towns', Simone (2006, 358) argues that "African and non-African cities are entangled in unprecedented ways" as poor people within these cities are required to forge inventive trade and survival networks across a multiplicity of spaces which span quite different cities and thereby enmesh them. In this research, such entanglements will be sought and critically examined in relation to the articulations between neoliberalism and urban development processes.

Ultimately, the notion of entanglement is one which necessitates a rethinking of the interrelationships between places and their processes of transformation. To this end, the adoption of a relational rather than dualistic perspective is required in seeking to understand connections and interweaving rather than opposition and separation. Entanglement is thus a concept which assumes that realities are not neatly categorised and ordered but are instead interwoven, overlapping and enmeshed (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). These insights are needed to address the limitations of previous assessments of neoliberalism and of competing development imperatives in cities which hegemonise global approaches and their impacts and which fail to address the messy interrelation, connection and enmeshing of development agendas (Larner, 2000; 2003). Thus, what is necessary is a purposeful and conscious move away from a binary, totalising and normative interpretation to one which is much more 'messy', fluid and nuanced. In this way, the notion of entanglement offers a means of shedding light on how neoliberalism is articulated within and through the negotiations of development and economic growth imperatives within public private partnerships.

3.5   Conclusion

This chapter addresses the need for new approaches through which to understand neoliberalism and its articulations with local spaces. In doing so, the argument has drawn on a discussion of the nature of space and place, the concept of the ordinary city and the notion of entanglement. Each of these elements of the chapter builds on the other in order to refute the notion that cities are merely passive recipients of global forces and thereby, enabling the rejection of global-local binaries.

The characteristics of space and place have been presented in order to establish that space and place play an active role in constituting the outcomes of development in particular contexts and as participating in the creation of what is frequently posited as 'the global'. Building on these arguments, the chapter further contends that, in this thesis, concepts, such as that of the ordinary city, and entanglements, offer the prospect for interpreting how neoliberalism plays a role within the negotiation of urban development imperatives through mechanisms such as PPPs.

The ordinary city approach offers a conceptualisation of the city which is open to seeking innovation and creativity at the local level, even in poorer cities. This frees interpretations of development and neoliberalisation in cities, such as Durban, from the constraints of

developmentalist or global cities approaches which have come to dominate urban theorisations and have thereby driven, to a large extent, urban development practice.

Entanglement is a concept which requires relational thinking and which prioritises the discursive production of relationships. The notion of entanglements is itself a spatialised concept, thus allowing for a spatialised interpretation of the interrelationships between the local and the global which highlights the agency of the local in shaping the urban development process within cities. Concern for the relationships between material outcomes and discursive practices found in this approach highlights the dynamic and 'messy' ways in which powerful discourses such as neoliberalism and its pro-growth bent are enmeshed within localised discourses of redress and equity.

Cumulatively, these concepts offer new insights into the processes and outcomes of how neoliberalism is constructed within places, the ways in which neoliberalisation occurs, and the manner in which pro-growth and pro-poor development agendas are articulated and negotiated. These insights allow for a conceptual shift away from the local-global binaries often imposed on urban development processes and instead highlight the co-constitution of urban development through the inter-relationships of contexts and ideas. The following chapters provide the background to these analyses as they address the emergence of competing development imperatives in South Africa, and particularly in Durban.

CHAPTER FOUR
TRAJECTORIES OF TRANSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1   Introduction

This study requires a contextual frame since it relies on an understanding of place as an active and living product of multiple layers of history, materiality and consciousness. This Chapter and Chapter Five provide a sense of the ways in which these contextual trajectories have contributed to the character of contemporary Durban. The last two decades have been strongly characterised by multiple processes of transformation, on global, national and local scales, which have coalesced in complex and entangled ways to (re)create urban spaces in the 'now'. As with other places, this transformation has resulted in a 'new' Durban in which the histories and geographies of the past underlie the urban fabric where they remain as important, often visible, influences.

The following two chapters present and overview of these histories and geographies in an attempt to provide a context to understand the trajectories which have shaped Durban and which are at present playing a role in how development takes place. These influences are felt particularly in relation to the competing development imperatives with which the city is faced and the influence of the neoliberal economic growth paradigm. This chapter begins by tracing the threads of transition in the contemporary South African state which are pertinent to understanding the influence of context on development processes in the city of Durban. The chapter thus touches briefly on pre-democracy changes and then concentrates specifically on the post 1990 period. Chapter Five focuses specifically on Durban and builds the contextual foundation for the interpretive chapters.

This chapter commences with a description of South Africa as a place of transition (section 4.2) and then presents central elements of South Africa's transition globally, within Africa, nationally and locally. Section 4.3 concentrates on the ways in which South Africa has become reintegrated with Africa after the democratic elections in 1994. The internal transformation of the country at the national and municipal levels and the implications of these processes for the development trajectories in the country are presented in sections 4.4 and 4.5.

4.2   South Africa: A Country in Transition

South Africa is a country in which a number of important transitional phases have occurred (Lester et al, 2000). The initial colonization of South Africa, the introduction of the British as a colonizing power in the early 19th century, as well as the movement of Dutch colonial power into the interior of the country and the changes wrought through the discovery of minerals later in the same century, can all be considered phases of transition (Lester et al, 2000). An especially significant transition occurred from 1947 when the National Party came to power and apartheid became rigorously applied, entrenching and deepening the social and political segregation already in existence in South Africa.

The apartheid system which developed after 1947 can be considered through the "three interrelated themes (of) the containment of urban blacks, regional decentralization and the suppression of dissent" (Browett, 1986, 21). The racial division of space used to contain black South Africans was largely orchestrated through a range of legislation, the most important of which was the 1950 Group Areas Act. This resulted in the forced removal of a myriad of people from inner city urban settlements such as Cato Manor, District Six and Sophiatown to newly created townships, typically located on the outskirts of white urban areas (Lemon, 1991; Lester, 2000). On a larger scale, the Bantustans (later called homelands) were created in the 1970s as areas to which black South Africans were relocated from white South Africa. Segregation measures were further consolidated through influx control to contain African urbanization and the instigation of pass laws which severely restricted the movement of blacks in urban areas (Browett, 1986; Lester, 2000). In addition, the many 'petty apartheid' laws constrained the use of facilities such as post offices, parks and public transport and racialised social relations (Browett, 1986; Lester, 2000; Lemon, 2004). The unequal allocation of resources to black spaces and to systems such as education and healthcare occurred, severely undermining development of the black, Indian and coloured populations within the country (Lester, 2000).

As well as spatially dividing the country and its cities, apartheid enforced the racial segregation of the economy, aiming to ensure a cheap black labour force through legislation which privileged whites in the labour market (especially in positions requiring skills), by controlling the education and distribution of black labour. This was supported through the development of decentralization policies which encouraged industrialization on the borders of homelands and away from white urban centres (Rogerson, 1986; Lemon, 2004). Disenfranchisement of blacks was completed during the 1950s and possibilities for

challenging and resisting the divisive and inequitable changes taking place in the country were severely curtailed through the outlawing of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) in the 1960s and the ruthless suppression of any forms of dissent, civil disobedience or protest (Soni, 1992).

Such an inequitable system could not remain in place interminably and began to weaken during the 1970s and 1980s as the international community increasingly placed sanctions on interactions with South Africa. At the same time, the internal anti-apartheid movement became increasingly effective and the financial costs of segregation mounted (Lemon, 1991; McCarthy, 1992). The dismantling of apartheid began in earnest during the early 1990s (McCarthy, 1992; Simon and Ramutsindela, 2000; Christopher, 2001). A democratic government, led by the ANC, was elected on 27 April 1994 and the country entered its most recent phase of transition.

The transition presently underway in South Africa requires actions which address the legacy of apartheid in its many guises. Although dramatic legislative reforms have already taken place since 1994 it is expected that this transition will continue to be a difficult and time consuming process, especially in urban areas where population numbers are high and the socio-economic and spatial effects of apartheid are complex and enduring (Williams, 2000). The following sections outline post apartheid transition in South Africa from the perspectives of the integration of South Africa into the international community and the internal restructuring which has taken place since 1994. These aspects of transition each play a significant role in shaping the developmental imperatives for urban change in South Africa and the conditions in which these imperatives are being realised.

4.3   The Reintegration of South Africa with Africa and the World

As South Africa has progressed in its transition to democracy it has been increasingly integrated into world political spheres and into the global economy. This section presents an overview of South Africa's changing role within the economic and political spheres of Africa and the rest of the world, including South Africa's involvement in NePAD and SADC. These political and economic alliances illustrate both how the international role of South Africa has increased significantly since 1994, especially in attempts to direct development and growth within the underprivileged nations of the world. Furthermore, these interactions have influenced the character of transition within South Africa itself.

During the 1990s, as the system of apartheid started to crumble South Africa began to enjoy ever broadening diplomatic relationships (Lester et al, 2000). With the peaceful transition to democracy in 1994, and assisted by international reverence for Nelson Mandela, the international community were extremely supportive of the political transition in South Africa with the result that South Africa has received, and continues to receive, extensive goodwill and continuing support from the international community (Lester et al, 2000; Schoeman, 2003; le Pere and White, 2005).[42] With this positive sentiment and its relatively powerful position in Africa in terms of its economy, South Africa has become increasingly involved in international political, economic and social networks, especially in relation to Africa (Castells, 1997; Schoeman, 2003).[43]

Since the commencement of political transition, South Africa has responded to calls that it should play a growing role in African affairs through increasing involvement in numerous initiatives which attempt to counteract the negative impression of Africa in the global consciousness.[44] It has also been called to address both Africa's marginality and the problems of political instability and poverty which exacerbate the marginalisation of Africa in the global arena (Gelb, 2001). On the political front, South Africa has been integrally involved in negotiations for peace and democracy in Africa, particularly in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and recently in Zimbabwe (Taylor and Williams, 2001; Schoeman, 2003). Recently, South Africa has worked within the block of developing world countries to propose a change in the structure of the Security Council of the United Nations where it currently holds a seat as a non-permanent member (SAPA, 8/6/2005). South Africa has also gained membership of the Group of 77, the G20, the G8+5 and the World Trade Organisation. These memberships afford South Africa the opportunity to integrate its economy within global markets and to campaign for improved positions and roles of countries in the South within the global political and economic spheres. For example, over the past few years, former president Thabo Mbeki has represented South Africa and the AU in campaigning for debt relief for poorer countries from the World Bank and western donor countries (Shirin, 25/9/2005).

---

[42] Evidence of this goodwill was the re-admittance of South Africa to the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), the United Nations general assembly and the Commonwealth in 1994, and the numerous visits by international leaders since 1994. Further examples of South Africa's increasing role and acceptance in the global arena are the World Summit on Sustainability (Rio +10) being held in Johannesburg in 2002, the rugby and cricket World Cups which were held in the country post 1994 and the upcoming Soccer World Cup in 2010.

[43] For example, South Africa, with arguably the strongest economy in sub-Saharan Africa, was recently rated by the World Bank as a middle-income developing country comparable to countries such as Malaysia and Venezuela (Jenkins and Wilkinson, 2002).

[44] It has been argued that Africa is marginalised in the global economic and political systems, even to the point of being considered irrelevant, or of being a 'nuisance' to the developed world because of its political unrest, economic instability, perpetual food shortages and health crises, and extensive aid requirements (Castells, 1997; Lester et al, 2000).

The formulation and implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NePAD), the role of South Africa in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals have been central to South Africa's role in Africa and have been integral to South Africa's reintegration into world politics and the creation of post apartheid development policy. The discussion thus turns to the development alliances with which South Africa has become integrally involved.

South Africa and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NePAD)

Arguably, South Africa's chief involvement in attempts to change Africa's position in the global community has been the development and promotion of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NePAD). This plan was developed through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in the late 1990s and is linked to the championing of the concept of the African Renaissance (Tsheola, 2002).[45] NePAD has been devised as "a continent wide solution to the structural, economic, and social problems of all African countries" (Versfeld, 2003, 6), and is driven collectively by African leaders through African based activities (Gelb, 2001; Tsheola, 2002).

NePAD has its origins in a successive series of plans formulated by the Organisation of African Unity and the African Union (AU) (Versfeld, 2003). The earlier plans aimed to address many of Africa's problems, including poverty, Africa's marginal position in the global economic arena and the loss of skills in Africa. These plans culminated in a plan entitled the 'New Africa Initiative'. After extensive talks between the AU, led by former South African state president Thabo Mbeki, and representatives of the G-8 countries, the World Trade Organisation and the World Economic Forum, this plan was somewhat revised and in October 2001 became NePAD (Tsheola, 2002; Versfeld, 2003).

NePAD is focussed on driving development and change in Africa through three means; firstly, through the improvements of preconditions for development such as good governance and democracy. This includes goals such as peace keeping, dispute resolution, increased

---

[45] The drive to gain support for the concept of the 'African Renaissance' has been an important means of changing the perceptions of Africa since the late 1990s. Former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, with support from Nelson Mandela, has advocated the rebirth of hope in Africa, encouraging Africa to seize opportunities to bring advantage to itself (Bongmba, 2004; Mbeki, 26/3/2004). Mbeki has made repeated calls for an African Renaissance which legitimates African knowledge and experience but which also juxtaposes African achievements with the dominant frameworks of western practice and discourses (Williams, 2000). Mbeki's championing the 'African Renaissance' made it one of South Africa's and the continent's most important ideals at the turn of the millennium and although it is currently not as central, the concept still holds prominence as a driving force for change (Lester et al, 2000; Melbar, 2003; Bongmba, 2004).

accountability and transparency within governments as well as a decline in corruption and enhancing human rights records. Secondly, it is planned that change will be wrought through development in priority sectors such as health care, infrastructure development and market diversification (Versfeld, 2003). NePAD incorporates joint planning and action on these issues and a peer review process through which to assess progress and direct change (African Union, no date; Gelb, 2001). These planned changes can only be brought about through the third important goal of NePAD, the mobilisation of resources from within Africa and from the rest of the world (African Union, 2001; Gelb, 2001; Tsheola, 2002). These resources would incorporate increased foreign direct investment, increased trade and extensive debt relief.

Although advocated by its proponents and by leaders outside of Africa, NePAD is controversial amongst African leaders, trade unions, academics and NGOs (Gelb, 2001; Bond, 2002; Melbar, 2003). The focus of NePAD is seen as being too strongly neoliberal, and thereby potentially legitimising global power relations which have traditionally marginalised Africa (Bond, 2002; Tsheola, 2002). Controversy about NePAD is focussed on the ways in which it is associated with structural adjustment programmes, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). These are seen by many practitioners and scholars to offer 'solutions' which in fact worsen the situation in Africa rather than allowing innovation and change to stem from Africa itself (Bond, 2002; Tsheola, 2002). The links between NePAD, the World Bank and the WTO have led to its critique as "an ideological blunder of a neoliberal capitulation towards the powerful in this world" (Melbar, 2003, 3). Criticism of NePAD also stems from those who believe it to be more a tool for garnering donor funding than for actually addressing Africa's marginality. Questions also remain as to the usefulness of the peer review process and the limited environmental focus within the partnership's agenda (Gelb, 2001; Bond, 2002; Melbar, 2003; Versfeld, 2003).

Even in the face of these criticisms, South Africa is committed to the implementation of NePAD (Gelb, 2001; Tsheola, 2002). Involvement in the promotion and implementation of NePAD has particular advantages for South Africa in terms of increasing its economic and political strength. NePAD blends very well with South Africa's neoliberal, macro-economic strategy (see section 4.4.1 below) and it offers opportunities for South Africa to expand its economic activity into the rest of Africa (Tsheola, 2002; Melbar, 2003). Furthermore, its associations with the decision-making processes within NePAD afford South Africa great influence in reforming relationships within Africa and between Africa and the rest of the

world.[46] It is in South Africa's interest to work towards gaining improved governance, stability and development in the rest of Africa because these changes strengthen Africa's profile globally which facilitates improved investment and growth for Africa (Gelb, 2001; Tsheola, 2002). If the overall conditions in Africa improve, this can only benefit South Africa, politically, economically and socially (Gelb, 2001).

South Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Further to these continent-wide involvements, South Africa's increasing role in southern Africa has been strongly developed through its membership of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) since 1994. The SADC was initiated in 1980 and reinforced in 1992 when the SADC Declaration and Treaty were signed in Namibia (Simon and Ramutsindela, 2000).[47] The members of the SADC are committed to integrated development in the southern African region which aims to alleviate poverty, improve the quality of life of the region's people and eliminate HIV/AIDS (Southern African Marketing Company, 2005).[48] In order to achieve its goals of improved quality of life, SADC has an interest in maintaining and improving democracy, peace and political stability within the region and, most importantly, strengthening relations between member countries, including co-ordinated development and economic interdependency (Gelb, 2001; Southern African Marketing Company, 2005).

Since its admittance "South Africa… has played a leading, if not dominant, role" in the organisation (Lester et al, 2000, 16). South Africa entered SADC already in a much stronger economic position than any of the other member countries and continues to be the strongest member state. This affords the country expansive power in SADC plans and negotiations (Gibb, 1998). In this way South Africa's influence is thoroughly entrenched in the southern African region, especially in peace-keeping missions and conflict resolution programmes.

The SADC has become a strong proponent of the goals of NePAD and since NePAD is arguing for regionally based implementation of development, the SADC is well placed to be a strong unit of development (Versfeld, 2003). The SADC has recently adopted a fifteen year

---

[46] South Africa holds a large amount of power within NePAD as one of the five initiating states (Melbar, 2003). Furthermore, the NePAD secretariat has operated from Johannesburg in South Africa since 2001.

[47] The SADC was established in 1992 and was initially known as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which aimed at regional development that would lessen the member countries' dependence on the still segregated South Africa (Simon and Ramutsindela, 2000).

[48] The fourteen member states of the SADC are Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Simon and Ramutsindela, 2000; Southern African Marketing Company, 2005).

Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. This plan functions as the Community's enactment of the priorities and goals of NePAD, outlining the conditions needed to achieve both SADC and NePAD goals (Southern African Marketing Company, 2005). Thus, South Africa, as a leading proponent of NePAD, has strong influences in the southern Africa region, via the SADC plan and through the efforts of NePAD.

South Africa and the Millennium Development Goals

As well as these extensive involvements in international partnerships and networks, South Africa has increasingly become involved in advocating change for Africa and the developing world through engagement with the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals. In his role as South Africa's president and as a representative of the African Union and SADC, Thabo Mbeki has been involved in initiating activities in South Africa and elsewhere for the achievement of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG) by 2015.[49] The adoption of these goals as targets for development within South Africa supports the development agenda in South Africa on the meeting of basic needs and improvements in quality of life (van Donk et al, 2008).[50]

4.3.1 Impacts of the transition on development trajectories in South Africa

In its various African and global roles, South Africa has a good deal of political and economic influence. These new roles for South Africa influence the country's internal development policies and programmes towards redress-focussed development as well as addressing the more globally oriented concerns of economic growth. To this end, the interrelationships between South Africa's external roles and responsibilities and internal development trajectories are outlined below.

Firstly, it is important to recognise that South Africa's role in advocating change within Africa is not entirely altruistic. From 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) (see section 4.4.1) argued for the economic enhancement of southern Africa as a criterion for

---

[49] The United Nations Millennium Goals (MDG) are to:
 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
 2. Achieve universal primary education
 3. Promote gender equality and empower women
 4. Reduce child mortality
 5. Improve maternal health
 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
 7. Ensure environmental sustainability
 8. Develop a global partnership for development (United Nations, 2005).

[50] For instance, the objectives for development laid out in the state's Medium-Term Strategic Framework are closely aligned to the Millenium Development Goals (van Donk et al, 2008).

sustained transformation in South Africa and recognised the need to increase foreign trade, especially within Africa. South Africa's increasing involvement in the world beyond its borders has included an emphasis on growth and development within the immediate southern African region. Immediately after 1994, relations between South Africa and Africa were focussed on advancing South Africa's economic strength by increasing trade and investment with countries in southern Africa so that greater economic connectivity would improve the South African economy and hopefully contribute towards social redistribution (Gelb, 2001). By responding to the need for change in Africa, South Africa has had the added benefit of being a vehicle for improving its relations with countries of the South and to cultivate relations with the developed world. The latter relations have led to expanded economic partnering and trade, which are vital for South Africa's survival in the global economic arena (Castells, 1997; Gelb, 2001).

It has been argued that South Africa's internationally-related actions, policies and programmes in the post 1994 era, which have become integrated into national legislation, have directed the country and its cities along a particular path of development (Carmody, 2002; Tsheola, 2002). According to Tsheola (2002, 790), South Africa is a country that promotes the independence and the strengthening of Africa itself but in turn is "a country that also seeks to 'reintegrate' Africa into the global system", one which is inherently unequal and currently predominantly neoliberal. Tsheola (2002) further argues that South Africa's role in NePAD, the promotion of the African Renaissance and the subsequent national neoliberal economic policy, has led to a 'form of globalisation' that impacts on the ability of Africa and South Africa to act in an economically independent manner. This, he argues, has lead the country and Africa into an economic system dominated by the terms and inequalities of neoliberalism and, thereby, focussed on growth.

Some scholars argue that South Africa's neoliberal approach has the potential for creating conflict within internal development agendas (Bond, 2005). The close alignment of development agendas with the global economic imperative of neoliberalism raises concern that the globalised agendas driven by South Africa's international partnerships and programmes may result in a shift away from programmes of redress at the national level (Carmody, 2002; Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Tsheola, 2002). Maintaining friendly relations with globally powerful organisations, such as the World Bank, requires a degree of acceptance of the policies and development strategies of these organisations. This has resulted in the adoption of a governance and development perspective that views economic growth as

a means to resolving the problems in South Africa and Africa (Tsheola, 2002; Bond, 2005; Harrison et al, 2008). As Harvey (2005, 116) has stated, South Africa "was partly persuaded and partly coerced by the IMF and the World Bank to embrace the neoliberal line, with the predictable result that economic apartheid now broadly confirms the race apartheid that preceded it". Such a perspective often does not sit comfortably with proponents of alternative redistributive mechanisms for development (Tsheola, 2002; Bond, 2005; Harrison et al, 2008) and creates the potential for dualism in the transition agenda of South Africa and thus its cities. Lemon (2004) cautions that capitalism has swapped one state for another in South Africa, with the consequence that there is less opportunity for social justice and equitable change in the country as neoliberal capitalist approaches come to the fore. Thus, the ending of apartheid has seen the rise of a type of globalisation in South Africa which limits the country's ability to redress apartheid inequalities (Freund and Padayachee, 2002).

Overall, South Africa fosters a role in the international arena which allows it to act as "a bridge between the North and the South" (Gelb, 2001, 23). This is a role that attempts to improve governance on an international scale, for the benefit of global security but also as a means of lessening inequalities in the power held by the developed and developing world. South Africa undertakes this role by promoting partnerships and collective action *in* Africa, such as through NePAD, and fighting for greater strength for the South in forums such as the United Nations. It also acts to keep leaders and countries in Africa and the South in the debates and forums of international organisations rather than simply critiquing these forums from the outside. Thus, South Africa is an advocate for the South, but it largely plays this role within the confines of the multilateral international organisations which are accepted by the North, e.g. the WTO, the World Bank and the United Nations (Gelb, 2001). These relationships direct South Africa's development agendas in subtle and direct ways with the result that local redress and redistribution imperatives co-exist with the global economic development imperative and, therefore, need to be carefully negotiated (Harrison et al, 2008).

It must be recognised that these many new and influential roles for South Africa and its leadership would not have been possible without dramatic post 1994 restructuring of the political, economic and social spheres within the country itself. However, the country's integration into the global economic order has produced potential conflicts between the neoliberal and redistributive approaches to development. The following section provides an account of these internal transitions, including national programmes for change, local government restructuring, and the introduction of new tools for social and economic redress.

The potential role of global economic and development agendas within these aspects of transition are also highlighted.

4.4 The Nature and Process of National Transition

With the successful completion of the first democratic election in 1994 and the subsequent adoption of the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996)[51], South Africa had overcome the first major hurdle in its most recent phase of transition, that of establishing freedom and equality for its citizens. This major achievement stands as a cornerstone of the transformation process within South Africa and underpins reforms in social, economic and political sectors across the country. Grounded in the constitutional and other legal reforms, the need to overcome the nation's socio-economic, service provision and spatial inequalities have become priorities of the state (Williams, 2000; Nel, et al, 2003).

Since 1994, there have been numerous legislative and policy changes and the initiation of a multitude of programmes, policies and projects to affect change within the country. On a national scale, these include the implementation of policies which direct and support the transformation agenda. A full discussion of the range of these policies within political, economic, social and environmental arenas is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore only aspects of national transition which are relevant to the study are discussed. Consequently, interventions such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic policy and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) are addressed below. Furthermore, the reconstruction of local government, particularly from a developmental perspective, will be discussed. These policies are examined in the light of how they drive and support South Africa's trajectories of change.

4.4.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Policy

Change in South Africa was initiated in 1994 through the introduction of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP served as a "socio-economic

---

[51] The South African Constitution has been heralded as a leading example of such legislation in the world with a strong liberal and democratic ethos. All other pieces of legislation and policies in the country are guided by the Constitution and cannot go against its tenets. The Constitution includes the Bill of Rights which defines the democratic and equal rights of all South African citizens. It further allocates powers and responsibilities to the various spheres of government and outlines the requirements of co-operative governance (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

policy framework" (ANC, 1994, 1), facilitating a programme of people-driven development that aimed at achieving comprehensive social transformation to overcome the legacy of apartheid, deepen democracy and build a peaceful, sustainable future for South Africa (ANC, 1994). The RDP contains a fundamental recognition that the entrenched inequality and widespread poverty in South Africa had been inherited through the actions of the apartheid state (ANC, 1994; Williams, 2000). In order to realise the key principles of reconstruction and development the RDP prioritises meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy and democratising the state and society as key focus areas as well as emphasising the importance of breaking down the spatial geography of apartheid (ANC, 1994; Harrison et al, 2008).

In planning to rebuild the economy of South Africa, the RDP acknowledges that South Africa was in an economic crisis in 1994 which stemmed directly from the systematic oppression of black South Africans entrenched through the South African capitalist system (ANC, 1994). The ANC (1994) recognised that economic growth was vital in the reconstruction of the country but proposed that reliance on primary sectors such as mining and on manufacturing was insufficient to meet the needs of the poor and to fund reconstruction in the country. Therefore the RDP outlined a new economic policy that aimed "to achieve a dynamic balance between government intervention, the private sector and the participation of society" (ANC, 1994, 80). To this end, the RDP was not as radical a programme as the ANC initially proposed but allowed for a much greater level of acceptance of the programme across the spectrum of South African politics (Harrison et al, 2008).

In the mid 1990's the tenets of RDP were widely accepted in South Africa and the RDP became the cornerstone of the post-apartheid government (Lester et al, 2000). The popularity of the RDP contributed significantly to the establishment of ANC legitimacy and credibility and contributed to stability during the early transition into democracy (Lester et al, 2000). In 1994, the RDP Ministry was established to allocate funds for RDP projects and to facilitate the implementation of the programme. However, when it came to implementation, the RDP ran into difficulty and has subsequently been criticised for being too utopian with little clear directive on how to realise its principles on the ground (Maharaj, 2005). In addition, the RDP failed to deliver housing and employment opportunities as quickly as it had promised, largely a result of overambitious targets and bureaucratic problems which slowed delivery (Lester et al, 2000). In 1995, the RDP was revised and formatted into the RDP White Paper (Republic of South Africa, 1995) in which the developmental focus became more market-orientated with

some of the more ambitious, socially-oriented goals removed (Lester et al, 2000; Hart, 2002). The White Paper, however, was viewed as a watering down of the RDP and embodied a shift towards achieving social goals as a by-product, or 'trickle down', of neoliberal economic growth (Adelzadeh and Padayachee, 1994; Harrison et al, 2008). By the end of 1996, despite the advent of the White Paper, the RDP Ministry was closed, RDP functions absorbed into other government departments and the budget subsumed into the national budget, signalling "a significant shift towards economic pragmatism and a less overt pursuit of broad socio-economic development objectives" (Lester et al, 2000, 251).[52]

With the collapse of the RDP, the national government significantly revised its macro-economic policy and introduced the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy in 1996. This policy represents a significant shift away from the socially-driven principles of RDP towards the economic right (Bond, 2002; Hart, 2002). The RDP argued that sustained economic growth would stem from direct leadership by government, a strong private sector and participation by civil society in all its various forms in decision-making (ANC, 1994). The converse is true for GEAR, which argues that a growing economy is the primary basis for a thriving society and the meeting of basic needs (Biggs, 1997; Chipkin, 2002).

In order to facilitate economic growth, GEAR demands economic change that incorporates the reduction of the budget deficit, relaxing of exchange controls, privatisation of state assets, stabilisation of the exchange rate, the provision of incentives to stimulate investment (especially foreign direct investment) and increased spending on social needs such as housing and education (RSA, 14/6/1996; Biggs, 1997; Tsheola, 2002). It is envisaged that these economic practices will encourage private sector investment which will boost the local economy and thereby increase employment opportunities, facilitate investment in services and improve overall economic equality in the long term (Biggs, 1997; Pycroft, 2000).

The overall aim of GEAR is to increase economic growth (Biggs, 1997; Nattrass, 1999; Chipkin, 2002) but this belief "rests on the belief that the expansion of the private sector will drive the economy, whilst the role of the state will largely be a facilitatory one" (Lester et al, 2000, 255). In its advocacy of economic solutions to problems of inequality, and in its requirement that the state play a supporting role in the economy in order to enable private sector expansion, GEAR follows neoliberal orthodoxies (Carmody, 2002; Chipkin, 2002;

---

[52] Despite this turn from RDP within formal policy arenas, the Programme remains a significant tool for transition and is frequently relied on and referred to by decision-makers and civil society (Harrison et al, 2008).

Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Bond, 2005a). These neoliberal tendencies which lie at the heart of the GEAR policy have caused widespread criticism (Hart, 2002; Tsheola, 2002; Bond, 2005a; Harrison et al, 2008).

GEAR is criticised for its neglect of the social justice and democratic principles of the RDP and its over emphasis on the debt 'crisis' (Biggs, 1997; Hart, 2002). It is also criticised for a diminished prioritisation of funding for social, health and economic services which require enormous investment if apartheid inequalities are to be overcome (Lester et al, 2000). It is widely believed that GEAR caters more to the requirements of international capital and the rising black middle class than the poor and disempowered within South Africa (Lester et al 2000; Lemon, 2004). Coupled with this, are concerns that labour fails to benefit from economic growth as wages are kept low in an effort to increase growth that, it is supposed, should lead to higher employment levels in the long term (Carmody, 2002; Bond, 2005a). Thus, as Hart (2002, 7) has argued, "GEAR sits uneasily astride the emancipatory promises of the liberation struggle, as well as material hopes, aspirations and the rights of the large majority of South Africans".

Given these critiques, why did the ANC decide to introduce a strategy such as GEAR? Biggs (1997) argues that it was because the 3% national growth rate achieved in the late 1990s was deemed inadequate to reverse the crisis of unemployment and poverty which existed in early post apartheid South Africa. The ANC therefore, needed to find alternatives to its failing RDP programme and thus instigated GEAR. Hart (2002) and Lester et al (2000) further contend that either the state was unable to resist the forces of globalisation within which major South African companies were enmeshed, or that the government 'sold out' to the demands of white capital and the growing black bourgeoisie.[53] Furthermore, it has been argued that because South Africa has been re-integrating itself in the global political and economic community, the ANC needed to show the international community a macro-economic strategy that would increase the confidence of foreign investors and organisations; therefore nothing too radical or unconventional could be introduced (Lester et al, 2000; Tsheola, 2002). As Hart (2002, 18) states "the central premise of GEAR was that an orthodox neoliberal package…would lure private investment (both domestic and foreign), unleash rapid growth, tighten labour markets and drive up wages."

---

[53] Hart (2002, 7) suggests that "with the advent of GEAR, even some of the most fervent foes of the apartheid regime formally conceded to the natural (if not supernatural) power of global markets and to claim that because of globalisation 'There Is No Alternative (TINA) to orthodox neoliberalism".

Since 1996, GEAR has promised "accelerated growth, growing employment and redistribution of wealth" (Williams, 2000, 178) but it has not realised its goals with the policy having had some problematic impacts on the South African economy. For instance, although growth occurred consistently in the early 2000s, the country has consistently failed to meet its ambitious economic growth targets and the economy has seen the emergence of 'jobless growth' and the need for skilled rather than unskilled employment (Williams, 2000; Carmody, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Gelb, 2006).[54] Thus, almost 15 years on, although GEAR has "helped to ensure macro-economic stability and thus has enhanced the government's international status" (Lester et al, 2000, 256), the policy has failed to meet some of its main redistributive goals (Lemon, 2004). More recently, the South African economy faces further pressures due to the global economic downturn which began in 2008.

In 2006, the Presidency launched the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) in response to the continued need for increased economic growth. AsgiSA was formulated as a means through which to reduce poverty and improve employment rates within the country. Furthermore the initiative aims to vigorously facilitate a national growth rate of at least 5% as a means of meeting the social needs within the country (The Presidency, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008). In order to achieve this growth, AsgiSA aims to address blockages to growth through a programme of massive infrastructural and skills development and the strengthening of institutional systems (Harrison et al, 2008). In addition, AsgiSA aims at generating the macro economic reforms, trade practices and labour and infrastructure capabilities which will allow for shared benefits of economic growth (The Presidency, 2006). This policy highlights again the country's significant need for development and transformation which addresses economic as well as redress imperatives (Gelb, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008).

The following section outlines the transition in the local government sphere, with particular emphasis on the transition of local government structures and the processes through which transformation is being driven. The focus is on those challenges in local government, most relevant to the study, which frame development activities within all South African cities.

---

[54] In recent years a number of public works programmes and two national summits on job creation have focussed increasing attention on alleviating the problem of increasingly high levels of unemployment, particularly for unskilled labour (Hirsch, 2005).

4.5   Transition at the Municipal Level

The implementation of apartheid had powerful impacts on South Africa's cities creating extreme division and inequality in sectors such as service provision, access to urban economies and housing quality as well as radically transforming the physical and social structure of urban areas. Since urban areas are typically the spaces in which inequity is most evident, cities have been targeted as a key focus for redress in the post-apartheid era (Seekings, 2000; Williams, 2000; Beall et al, 2002; SACN, 2004). Municipal government, as a sphere of service delivery and infrastructural development, is viewed by government as the chief implementation instrument for transition within cities and is therefore seen as especially critical for addressing developmental issues in a context of uneven development (RSA, 1997; Chipkin, 2002; Lemon, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008).

In the post apartheid period, much reconstruction was required within the South African local government itself before it could become an instrument for transformation at the local level. Transition in local government has been instituted through both the spatial rearrangement of local government boundaries and the reorganisation of local government structure and functioning. Although these processes have faced (and continue to face) many challenges and criticism, much has been accomplished since the mid 1990s (van Donk et al, 2008). The following section presents an overview of transition at the municipal scale as this is the context in which PPPs for development operate in cities.

4.5.1   Restructuring of local government in South Africa

From 1998 to 2000, local governments were spatially reconstructed through a boundary redemarcation process. This process commenced when the Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (Act 27 of 1998) was passed. This Act established the Demarcation Board, which was tasked with boundary redemarcation, and allowed for the rationalisation of local government units across South Africa from 850 to 243 (see figure 4.1) (Pycroft, 2000; Pieterse, 2002). Boundaries were altered using criteria such as population and territory sizes, cultural and social linkages and the coexistence of areas with different levels of capital expenditure and development in a region or sub region (Williams, 2000).

There were a number of reasons for redrawing the municipal boundaries in a transforming South Africa. Firstly, this process combines areas with disparate economies so that historically wealthy areas are unable to continue to use their greater tax base for their sole betterment. Resources from previously advantaged areas are now disbursed through a wider

municipal area to support development initiatives and investment in service provision which are required to alleviate historical inequalities (Lemon, 2002). Thus, uniting disparate spaces into one local government structure aims to ensure that services will be provided in an equitable manner across a single municipal area and that service delivery will include the development of services in areas that have been historically neglected (Williams, 2000; Harrison, 2001; Houghton, 2003). Furthermore, the overall reduction in the number of municipalities allows for greater efficiency and a reduction in duplicated and fragmented governance and service provision.
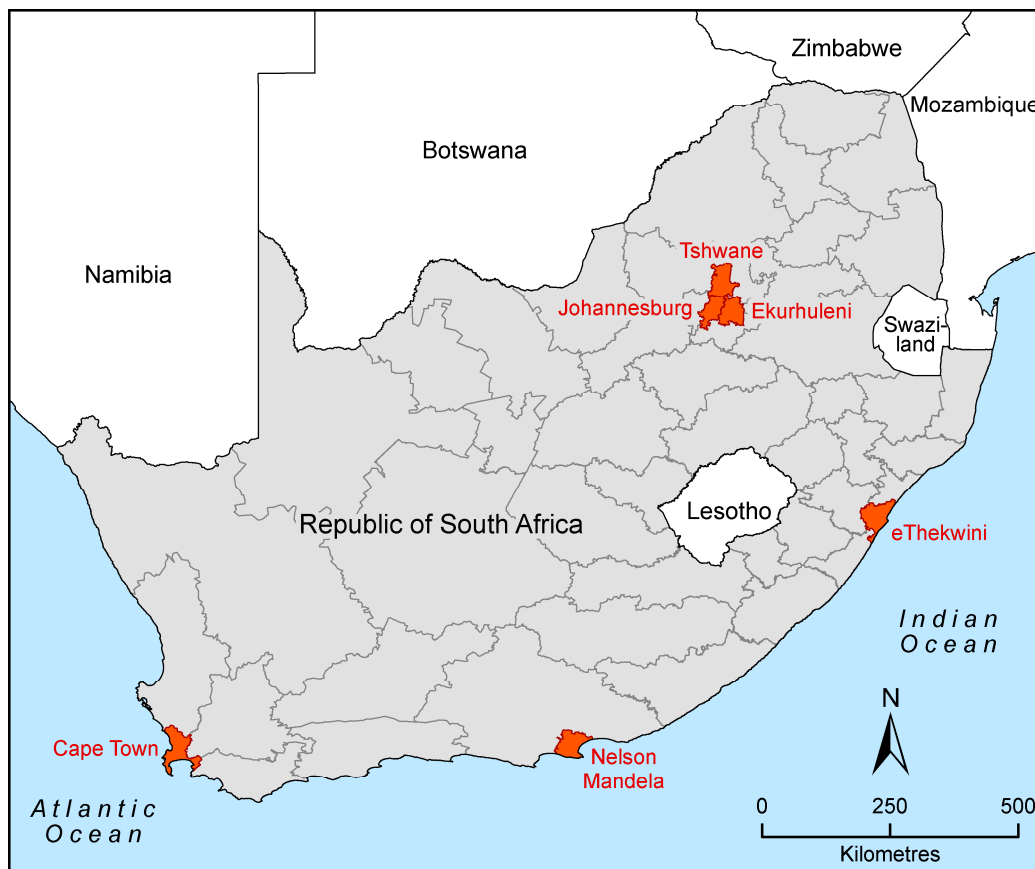
Figure 4.1: Demarcated district municipality and metropolitan boundaries in South Africa

Aligned to the reforming of provincial and municipal boundaries, the Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) determined the governance of district municipalities through smaller local municipalities and, in six major metropolitan areas, unicities (Pycroft, 2000). These new governance structures were institutionalised after the 2000 local government elections to create transitional local councils. The shift towards the unicity format within metropolitan municipal structures entailed pulling together a number of smaller, well-established municipalities under one larger municipal structure with centralised management and a common development policy. This allowed for a more integrated approach to transition and

more cohesive management and development of local government units, especially from a budgetary perspective. This revised structure also aimed to provide greater administrative efficiency through the rationalisation of previously duplicated departments and tasks and the streamlining of intergovernmental linkages (Williams, 2000). The unicity structures, as with other district and local municipalities, further established a joint tax base for areas with historically disparate tax based revenue streams and disparate development levels (Wooldridge, 2002).

The Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) largely determined the reformed structure of municipalities. However, it did allow for some flexibility in the framework for local government so that a range of governance models could emerge even within the unicity context (Wooldridge, 2002). The Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) "places a huge amount of discretionary power in the hands of metropolitan councils to shape the future of urban government in South Africa" thus providing flexibility for municipalities as they determine the means through which to advance transition at the local level (Wooldridge, 2002, 136).

4.5.2   Reformulating the mandate and processes of local government

Further to the rearrangement of local municipalities across the country, the institutional arrangements, operation and activities of local government needed to be restructured in terms of the Constitution. These aspects of transition are instituted through the legislation, policies and processes outlined below.

The 1996 Constitution provides the principles within which (re)integrated local government operates (van Donk et al, 2008). The Constitution sets out the 'developmental mandate' of local government (Harrison, 2001) which "makes local government responsible for the social and economic development of communities" (Lemon, 2002, 28). While this mandate places local government at the forefront of institutions addressing poverty, development, service provision and democracy in South Africa (Pieterse, 2002), it stems from a broader developmental discourse which advocates state intervention on strategic economic development initiatives and stronger forms of governance to facilitate development (Harrison et al, 2008).

In 1998, the White Paper on Local Government directly instituted the concept of 'developmental local government' (Pycroft, 2000) and advocated change via the three themes

of "participation, efficiency and partnerships" (Pieterse, 2002, 6). The agendas of these themes do not necessarily sit together easily. Developmental local government relies on both participatory development approaches and the public management discourses of efficiency and technocratic solutions. The latter discourse places emphasis on "improving the efficiency of local service delivery through institutional reforms, specifically the introduction of competitive market-based structures and quantitative performance measures" (Jenkins and Wilkinson, 2002, 41). Arguably, the contradictions between the need for participation and the leadership role of the state on one hand, and the more neoliberal market-driven solutions on the other, open the door for competition between differing approaches to transition at the local level (Harrison et al, 2008). Furthermore, these contradictions may help to "expose the vulnerable underbelly of neoliberal capitalism", since the prioritisation of economic imperatives is seen to have few direct benefits for those communities requiring service provision and improved living conditions (Hart, 2006, 992).

In 2000, the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) was passed. This is perhaps the most important piece of developmental legislation at the municipal level. The Act addresses 'systems weaknesses' by attempting to provide an integrated approach to addressing problems in municipalities (Pycroft, 2000; Savage, 2008). The Act also allows for public private partnerships, such as municipal service partnerships, and performance management systems which are meant to increase service provision levels (Pycroft, 2000). With a policy emphasis on integrated planning emerging through this legislation, the most prominent public sector tool for effecting transition in municipal areas is integrated development planning (DTLGA, 2002), which will be discussed below. PPPs are also increasingly used as tools for transformation in municipalities and will be discussed thereafter.

a)   Integrated development planning
Integrated development planning was proposed as the main tool for developmental local government which would assist in the transition of local government and the addressing of local development goals in order to overcome the historical legacy of socio-economic and spatial inequality and fragmented government (Pycroft, 2000; DTLGA, 2002; Pieterse, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008).[55] All municipalities are required to develop an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) to guide local development

---

[55] With roots in the Constitution and the 1996 Amended Local Government Transition Act, Integrated Development Planning (IDP) was defined in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government and then enacted as a mandatory process in the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Pycroft, 2000; DTLGA, 2002; Wooldridge, 2002).

The IDP "seeks to promote a future-oriented, problem-solving approach within local government and the citizenry" (Pieterse, 2002, 5). Integrated development planning is upheld as the core function of developmental local government and includes a comprehensive strategic plan derived through the generation of a municipal vision, a set of strategies and a series of sector-based plans which would typically address a seven year development cycle (Harrison, 2001). Central to the integrated development planning process are the linkages with communities, the prioritisation of development objectives (and subsequent budgetary allocations) as well as the integration of departments and spheres of government in achieving the developmental mandate laid out by the Constitution (DTLGA, 2002). Integrated Development Plans are typically formulated with the involvement of communities and stakeholders and should ultimately ensure the long term sustainability of settlements, service delivery, and of municipalities themselves.

Integrated development planning has been broadly influenced by the recent shift in planning trends from technocratic to more strategic and integrated forms and by alternative conceptualisations of development and development planning (Harrison, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008). More specifically, integrated development planning has been steered by concepts derived from new public management discourses, such as Key Performance Indicators, which are espoused by international funding organisations.[56] It is important to note however, that the RDP, GEAR and the Constitution provide the normative framework for the IDP (DTLGA, 2002). These national frameworks call on the integrated development planning process to formulate plans to address basic needs delivery, poverty alleviation, and promote economic growth and employment generation, gender equity and environmental sustainability. This combination of development imperatives at the foundation of the IDP opens the possibility for complex negotiations when limited resources require their prioritisation.

In addition to being strongly focussed on the developmental goals of improved equity and redistribution (initially advocated for by the RDP), the GEAR strategy has created a climate in which the IDP has come to be seen as a tool for creating "an environment that is conducive to private sector investment and the general promotion of local economic development" (DTLGA, 2002, 10). These agendas, of improving equity and redistribution and of promoting economic growth, are increasingly advocated as the mechanisms through which to most

---

[56] For example, the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) worked as a consultant to the South African national government in formulating the legislated integrated development planning process. GTZ brought its managerial approach into the formulation of the process, including those of key performance indicators upheld by new public management discourses (Harrison, 2001).

successfully achieve development at the local level and would therefore contribute towards bringing divergent and sometimes competing approaches to development into the IDP (Harrison, 2001; Harrison et al, 2008).

Between 1996 and 2000, municipalities in South Africa were required to formulate an initial IDP, but by 2000 evidence of a number of limitations of IDPs began to emerge. Firstly, many of the IDPs developed prior to 2000 did not adequately reflect the normative frameworks laid out by RDP, GEAR and the Constitution. This was exacerbated by a lack of both financial and human resource capacity for the development of IDPs which hindered the quality of the plans and the planning process, although this was less problematic in the larger metropoles (Williams, 2000; Harrison, 2001). The tendency of IDPs to become extensive wish lists for municipal development and the resultant questioning as to whether an IDP could actually make a difference on the ground, has somewhat restricted the success of integrated development planning in the country (Harrison, 2001). Since the 2000 elections, subsequent rounds of IDPs have been prepared and reviewed with the aim of making the initial plans more effective by addressing some of the limitations of earlier attempts at integrated planning (Harrison, 2001).

Along with the shift to integrated development planning, new tools and mechanisms have been introduced at the local level to achieve development goals. These include participatory budgeting, land use management planning, urban managerialism, and BEE related procurement policies (van Donk et al, 2008). Of particular interest here, is the increased use of public private partnerships, especially for service delivery, which have occurred at a variety of scales. The following section provides a brief outline of the policy environment which has facilitated the use of public private partnerships to fulfil some functions within municipalities.

b)   *Public private partnerships as a mechanism for implementing development in South Africa*

Public private partnerships (PPPs) are increasingly being suggested as a mechanism for transition in the frameworks, policies and laws formulated to facilitate change in South Africa, especially at the local level. This section briefly outlines the regulatory context in which public private partnerships have come to be established in South African municipalities as a mechanism or tool for development.

Public private partnership arrangements have been progressively formulated in South African policy since the late 1990s. The national 1997 Urban Development Framework includes a section which promotes the use of partnerships for transition, especially for the purpose of municipal service delivery (RSA, 1997). Here, the national government advocates and supports the use of partnerships for development in cities since local government is seen as responsible for service provision although it is not necessarily required to operate alone in meeting this responsibility. Citizens and, importantly, the private sector, are viewed as possible means through which services can be developed and delivered via a range of public private partnership arrangements (RSA, 1997).

The formal recognition of PPPs was agreed in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998). The White Paper calls for the role of partnerships between civil society and the government as a means for increasing democratic decision making. This call is then extended to advocate partnerships between government and the private sector as a "way to bolster a pro-poor participatory agenda" (Pieterse, 2002, 13). This discourse was further entrenched in policy when the Municipal Financial Management Act was passed in 2003 (Act 56 of 2003). This Act requires the development and use of a comprehensive financial management system within municipalities which includes the regulation of processes for the formation and implementation of PPPs at the municipal level (Savage, 2008). The 2003 Act follows earlier regulations, such as the 1999 Public Finance Management Act, which provides for PPPs in the national and provincial spheres (PPP Unit, 2005; PPP Unit, June 2005). Furthermore, in 2004, the White Paper on Municipal Service Partnerships was promulgated (van Donk et al, 2008). This policy defines the types of partnerships into which municipalities can enter to facilitate service provision, including public private partnerships, public-public partnerships and public-CBO/NGO partnerships (RSA, 2000).

South African legislation defines a public private partnership as "a contract between a public sector institution/municipality and a private party, in which the private party assumes substantial financial, technical and operational risk in the design, financing, building and operation of a project" (PPP Unit, 2005, no pp.). As such, the most common forms of PPPs in South Africa, especially those advocated by the Treasury, are infrastructure partnerships (see Weihe, 2006). Within this framing of PPPs, the partnerships can take a variety of forms. Regulations allow for the private sector to work in a PPP to perform a function which a state organisation or municipality would otherwise carry out, or for the private sector to acquire state owned property which will be used in a commercial venture (PPP Unit, 2005).

Typically, PPPs have been used to assist with the state's infrastructure delivery programmes. It is argued that these PPPs are especially needed to overcome the huge backlogs in delivery of services and infrastructure (PPP Unit, Sept. 2005). Recent PPPs have been involved in health care provision, transport services, infrastructure and tourism (PPP Unit, Sept. 2005).

Beyond the realm of these partnerships focussed on infrastructure, which are strongly linked to national and provincial government, many localised programmes of urban renewal have been initiated in South African cities through public private partnerships (Harrison et al, 2008). These partnerships are evident especially in the large metropolitan areas of South Africa such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban (Nel et al, 2003; Miraftab, 2007; Harrison et al, 2008). In these cities significant inner city regeneration projects have been initiated through partnerships between the municipality and private agencies. These have usually occurred through area-based management programmes which typically incorporate special partnership agencies, such as those of City Improvement Districts (Miraftab, 2007; Harrison et al, 2008). Furthermore, the National Treasury has developed a national neighbourhood upliftment programme through which former township areas can engage in partnerships for renewal (Harrison et al, 2008).

In Durban, long term partnerships between government and the private sector and within the Inner City eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management programme (iTRUMP) have played a significant role in transforming the urban landscape. In addition, less institutionalised partnerships with the private sector, such as Operation Jumpstart and the Durban Growth Coalition, have also significantly changed the urban fabric in this city (these will be further discussed in Chapter Five).

Overall, PPPs are increasingly being advocated in South Africa. PPPs are seen to "enable the public sector to draw on private sector expertise and skill, reduce the need for up-front capital from the government and permit the public sector to access private sector funds", and even allow for cost savings in a more competitive service delivery environment (RSA, 1997, 37; Cleobury, 2006). As van Donk et al (2008, 10) have argued,

> "what is significant about the emerging debates on [partnerships] is that they involve new ways of getting external resources and improving efficiency of service delivery along the lines of neoliberal-advocates, but there is also evidence of a progressive imperative that defines how the developmental agenda of a state and its systems of public accountability can be carried through and operationalised outside of the direct control of local politicians."

Thus, in the current context of post-apartheid redress, PPPs are being viewed by the National Treasury as an efficient vehicle for the strengthening of black economic empowerment (BEE) which contributes to increased employment equity in the economic and service development sectors (PPP Unit, 2005). Furthermore, PPPs are seen to allow government to focus on more strategic aspects of development and transition while continuing to fulfil service delivery responsibilities since these are taken up by the private partners (Cleobury, 2006).

Support for the formation and successful implementation of PPPs has increased throughout the process of post apartheid transition with various measures being put in place to facilitate increased and more successful PPP projects. The National Treasury has a public private partnerships unit, which operates as a support mechanism for those involved in PPPs and to assist the National Treasury department to regulate PPPs fairly. The Unit publishes the PPP Quarterly newsletter and provides extensive training and advice to the public and private sector to facilitate procedurally sound and viable partnerships (PPP Unit, Dec. 2004). The PPP Unit in partnership with the Development Bank of Southern Africa have worked to enable increased BEE through PPPs, and a code of good practices for black economic empowerment in public private partnerships was published in August 2004 (PPP Unit, Dec. 2004). Furthermore, the state has worked to provide various mechanisms for tax exemption when government funds are being used by private parties within PPP projects (PPP Unit, Dec. 2004). In contrast, the arduous requirements of the Public Financial Management Act (2003) have limited the number of municipal partnerships in recent years, with many of the currently successful partnerships having been formulated prior to the inception of the Act (Smith and Morris, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008).

The various mechanisms and processes of internal transition discussed above impact directly on the development outcomes within South Africa. The potential impacts of these processes on development are discussed below.

4.6   Impacts of Transition on Development Trajectories within South Africa

Through the post-apartheid processes of structural reorganisation, the entrenchment of development-orientated legislation, and the production of IDPs, metropolitan governments have adopted a developmental "agenda of urban redistribution, equity and non-racialism" (Wooldridge, 2002, 128). However, the practice of being developmental has evolved somewhat since the principle of developmental local government was engendered in policy in 1996 such that it includes the promotion of economic growth (van Donk et al, 2008). This

evolution of the practice of developmental local government, as well as the interlinkages between national and municipal policy have important implications for the state of South African cities and their development processes, particularly if there is concern for the ways in which neoliberalism is being articulated within South African cities (McDonald and Smith, 2004).

An imperative of redress and redistribution emerged as central to the transformation of South Africa early on in the post apartheid period. Initially, the RDP put in place a foundation for change that focused directly on participation, democracy and an improvement in the quality of life for people who had been severely disadvantaged over a long period. The RDP saw development as the predominant task of the state and therefore advocated improvements in service provision and dealing with service backlogs, and increasing the capacity of those working at local government level. Furthermore, increased participation of civil society was advocated. Subsequently, the Constitution enacted a liberal and egalitarian Bill of Rights and instituted a fully participatory democratic government. In this way, a framework for transition was put in place in the mid 1990s which viewed redress as the most important national development imperative.

From the late 1990s, a clear duality within national development imperatives emerged as the global neoliberal agenda became internalised through NePAD and, especially, through GEAR. With the introduction of the GEAR strategy, non-state actors and especially the private sector, have become increasingly important for local level development (Chipkin, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008). Mechanisms of developmental local government have increasingly become processes of privatisation, with the main driver of developmentalism being that of economic growth promoted through "co-production, public private partnerships, contractual terms and SMMEs" (Chipkin, 2002, 68). GEAR has resulted in "a narrowing of policy debate and public participation and a growing role for private consultants and commercial interests" (McDonald and Smith, 2004, 1462). This shift has led to the argument that neoliberal thinking and policy making have been slowly developing at national level but are now beginning to filter down to the local level (McDonald and Smith, 2004). However, even within this more neoliberal context, municipalities have been required to maintain their agenda of redress and redistribution so that the spectrum of development imperatives includes economic, as well as social, environmental, spatial and institutional transformation (van Donk et al, 2008).

The large scale municipal transition that has taken place since 1994 does reflect some of the tensions between the agendas of redistribution and growth. The enactment of municipal legislation, such as the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000), has enabled neoliberal thinking and conventions to filter down into the practical operations of cities such that the concept of efficiency and the privatisation of service provision are increasingly introduced and accepted as the government norm (McDonald and Smith, 2004). Thus, the combination of divergent development goals embodied in the IDP creates a need to negotiate through competing development imperatives at a municipal level. Thus, as Hart (2002, 7) has argued,

> "In the name of both democracy and efficiency, local councillors and bureaucrats have been called to confront massive redistributive pressures with minimal resources. Simultaneously they have been assigned major responsibility for securing the conditions of accumulation under the aegis of 'Local Economic Development'. The local state, in short, has become a key site of contradictions in the neoliberal post-apartheid order".

There is a recognition by the state that the dual imperatives of redistribution and growth are contradictory. However, transition in South Africa requires that the local state create the circumstances which facilitate economic growth as well as improving service delivery and quality of life. Thus negotiations and struggles between these two imperatives continue as part of the transformation process (Pieterse, 2002; van Donk et al, 2008).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a broad overview of the transitions taking place in South Africa since the mid 1990s. Overall, transition has included massive internal transformation in political, economic and social sectors and increasing engagement in the global arena as the new South African state works to engender change at many scales. South Africa has become politically and economically reintegrated with the global community and has come to play a major role in addressing Africa's development challenges, particularly through participation in organisations such as the African Union and the SADC. Internally, the country has undergone extensive change at the national and municipal level, with the institutionalisation of a new legislative and policy framework for urban development. This framework has been constructed through the institution of development and economic policies, such as the RDP and GEAR; the restructuring of municipal systems and structures; and through the implementation of integrated development planning. This provides the context in which the transition towards improved quality of life and great socio-economic equality within South Africa is taking place.

These shifts have, to a large extent, broken down "the preservation of white privilege and the perpetuation of capitalism" as the dual agendas of the state (Smith 1986, 25). The processes of post apartheid transition have resulted in the formulation of a new set of dual imperatives, namely the imperative of socially just reconstruction and redress, and the imperative of increasing South Africa's success within the global economic sphere. These imperatives are neither mutually exclusive nor wholly interdependent but are being negotiated through the continuing process of transition in South Africa.

Transition in cities, as a central focus of South Africa's redevelopment, is impacted by broader African and global processes, and also reflects the tensions between these economic growth and redress and redistribution imperatives of the South African state. Cities, such as Durban, will be sites in and through which these tensions are being negotiated. The following chapter provides a background of Durban as a further step towards understanding how these emerging imperatives are being negotiated in the South African urban context.

CHAPTER FIVE

DURBAN – A CITY IN TRANSITION

5.1   Introduction

This chapter is the second background chapter and presents Durban as a complex and diverse urban space in which influential societal and local forces have coalesced to create the contemporary city. These forces will further interact to determine the possibilities for the future development trajectories of Durban (Davies, 1991; Freund and Padayachee, 2002). To this end, the chapter briefly traces the historical development of Durban (section 5.3) and then concentrates on providing an account of the current urban context, including economic, social and political spheres (section 5.3), and a discussion of major development policy and planning frameworks (section 5.3.5). Section 5.3.6 describes the dynamics of contemporary redevelopment and transformation, such as the major development projects and spaces of urban redevelopment within Durban as a backdrop to the processes and projects examined in this study. Finally, section 5.4 outlines the two partnerships which have been researched in the study.

5.2   Predemocracy Durban

The following section outlines significant spatial, economic and governance elements of the pre1994 history of Durban as a foundation for understanding the contemporary nature of the city, particularly as the effects of past social, spatial and economic divisions continue to resonate in the contemporary city. Since this history is well documented elsewhere, Durban's formation as a colonial city, its transformation to a segregated city and subsequently, its emergence as an apartheid city are briefly described below.[57]

Durban was initially established in 1824 as a convenient trading post with a safe natural harbour and within a few decades was formally incorporated into the British Empire as a colonial municipality (Maharaj, 1996; Pillay, 1996). As the town grew, it came to reflect the inequalities and divisions typical of a colonial town with the segregation of Indians and blacks evident in the very early life of Durban (Davies, 1991; McCarthy, 1991; Scott, 1994).[58]

---

[57] For noteworthy examples of the documentation of this history, see Davies (1991), Lemon (1991a), McCarthy (1991), Maharaj (1992; 1996), Pillay (1996), Freund and Padayachee (2002), and Bass (2006).

[58] A significant example of early divisive practices in Durban was the formation of the so called 'Durban System' in the early 1900s. In this system, municipal administration for the growing urban African population was conducted via a separate Native Administration Department and funded through the sale of traditional African beer (Davies, 1991). The 'Durban System' became well known throughout the country and was "used as

Overall, the colonial influence on the spatially divided arrangement of Durban and the racial division inherent in its governance underpinned much of the form and governance of the segregated city which emerged after 1910 and especially from the 1920s.[59]

Modernist town planning legislation introduced between the 1920s and 1940s, while ostensibly serving to create healthier and more ordered, efficient cities; worked to segregate and marginalise black and Indian communities while strengthening the privileges of the white urban population (Parnell, 1993; Scott, 2003). This system of planning and its associated legislation regulated much of the spatial growth and form of Durban, as well as sectors such as housing and trade (Scott, 2003). At this time, local government focused predominantly on the delivery and expansion of services to the growing city but these efforts were racially unequal with white communities acquiring the greatest benefits of the provision of services (Scott, 1994). In addition, the formal segregation of both Indian and black populations in Durban was intensified during this period, paving the way for the institutionalization of spatial segregation of the city according to race (Davies, 1991; Scott, 1994; 2003; Maharaj, 1995; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; Maharaj, 2003).

Building on the demand for goods from the interior during the colonial period, and supported by the steady growth of the port and its associated transport activities, by the 1950s, Durban's economy was characterised by a strong manufacturing sector (Maylam, 1996; Freund, 2002; Jones, 2002; Scott, 2003). In this period, industrial interests dominated and councillors worked to improve the productivity of the city through efforts to attract capital to Durban, such as the creation of new industrial spaces in South Durban and the lowering of rates (Maharaj, 1996; Scott, 1994; 2003). The local state in Durban thus saw economic growth as part of its responsibility and often included the acquisition of suitable land for business and the improvement of conditions for industry (Freund, 2002; Scott, 2003).[60] The urban economy, however, continued to be racially divided. Earlier regulation of daily labourers continued and the influx of black labourers was increasingly controlled through national and local legislation (Maharaj, 1996). In addition, racial division in the local economy was further entrenched through national legislation in the 1920s that inhibited the training of blacks

---

a model in the formulation of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which, in post-colonial South Africa, was to be the principle instrument in administering, controlling and managing urban Africans" (Davies, 1991, 76).

[59] Natal was incorporated into the Union of South Africa in 1910 and South Africa became independent from the British Empire.

[60] The development and provision of industrial land by the municipality has not always been conducive to creating equitable and good quality living environments. For example, the city's involvement in the development of the South Durban Industrial Basin has resulted in a chronically high risk and polluted environment for communities located adjacent to the industrial sites (Scott, 2003).

beyond artisan level, thus limiting their involvement in the growing industrial urban economy beyond that of skilled labour.

From 1948, the moves towards increased segregation in Durban were entrenched and strengthened as the national party came to power and implemented its apartheid policies. Segregation, according to the requirements of the national Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950) was formally implemented in Durban in 1958 (Maharaj, 1992).[61] In subsequent years, Durban gained the dubious honour of being labelled the "archetypal apartheid city" in accordance with its model of spatial division in the apartheid era (Davies, 1991, 71). Generally, blacks were segregated into townships on the northern and southern periphery of Durban. The white areas remained in the core of the city requiring large scale removal of Indian residents from this zone (Maharaj, 1996). Indians were displaced to areas in the inner and outer urban peripheries (Scott, 1994). Typically, whites were allocated the majority of urban space and were generally located in spaces more strategic and accessible to the urban core (Maharaj, 1992). According to Davies (1991) less than 2% of whites and over 50% of Indians and 70% of blacks were relocated in Durban and had to bear the costs of reconstructing their lives. By 1970, segregation indices showed that segregation in Durban was at "near absolute levels" although this was not to last very long (Davies, 1991, 82).

Because of the complex and extraordinary measures needed to govern a segregated city, the governing of the greater Durban area has historically been very fragmented. During the era of apartheid, the black township areas were governed separately from the white municipality, while traditional leaders and the provincial and national government operated jointly in the homelands on the outskirts of the municipal area (Bekker, 1991; Lemon, 1991; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). The complex arrangements for the control and governing of the city were, however, reconfigured on numerous occasions, especially during the 1980s and early 1990s, to maintain control of segregated urban areas as apartheid systems came under increasing pressure (Bekker, 1990; Pillay, 1994; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002).

From the mid 1980s, the imposed controls and boundaries of the apartheid state began to loosen and large areas of Durban began to go through a process of 'greying' (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994). This was evident in the slow filtering of Indian and black residents into

---

[61] A labyrinth of related legislation emerged to support the Group Areas Act, one of which was to officially classify all people into race groups (Lemon, 1991). Furthermore, national legislation, which imposed strict controls on movement through the racially divided city and on many other aspects of socio-economic life were applied at the local level (Lemon, 1991).

white suburbs such as Westville and into rental apartments in the CBD (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994). This process was strengthened by the 1986 decision to allow the entire Durban CBD to operate as a free trade area (Maharaj, 1995); the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991; and subsequent moves to negotiate new mechanisms for urban governance.

Shifts in the division of governance mechanisms also began to occur in the early 1990s such that in 1993, efforts were made to lessen the divisions in Durban's local government as a step towards transition. As a consequence of the Local Government Transition Act (Act 209 of 1993), the Greater Durban Metropolitan Negotiation Forum (GDMNF) was formed to negotiate the restructuring of the local government authority in Durban. This forum was mandated to include 50% statutory and 50% non statutory representations (including government, civic organisations, and trade unions) in the process of negotiating an equitable municipal authority which would begin to consolidate the fragmented local government and address existing inequalities in Durban (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). This forum arguably represents the start of a history of partnerships and shared initiatives to overcome problems in Durban.

As it did before, the local state continued its involvement in advancing manufacturing and industrial sectors within Durban during the apartheid era. The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of Durban's branch economy (Pillay, 1996; Freund, 2002). Furthermore, by the mid 1970s the importance of tourism in the Durban economy was confirmed by city-led plans for beachfront development and the management of tourist-friendly beachfront spaces (Pillay, 1996; Freund, 2002; Maharaj et al, 2008). Along with economic growth in the apartheid period, the system of apartheid further entrenched racial inequality within the urban economy, with numerous restrictions on the role of black, Indian and coloured business in economic activities and the continued segregation of the Indian CBD (Lemon, 1991; Maharaj, 1996; Scott, 1994).

Durban thus progressed from its early settlement as a colonial town into a large and rigidly divided urban space in which extremes of underdevelopment and inequality eventually led to resistance and conflict and the early transition towards a more just city. The current development platform of Durban has thus been created through the progressive development and transition of the urban economy, in tandem with the socio-political development of the city. These historical characteristics have been significantly influenced by the politics, policies and legislation of South Africa at the national level. As the internal forces of change

and the emergent pressures of the international arena continue to coalesce with Durban's unique history and characteristics, the contemporary city continues to emerge. The following section describes the various dimensions of the contemporary city of Durban and highlights the current foci for urban development.

5.3   The Contemporary State of the City: Durban c.1994-2009

Durban is currently one of the most significant cities in South Africa, housing a third of the population of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), containing 60% of the province's economic activity and contributing 10.8% to the national GDP (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2004, 2009; SACN, 2004). As such, Durban has a vital role to play in the redevelopment of South Africa. This section reviews current provincial, economic, social, political and planning environments of the city to provide an overview of its developmental context, which has undergone many changes since the initial commencement of the dismantling of apartheid in the early 1990s.

5.3.1 The provincial context of Durban: KwaZulu-Natal

The provincial context of Durban goes some way towards directing the development concerns and the conditions for development processes within the city. The provincial history of political violence, a legacy of the large scale historical neglect of rural areas and the growing significance of HIV/AIDS on development, have played a role in directing the development trajectories of Durban. In addition, the development of the city has been influenced by recent positive economic growth which has created new optimism and increased development activity across the province and within Durban itself (eThekwini Municipality, 2009).

Historically, KZN has experienced political upheaval and violence as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC) political parties struggled to gain political ascendancy within the province (Morris et al, 1996; Pillay, 1996; Nel et al, 2003).[62] However, since the early 2000s, the ANC has taken strong control of the province, affording a level of political continuity over the last ten years (Nel et al, 2003). Political stability has contributed to the ability of the province (and of Durban) to contribute significantly to the nation in terms of economic development and social and political transition (KwaZulu-Natal, 2005). The province has recently experienced growth rates higher than the national average which have

---

[62] These conflicts had their roots in the underdeveloped urban conditions, the frustrations that arose from disempowerment and the difficulties of switching from oppositional to collaborative roles in determining urban change (Davies, 1991; Morris et al, 1996; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002).

resulted in a contribution of approximately 15% to the South African GDP and the emergence of a positive investment and development climate for Durban and much of the province during the 2000-2008 period (Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Trade and Investment KZN, 2006).

The KwaZulu-Natal government is currently focussed on transformation and the improvement of the overall quality of life for its citizens. Plans such as the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy and the Five Year Strategic and Performance Plan (KwaZulu-Natal, 2005; 2006) aim to create an effective and efficient provincial government, to attract investment and build the economy, and to reduce poverty in order to build sustainable communities that are healthy, safe, literate and employed (KwaZulu-Natal, 2005; eThekwini Municipality, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008). The improvement of employment within the province is critical in overcoming poverty. Approximately 47% of the KZN population are unemployed (KwaZulu-Natal, 2005). However, the major problem facing the province is that of HIV/AIDS, as the region has one of the highest infection rates in the world, with an estimated two million people in the province living with the disease by 2006 (KwaZulu-Natal, 2005; KwaZulu-Natal, 2006a). The spread of this disease will need to be carefully and urgently addressed if the significant effects on population, productivity and quality of life in the region are to be limited (KwaZulu-Natal, 2006a).

The provincial context thus influences the growth and development opportunities within as Durban is located within the frame of provincial regulations and plans. The city also contributes to the province as its most populous and economically developed node. The following section describes the economic, social and political context of Durban.

5.3.2   Durban's economy

Durban has a large and complex urban economy which comprises approximately eight percent of the national economy (SACN, 2004). The urban economy continues to rely heavily on manufacturing, transport and port activities as well as on the finance and tourism sectors (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2004). The economic context of Durban is dynamic and the city has recently experienced change in the business environment with the reintegration of South Africa into the global economy and the loss of company headquarters to Johannesburg and London which has further entrenched the city's characterization as a branch economy (McCarthy, 2002; Padayachee, 2002). In recognition of this shifting context, this section sketches the characteristics of Durban's economy and

highlights changes being suggested to overcome some of the weaknesses and to capitalise on the strengths of the urban economy.

The predominant economic sector in Durban is that of manufacturing which makes up approximately 25% of the urban economy (Morris et al, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2008). The manufacturing sector incorporates a diverse range of economic activities across the chemical and petro-chemical, clothing, textile, automotive, pulp and paper, and food industries (Monitor Group, 2000; Morris et al, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2008). Despite this diversity, the strength of manufacturing in Durban lies in sectors where economic growth is limited, such as textile production, and many industries face new pressures as trade becomes increasingly liberalised in the post apartheid era (Morris et al, 2002).

Durban's manufacturing strength is strongly linked to the port, which is one of the busiest harbours in Africa, handling more than 40 million tons of bulk cargo; 2.5 million containers; and approximately 4500 vessel arrivals per year by 2009 (Jones, 2002; McCarthy, 2002; Kanjee, 2009).[63] The Durban port is increasingly under pressure to expand as the demand for port services and container trans-shipment and storage currently exceeds the capacity of the harbour facilities and places great pressure on the city's role as a significant stop on international shipping routes (Pillay, 1996; Jones, 2002). However, the configuration of the harbour landscape hinders most development responses in that space for the expansion of facilities is extremely limited and neighbouring communities are against the further encroachment of the port and its activities into the South Durban Industrial Basin (Jones, 2002). Furthermore, the National Ports Authority is the parastatal with control over harbour development and acts in the national rather than the local interest.

Comprising 24% of the urban economy, the tourism industry is another important sector of the Durban economy (eThekwini Municipality, 2004; Maharaj et al, 2008). Durban is a tourist destination of particularly national importance (Nel et al, 2003; Preston-Whyte and Scott, 2007). Since the 1990s, the tourism industry has shifted its focus from its declining traditional local market to concentrate more on conference and sport-based tourism (Maharaj et al, 2008). This is to ensure the ongoing contribution of tourism to the urban economy, especially in the light of strong intercity competition for South Africa tourists (Pillay, 1996; Freund, 2002; Preston-Whyte and Scott, 2007). In addition to tourism, the service and financial sectors have been experiencing growth while the transport and communication sector has

---

[63] The harbour currently has a much larger capacity than any other South African port (Jones, 2002).

recently experienced the strongest growth of all economic sectors in Durban (Padayachee, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2008). This is especially noticeable in the area of 'new economy producer services' where small companies provide support services to larger corporate and manufacturing firms (McCarthy, 2002). This aspect of the service sector is however resource intensive and provides little employment (Padayachee, 2002). These trends towards the service economy are typical of post-Fordist urban economies internationally and indicate the increased involvement of the South African economy in global economic affairs after 1994 (Hall and Robbins, 2006).

The informal economy is also an important area of economic activity in Durban, coming into existence even by the 1900s (Bonnin et al, 1996; Skinner, 2005). By 1996, 28% of employment in the Durban region was held in the informal sector and it is estimated that there are 150 000 informal street traders within the municipality (Pillay, 1996; eThekwini Municipality, 2008). This sector is typically comprised of agriculture and fishing as well as service provision and the selling of merchandise in small backyard or street based businesses and provides a very low income for workers with very little infrastructure or business support (Pillay, 1996; eThekwini Municipality, 2008). The municipality has not ignored this sector and has taken a role of managing rather than controlling the street traders of Durban in recognition of their economic and social importance (Pillay, 1996). An important example of the innovative role the municipality has played in regard to informal trade has been the renewal of the Warwick Junction informal trade area on the outskirts of the CBD, through community engagement and strategic intervention into the organisation of trading areas (Dobson and Skinner, 2009). However, some conflict between the municipality and informal traders still arises periodically, typically over the proposal of new developments (*The Daily News*, 25/5/2009; Enslin-Payne, 19/6/2009).

The Durban economy has experienced some stress since the opening of the national market to international trade which occurred with the democratization of South Africa (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; Robbins, 2005; Hall and Robbins, 2006).[64] This has co-incided with the restructuring of the global economy and the shift towards growth in the service sector. This was recently reflected in the slow 1.8% per annum growth rate within the municipality and the liquidation of businesses during the 1990s. The existence of high levels of unemployment, exacerbated by 'jobless growth' in the formal sector and the growing numbers of unemployed

---

[64] This has been particularly evident in sectors such as textile and clothing manufacturing (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2008).

people joining the informal sector are also evidence of this shift (Monitor Group, 2000; eThekwini Municipality, 2004; Robbins, 2005). Nevertheless, there is much optimism that new policy interventions and boosterist development will result in the strengthening of the economy in Durban; contributing to the upliftment of urban residents and the country as a whole (Monitor Group, 2000; Hall and Robbins, 2002).

In 2000, the Monitor Group completed a survey of the urban economy and provided a strategic plan for economic growth in Durban. The report from their study has been widely accepted and promoted as the guideline document for economic transformation in Durban, identifying challenges in the urban economy and providing recommendations for economic growth which would address socio-economic problems within the city (Robbins, 29/1/2004; Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Robinson, 2008). The challenges described in the report include the effects of global economic change, the high levels of HIV/AIDS infection within the working population, high crime rates and the pressure for infrastructural development and service delivery that is currently occurring at a slower rate than that required to overcome service and infrastructural backlogs (Monitor Group, 2000). Given these problems, the Monitor Group (2000) has argued that an economic crisis should be expected in the city by 2015 unless radical change is achieved in Durban's economic system.[65] To avoid this crisis, it has been recommended that the urban economy should be aggressively restructured to prioritise global competitiveness, with local government creating an enabling environment for economic growth in Durban (Monitor Group, 2000; Robinson, 2008).

Despite the challenges facing the Durban's economy, some characteristics of the economy provide a tentative, yet positive foundation for improvement. Between 1996 and 2007 the GDP average annual growth rate in the municipality has been approximately four percent, and some reports indicate marginal increases in the number of employees in the formal urban economy (SACN, 2004; Robbins, 2005; eThekwini Municipality, 2009). Furthermore, the focus of Durban's economy on manufacturing, tourism and transport does provide opportunities as these sectors are areas in which there is much greater opportunity for growth, sustainable job creation and higher incomes, and in which the 'multiplier effects' can have far reaching benefits (Monitor Group, 2000; eThekwini Municipality, 2008, 2009; Maharaj et al, 2008).

---

[65] This will be characterised by a continuing drop in per capita income, job shedding, a lack of competitiveness in global and emerging markets, declining investment in economic and service infrastructure and the further loss of skills from the city as well as greater inequality in wealth distribution across the urban population (Monitor Group, 2000).

Financially, eThekwini Municipality has a history of having a higher allocation of money per resident than many other municipalities in the country (SACN, 2004). This provides opportunities for improved service provision and quality of life. The municipality also has a sound budget and has received an unqualified audit for a number of years which reduces challenges to the implementation of development agendas (Khan and Lootvoet, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2009). Furthermore, allocations to municipal capital and operating expenses have increased substantially in recent years as the local state tries to balance the development challenges and growth of the city with the maintenance of existing infrastructure (eThekwini Municipality, 2005; 2006; 2009).[66] Thus, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, the municipality exhibited a solid financial footing from which to further develop both services and infrastructure and to fund development projects to boost the urban economy.

The above overview of the Durban economy highlights the existence of a range of local contingencies which significantly influence the nature and direction of development trajectories within the city which concentrate on the importance of economic growth which responds to global economic trends. However, it remains to be seen whether these directions of growth are able to respond to the challenges of the socio-demographic context of a historically unequal city.

5.3.3 Durban's socio-demographic context

The social characteristics of eThekwini Municipality are evidence of the diverse and divided histories of the people who are now residents of the restructured municipal area. This section outlines the primary socio-demographic characteristics of urban residents, including employment, education, and quality of life indicators; and outlines some of the predominant challenges facing social upliftment in Durban. This is necessary in order to understand the importance of redistribution and redress in the city.

The population of the eThekwini Municipality is approximately 3.4 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Although Durban is a culturally diverse city, the majority of its population is African (approx 68%) (Urban Econ, 2007). Durban is also the home to about two thirds of the Indian population in South Africa, who form approximately 20% of the urban population (Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Urban Econ, 2007). A further 9% of the

---

[66] According to the IDP review in 2009, of Durban's 2008/2009 total municipal budget of R23.4 billion, R5.9 billion was used for capital expenditure which aimed to address developmental issues (although a significant portion of this budget is allocated to developments needed for the 2010 soccer world cup). A further R17.47 billion in the operating budget focused on service provision improvements and maintenance (eThekwini Municipality, 2009). These budget allocations represent 25.3% and 74.7% of the total budget respectively.

city's population is white, while the coloured population makes up 3% (Urban Econ, 2007). In terms of age, the municipality is classified as having a large youthful population, with 55% of the population under the age of 30 years (Kamman, 2009). Furthermore, 67% of urban residents are between the ages of 15 and 65 and are therefore classed as being of working age (Urban Econ, 2007).

In the past, social class in Durban was very closely aligned to race. Historically, whites held a higher status due to their political dominance, income levels, and access to jobs. Indian and coloured populations were found in the middle of the social hierarchy and blacks on the lowest rung, exhibited by the lowest incomes and highest levels of poverty and discrimination (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). This historic structure has been eroding since 1994 as incomes and occupations are no longer determined by race, and a growing black middle class is emerging. In many cases though, historic inequalities and social structures remain, with much of the urban population categorized as poor and highly vulnerable (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). In general, blacks and particularly women, especially those within the city's peri-urban and informal population, experience the greatest inequality and are thus the most vulnerable urban citizens (Thurlow, 2001; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002).

Inadequate income and unemployment is an increasing problem in the post apartheid economy and is a significant development challenge for socio-economic redress in the post apartheid period. In 2008, approximately 36% of the working aged population (15-65 years) in Durban was unemployed, 41% were formally employed and a further 15% were still involved in various forms of education (Kamman, 2009). The annual per capita income in the eThekwini municipality is R34 875, giving an indication of a medium level of per capita income (eThekwini Municipality, 2009).[67] In 2008, 28% of households in Durban earned a monthly income of less than R1500 per month, which is considered to lie below the bread line (Kamman, 2009).[68] To compound this, less than 10% of urban households earn more than R11 000 per month with the gap between the richest and the poorest households continuing to widen (Kamman, 2009). Vulnerability to unemployment and low incomes appears to be higher amongst blacks, women and young people, who are typically the least experienced and the least educated, and are therefore the most likely to be unemployed (Urban Econ, 2007). In addition, spatial patterns of unemployment and low household income further indicate that

---

[67] This figure can be somewhat misleading. It should be recognised that the geographical dispersion of income is not even, thus some communities/households are much poorer than others and will have an annual gross value added per capita much lower than that stated above.

[68] Although these figures continue to indicate economic challenges within the city, they do indicate a significant improvement from the 41.5% of households earning below R1500 per month in 2005 (Kamman, 2009).

there is a greater vulnerability to unemployment in Durban's peri-urban informal and traditional authority areas and township areas (Casale, 2002; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002).

Unemployment and low income are exacerbated by the low levels of education of Durban's residents, particularly since, aside from growth in the construction industry, most of the employment opportunities recently created in Durban has required skilled labour. In 2008, it was estimated that only 38.4% of Durban residents over the age of 18 have successfully completed grade 12 to receive a matric level education (Kamman, 2009).[69] In addition, 20% of the population is illiterate and, at the other end of the spectrum, only 4% of municipal residents have a university degree (Urban Econ, 2007). These figures indicate that education levels amongst the urban population are generally very low and are likely to limit the employment opportunities for individuals in the short and long term.

Quality of housing and service provision further influence poverty and vulnerability levels amongst the urban population. Access to housing and services is however slowly increasing in the eThekwini Municipality, making households more likely to receive these services than elsewhere in KwaZulu-Natal (SACN, 2004). According to the 2007/2008 budget, the municipality spent R7.76 million on housing within the municipal area despite the fact that housing is an unfunded mandate of the developmental local state (eThekwini Municipality, 2008). The municipality's 2009 IDP review highlights the further need for addressing service provision in the spheres of water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, storm water drainage and public transport despite the fact that significant inroads have been made in addressing these backlogs (eThekwini Municipality, 2009). Raised levels of housing and service provision improve the quality of life of urban residents although there is still an extensive backlog, especially in previously disadvantaged areas where service delivery and housing shortfalls remain widespread (eThekwini Municipality, 2009).

Poor health and wellbeing further increase the vulnerability of communities and have a significant impact on the ability of household members to work. Over the past decade, HIV/AIDS has become the primary health concern within the city with estimated infection levels in Durban's population ranging from 14-34% (Urban Econ, 2004; SACN, 2006).[70] Given the high levels of infection, life expectancy in KwaZulu-Natal is expected to decrease to 37 years of age by 2010 (SACN, 2004). The need to deal with HIV/AIDS is prioritised

---

[69] The matric examination in the twelfth year of schooling is the school leavers' final examination.
[70] In 2001, the national average of HIV/AIDS infection was 22,4% of the population (Urban Econ, 2004). The range of estimates given here is due to the different estimates provided by the 2004 and 2006 studies cited above.

within the eThekwini Municipality's IDP through the strategic focus on promoting the health of citizens (eThekwini Municipality, 2009). Security and concerns over crime and exposure to environmental risks further affect residents' sense of wellbeing, with up to 31% of residents claiming that Durban is unsafe (Kamman, 2009).

It is evident that despite improvements, deep inequalities continue to exist within post apartheid Durban. Urban vulnerability, basic needs, housing, healthcare provision and employment are key areas of redress which need to be addressed by the local state. To this end, the following section outlines the structure and dominant policies and plans of the eThekwini Municipality.

5.3.4 Politics and the municipal structure

In an effort to create a democratic local government capable of effectively addressing the contemporary needs of Durban, a number of sweeping changes have taken place within the municipal structure of the city. These changes stem from the national transition process discussed in Chapter Two and are outlined below with specific reference to how they have materialised in Durban.

In the three years following the 1994 national elections, the municipal structure of Durban underwent a series of transitions which ultimately led to the formation of what is now the eThekwini Municipality which is classified as a metropolitan area (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; Low et al, 2007). In accordance with national demarcation processes, the formation of the unicity structure included extending the municipal boundary (see figure 5.1) which led to the incorporation of disadvantaged and advantaged areas into one system of government with shared resource allocation and joint planning (Hall and Robbins, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2003; Low et al, 2007; Harrison et al, 2008).[71]

Institutionally, the restructuring of the municipality has meant that much of the planning, development and budgeting for the city is now located in a centralised local government system which is co-ordinated and managed by a city manager, who is appointed by the elected councillors and is officially accountable to the eThekwini Municipality's elected council and

---

[71] The adoption of new municipal boundaries has increased the size of the municipal area by 68% while the population has increased by 9% (eThekwini Municipality, 2006). The new urban boundary includes much peri-urban land on which some of the poorest segments of Durban's population reside. These peri-urban spaces have historically been under the control of tribal authorities and are now governed by both the tribal authorities and the democratic government, in the form of elected councillors in wards (Hall and Robbins, 2002; Beall, 2006).

executive committee (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002; eThekwini Municipality, 2003).[72] The municipal council is made up of 200 councillors, 100 of whom are elected ward councillors from wards within the municipal area, while the additional 100 are elected in accordance with proportional representation of political parties which are based on votes received in an election (eThekwini Municipality, 2006; Low et al, 2007).[73]
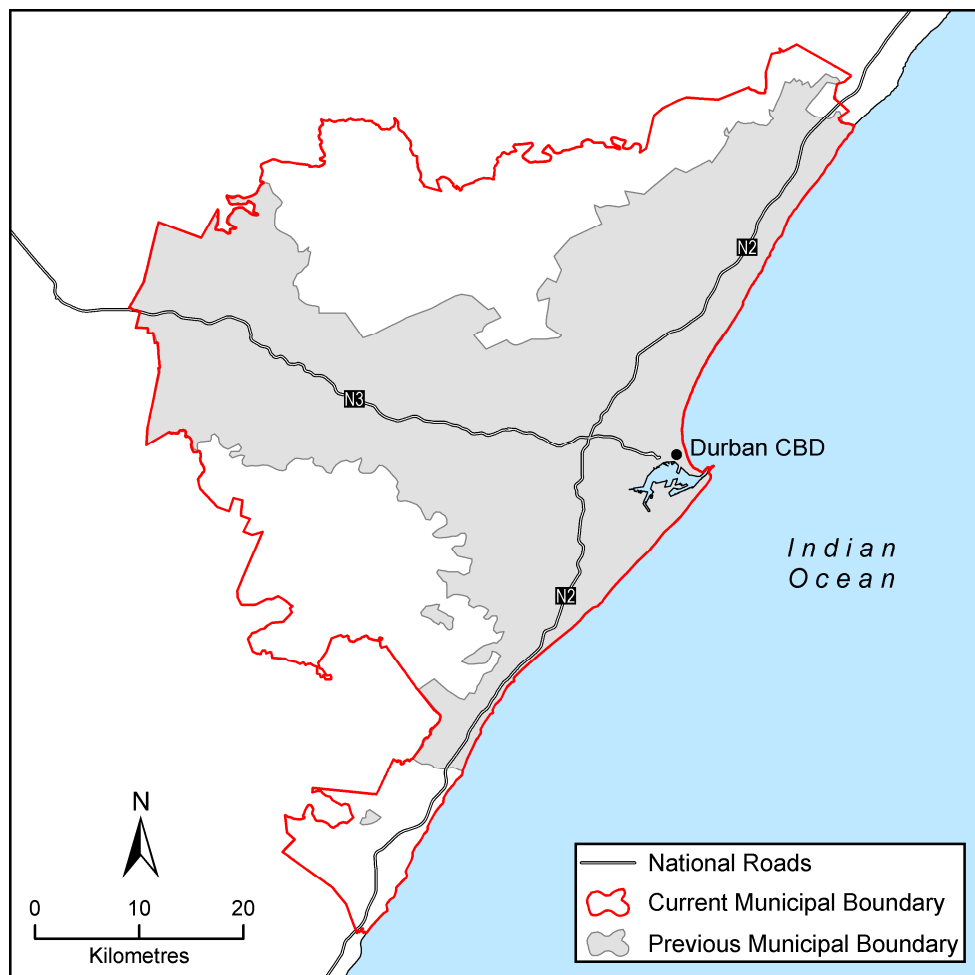
Figure 5.1: The extension of the eThekwini Municipality boundary.

(adapted from eThekwini Municipality, 2003)

Theoretically, the municipality is thus run by a political structure which incorporates local representatives from wards with the broader, party-specific councillors. However, the inter-relationships of these groups of councillors are complex and often overlapping, thus

---

[72] Over time the role of the city manager has become increasingly important in the decision-making and development processes in Durban. The current city manager is integrally involved in day to day issues and long term planning for the city and has been viewed as a crucial appointment by the ANC to achieve a strong level of control within the city, despite its early lack of a majority rule in the city's executive committee (EXCO) (Low et al, 2007).

[73] As of March 2006, the majority of the elected representatives of political parties in the local government are ANC, followed by the Democratic Alliance and the IFP, with less dominant parties and independents making up the remaining seats (eThekwini Municipality, 2006a).

complicating the local political landscape (Low et al, 2007). Furthermore, the centralised metro-scale planning and management of the municipality is required to be balanced with the development demands arising from the local ward areas. The competing demands are difficult to juggle, creating some tension within the urban political and developmental landscape, especially since policy and resource allocation are typically dominated by the ANC (Low et al, 2007).

Overall, the current municipal structure is geared towards addressing the various and competing development imperatives in Durban through a democratic system. In order to achieve its goals the local state relies heavily on development planning and policy formation which has been undertaken to guide urban transition. The following section outlines the plans and policies formulated for the development of Durban.

5.3.5   Development planning and policy in Durban

Municipal reforms in the 1990s strengthened the developmental role of local government (Low et al, 2007). Thus, along with the transformation of Durban's local government structure, development planning, which advances a variety of developmental goals, has been the focus of many efforts towards transition in the city (Low et al, 2007). The following section outlines the contemporary development planning and policy context in Durban and pays particular attention to the Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for the eThekwini Municipality as the key strategic planning policies for Durban. In addition, the ways is which these strategic plans reflect South Africa's dual development imperatives, of post-apartheid redistribution and increasing global competitiveness, will be highlighted.

a)   The Long Term Development Framework

Fragmented earlier development plans for Durban were superceded in 2001 by the LTDF, which has become the foundation for local government transition and development planning within the city (Durban Unicity, 2001). The goal of the framework is to provide a long term plan which guides integrated development planning over twenty years. It furthermore, initiates and directs the work of local government in creating a city that is "moving beyond just the delivery of services and good administration, to strategically turn the Durban unicity into a globally competitive and attractive city" (Durban Unicity, 2001, 1). The LTDF recognises the developmental role of the municipality and relies on principles such as holism, sustainability, democracy, partnerships and good governance to underpin all steps towards

development in Durban. Furthermore, citizens are considered an important ingredient in the processes which aim to achieve the municipality's vision. Thus people-led development and the use of co-ordinated partnerships are highlighted as an important means to improving quality of life in the city (Durban Unicity, 2001).

The LTDF emphasises the critical development challenges faced in Durban. The plan argues that urban development should be focused on creating economic growth characterised by improved job availability and income levels which will combat the rising poverty in the city. The municipality is also seen as being required to meet basic needs and alleviate poverty, primarily by addressing the housing and service delivery backlogs. The development of the city's people, especially with regard to increasing the low skills base of the urban population, is also highlighted. The LTDF further acknowledges that these challenges cannot be faced without seriously addressing the AIDS pandemic in both the province and the city and by working towards ensuring a safe and secure environment for the urban residents. Finally, the need for long term sustainability is recognised as an important challenge for Durban (Durban Unicity, 2001). The LTDF thus prioritises development on two fronts, through the meeting of basic needs and through the strengthening of the economy.

As directed by national legislation and as outlined in the LTDF, the main tool for Durban's development in the short to medium term is the IDP. The following section outlines the current integrated development plan for the eThekwini Municipal Area.

b)   Integrated Development Plans of the eThekwini Municipality
The development of Durban has been guided by integrated development plans since 1998 when plans were initially drawn up for each of the transitional local authorities in the unicity (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). Integrated development planning addresses strategic development in the eThekwini Municipality and is central and integral to all operations and departments in the municipality.[74] Overall, the IDP outlines the major characteristics of the municipal area, the socio-economic characteristics of its people and their developmental needs. These needs are then channeled into the formulation of a strategic development plan

---

[74] The IDP is reviewed annually to ensure that it is a living document, accessible to citizens and government alike and strongly orientated to the city's strategic vision laid out in the LTDF. This discussion will be largely based on the reviewed IDPs for 2004/2005, 2005/2006 and 2007-2009.

for the municipality, based on the long term vision for the city, emergent priorities for development and the council's choices on how to address these priorities.[75]

The IDP is viewed as a plan which is required to respond to both the needs of urban residents and the national and provincial frameworks for development. These frameworks include the GEAR strategy, national spatial development perspectives and the KZN Provincial Growth and Development Strategy. Furthermore, the IDP is influenced by the global development arena. As Durban has been chosen to be a pilot NePAD city, the goals of NePAD have been integrated into its IDP, along with the United Nations' Millenium Development Goals (eThekwini Municipality, 2006). With these requirements, the IDP has adopted a strategy which prioritises critical elements of both pro-poor and pro-growth agendas and therefore reflects the need to incorporate redistribution and redress for poor and marginalised communities into urban development as well as prioritising the regeneration and growth of the urban economy respectively (eThekwini Municipality, 2005, 2009; Harrison et al, 2008; Robinson, 2008).[76]

In accordance with these priorities, strategic plans within the IDP focus on improving the quality of life for urban residents, and especially those who are marginalised and vulnerable, by addressing service delivery backlogs, and creating employment opportunities. In relation to this research, it is noteworthy that as part of the pro-growth focus of the IDP, the strategic plans include consideration of the needs of the private sector since the municipality recognises the importance of addressing the slow rate of economic development and declining employment in order to improve quality of life.[77] Furthermore, the IDP aims to sustain the natural and built environment, improve local government structure and enhance methods of

---

[75] The vision for Durban is: "By 2020, eThekwini Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and liveable city, where all citizens live in harmony. This vision will be achieved by growing its economy and meeting people's needs so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities, in a city that they are truly proud of" (eThekwini Municipality, 2003, 10). This vision and the consequent development-related emphases in the LTDF and IDP have been developed through a visioning process driven by international consulting firms, such as the Monitor Group, and inclusive of public participation and the use of consultancy-derived reports which examine the contemporary characteristics of Durban. These reports have advised on useful directions of change in the city (Robinson, 2008).

[76] As with the LTDF, these responses are built on the foundation of core values such as sustainability, democracy, equity, non-discrimination, citizen action, outcomes based planning and partnerships (eThekwini Municipality, 2005, 2006, 2008).

[77] The IDP recognises that the municipality must take cognisance of the new South African economic context and the need for sustainable economic growth and should focus on building on existing urban economic strengths (eThekwini Municipality, 2006). In addition, as noted in the 2005 IDP, businesses are concerned about the level of support they receive from local government, especially in terms of "the uncertainty, inconsistency and unpredictability of government action, delays in delivering platform infrastructure, the high cost of doing business (especially rates and service charges) and (the need) for effective partnerships" (eThekwini Municipality, 2005, 6). Business has also identified the need to reduce crime, address HIV in the workplace, and maintain a good quality natural environment (eThekwini Municipality, 2005; 2006).

operation as a support for long term urban transformation (eThekwini Municipality, 2006; 2007; 2008).

To achieve its goals, the IDP has driven the adoption of new urban development tools and techniques, such as key performance indicators and area based management. The latter provide for certain areas of the municipality to be tackled intensively and holistically through efficient and co-ordinated project implementation. Further to these tools, the IDP also follows the municipal Spatial Development Framework which outlines the spatial characteristics of the municipality and provides guidance and support to the IDP in terms of priority areas of need and areas of project implementation (eThekwini Municipality, 2002). The Spatial Development Framework argues for spatial compaction and densification rather than encouraging further development of the periphery, given the efficiencies inherent in the current spatial form of the municipality (Todes, 2000; eThekwini Municipality, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008).

There is little question that the plans and policies discussed here improve the ability of local government to respond to the needs emerging from the social, economic and political contexts of Durban. It is, however, assessment of the nature of the specific responses to these prioritised needs which requires assessment in order to confirm *how* these development imperatives are being addressed on the ground. The following section describes urban development in Durban since the initiation of the democratic transition in order to understand the contemporary developmental landscape.

5.3.6   Urban Development since the 1990s

When transition began in South Africa, Durban was deeply divided and in need of spatial, social and economic development to address both the inequalities created by apartheid and the pressures placed on the city by global economic change (Sutcliffe, 1996; eThekwini Municipality, 2005; Robinson, 2008). In addition, Durban's sprawling form engendered all the complications for development found in a fragmented and inequitable urban expanse (Pillay, 1996). Since the 1990s, however, there have been numerous and extensive efforts in Durban to address these development needs, especially once the municipality's LTDF and IDP were in place. This section outlines the main urban development processes and activities occurring between the mid 1990s and the mid 2000s, including details on service delivery, exemplary projects and the spatial characteristics of development. Finally, the debates as to

whether and how these combinations of development activities can meet the dual development imperatives of Durban are presented.

Service delivery has been an integral part of development within post-apartheid Durban (Robinson, 2008) and will be briefly highlighted here. From 1996 to 2001 rapid service delivery was initiated by the municipality in order to cope with initial backlogs (eThekwini Municipality, 2006). Development initiatives have focused on the provision of basic needs and community services and facilities, especially in disadvantaged areas such as in the townships, while economic development has taken the route of small business centres and support for SMME's (Todes, 2002; Robbins, 2005; Robinson, 2008).[78] Since the 1990s, extensive housing development has occurred in the township and informal settlement areas such as Cato Manor, Mount Mariah, and Chesterville (Todes, 2002; Cameron et al, 2004). Service delivery of water, sewage and electricity has been addressed with approximately 75% of households having access to basic services by 2005 (eThekwini Municipality, 2005).

The municipality has recognised that beyond improvements in service delivery, there are priority areas in which urgent holistic intervention is required to upgrade overall quality of life, promote local economic development and reintegrate urban spaces (Cameron et al, 2004). To this end, five area based management programmes have been initiated in the eThekwini Municipality (see figure 5.2).[79] These programmes are typically focused on meeting the imperative of alleviating poverty and inequality in spaces where development is deemed urgent and requires a systematic and direct intervention. In these instances, place-based holistic plans have been developed and implemented by an in-situ collaborative team drawn from across a variety of planning and infrastructural departments in the municipality in order to rapidly drive development in each area (Cameron et al, 2004). A number of these projects have become areas of major intervention and are elaborated on below.

Cato Manor is an important development area in Durban in terms of addressing poverty and post apartheid inequality. With assistance from the European Union, more than R1 billion has been spent on building 30 000 houses, as well as schools, community centres and transport

---

[78] Although public resources have been allocated to the townships in terms of meeting basic needs, it is still difficult to reintegrate these areas into the urban fabric as they are usually not easily accessible and are spaces in which the private sector is often unwilling or unable to invest (Todes, 2002). Thus no flagship developments had been located in these historically deprived areas prior to 2001 and few large retail and service centres have recently been built in these areas, although new shopping malls in the former townships of Umlazi and KwaMashu are important exceptions.

[79] Area based management is concentrated in programmes within Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu (INK), the inner city (via the inner eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme - iTrump), Cato Manor, a rural area (KwaXimba) and the South Durban Industrial Basin (Scott, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008).

and trading infrastructure (Nel et al, 2003; Cameron et al, 2004; Harrison et al, 2008). Cato Manor has also been highlighted as a development of national importance, through its status as a presidential lead project nominated by former president Nelson Mandela. Furthermore, extensive investment in the Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu (INK) area has resulted in the development of new public service centres, employment offices and expanded basic services and transport infrastructure within the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu areas.

The CBD and inner city renewal have been prioritised in contemporary Durban, especially since suburbanization has drawn many corporate and other companies away from the CBD as informal trading has increased. The inner eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (known as iTrump) has been developed by the municipality as an area-based management programme to deal with issues arising from decentralization from the inner city (Scott, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008). The programme attempts to alleviate decentralization by facilitating new and continuing investment in the inner city and renewing the inner city environment (Michel and Scott, 2005; Scott, 2006). Since 2000, office, leisure and retail development has occurred on the edge of the CBD drawing new businesses into the urban core (Todes, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008). Notable amongst these developments are the development of the Point waterfront development and the Wilson's Wharf development on the edge of the Durban Bay. In terms of informal trade, the municipality has improved its overall management of street traders and recognises the vital interrelationship between the formal and informal economy (Grest, 2002; Dobson and Skinner, 2009).

Another important aspect of inner city development has been Warwick Junction (see figure 5.2), a commuter, transport and informal trading hub on the north western boundary of the CBD through which over 500 000 commuters pass daily (Grest, 2002a; Dobson and Skinner, 2009). Historically, the area was characterised by high levels of congestion, mini-bus pressure, increasing crime, and conflict between informal and formal traders. The municipality allocated a project management team to undertake a holistic, integrative, and participatory project to renew the area (Cameron et al, 2004; Dobson and Skinner, 2009). This project has had significant success in improving safety and public transport facilities, upgrading the local environment and improving trade and employment in the area, all of which have drawn this integral part of Durban more positively into the fabric of the urban core (Grest 2002a, Dobson and Skinner, 2009).
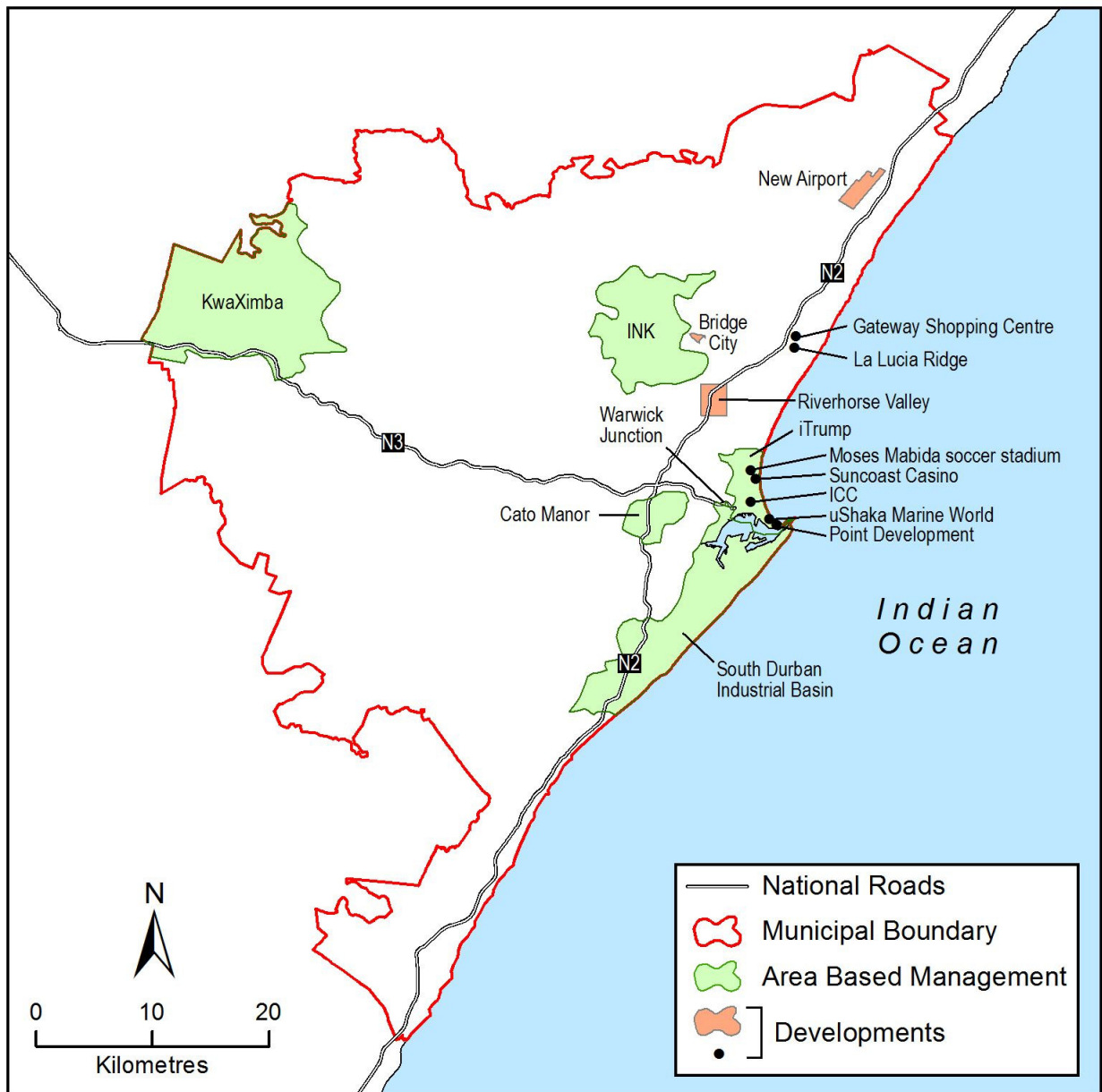
Figure 5.2: Major development areas and projects in Durban, since 1990.

Linked with iTrump but inclusive of the private sector, the Point area redevelopment at the harbour mouth has become a major focus of recent development in central Durban after many years of debate regarding the future and renewal of this area (Grant and Scott, 1996). The project consists of the conversion of vacant land and degraded inner city areas adjacent to the harbour and seafront into a co-ordinated, upmarket development via a public private partnership between business and the eThekwini Municipality. The renewal project combines the flagship development of uShaka Marine World aquarium and theme park, a series of shops, hotels and residential blocks and the gentrification of decayed residential units (see figure 5.2) (Linscott, 2003; Nel et al, 2003; Scott, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008). In addition, and despite substantial criticism, approval of a small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach has recently

been granted as a substantive addition to the Point precinct once the harbour mouth widening is complete.

Other pro-growth developments in the inner city include the development of the Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World complex on the northern edge of the CBD (Nel et al, 2003) and the highly successful International Convention Centre (ICC) (see figure 5.2), which is currently undergoing a major extension to include a sports arena and larger conference facilities (Linscott, 2003; Maharaj et al, 2008).

Alongside the overall focus of development on service delivery and the improvement of the improved quality of life and economic development undertaken by the municipality, broader processes of development have shifted the spatial and socio-economic form of Durban. Despite inner city renewal programmes and the area based management interventions, the nature of development over the last decade has not entirely followed the development policy requirements of densification and the city has instead undergone a process of decentralisation of the core and a recentralization of the urban periphery (Todes, 2000; Michel and Scott, 2005). The northern and western parts of Durban have undergone substantial development with edge city-like formations developing in the Umhlanga La Lucia area in the north (Todes, 2002; Michel and Scott, 2005).[80]

Extensive townhouse and gated estate development has also occurred in the Outer West municipal entity resulting in higher density residential areas (Todes, 2002). This expansion on the urban periphery has caused significant pressure for service delivery infrastructure in these areas.[81] Decentralization has further occurred with the suburbanization of retail and office space on the Berea and in Morningside and Westville (Todes, 2000; McCarthy, 2002). Alternatively, industrial expansion has been contained in existing industrial nodes, such the South Durban Industrial Basin, Pinetown, and Phoenix, while the flagship development of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate has created infill along the eastern and western flanks of the N2 highway in the Effingham-Avoca area (Todes, 2002; Houghton, 2005).

---

[80] Umhlanga has recently seen the development of numerous gated communities, two large golf estates, and several office parks, as well as the completion of the extensive Gateway shopping mall in 2001 (Michel and Scott, 2005). These developments have raised the housing density in the area and led to the relocation of corporate headquarters from elsewhere in the city to the new and prestigious office parks on the La Lucia ridge (Michel and Scott, 2005).

[81] In the Outer West, this pressure resulted in the city placing a moratorium on development in 2003, followed by the formulation of a detailed local spatial development policy to control the rate and nature of development and allowing for service delivery targets in nearby underdeveloped areas to be addressed in accordance with post-apartheid development imperatives (eThekwini Municipality, 2005).

Future large-scale developments for Durban are currently in the implementation phase. These include the development of the new King Shaka airport and the freight and industrial zone of the associated Dube Trade Port in La Mercy, north of Durban (see figure 5.2) (Enslin, 7/2/2006).[82] Preparations for the 2010 football World Cup, and a general sense of building Durban into a sports and events city, have meant significant change in parts of the city, including the building of the Moses Mabhida Stadium and substantial upgrades in transportation routes and beachfront facilities (Maharaj et al, 2008; Bass, 2009; Maennig and du Plessis, 2009). There are plans being proposed by the National Ports Authority to further develop the port as demand for its services and space continues to grow. This includes the process of widening of the harbour mouth, which is currently underway to allow much larger ships to utilise the harbour.

It is evident that development in Durban over the last decade has been extensive and varied. A substantial number of economic development programmes and projects, usually involving property development, have been facilitated by the municipality through the financing of projects, the use of local government capacity to plan and undertake development and through the instigation of public private partnerships for development (Robbins, 2004; Robinson, 2008). These aim to improve the urban rates base, boost economic opportunity for the previously disadvantaged, support small businesses, assist with infrastructural development and facilitate the building of capacity and partnerships for economic development (Robbins, 2005; Robinson, 2008). These interventions have allowed for expenditure on both capital projects such as the Point redevelopment, the Riverhorse Valley Estate, Cato Manor and township business centres, while operating funds have been allocated to programmes which support SMME's and tourism (Robbins, 2005).

There is much debate however regarding the nature of this development since the long term achievement of improved quality of life for urban residents through these developments is questionable, especially with the focus on the growing capital expenditure for urban renewal and flagship projects (Nel et al, 2003; Robbins, 2005; Robinson, 2008). These are the kinds of projects expected in a city in which one of the main goals is growing the urban economy and increasing the global competitiveness of the city (Thrift, 1999). It is questionable whether these projects are able to provide direct advantage to the largely poor majority or whether they will be able to sufficiently boost the urban economy to indirectly achieve greater urban

---

[82] On 1st May 2010, air traffic from Durban International Airport will divert to the new King Shaka Airport which has far superior facilitities than the old airport.

equality (Grant and Scott, 1996; Nel et al, 2003; Robinson, 2008). Furthermore, the rate and extent of basic needs delivery and the overcoming of the fragmentation and division inherent in post apartheid Durban is debated. Poverty and unemployment continue to increase and some argue that development aimed at uplifting the quality of life of the poor is more rhetoric than action (Nel et al, 2003; Robbins, 2004).

Of specific interest to this study are the processes and mechanisms through which prominent development initiatives in Durban have (and do) take place. The following section thus addresses one of these mechanisms, public private partnerships, which has been a popular form of urban development tool in Durban over a number of decades.

5.4.   Partnerships for Development in Durban

Durban's involvement in economic development has grown and evolved over time such that, within the post apartheid city, the municipality has taken on the multiple roles of economic facilitator, mediator, agent and service provider (Hall and Robbins, 2002). National and local policy developed in the post apartheid era supports this multidimensional involvement in the local economy (Hall and Robbins, 2002). In addition, shifts in the role of the state, especially during a period of such dramatic transition, have provided opportunities for the strategic involvement of the private sector and parastatals in economic development (Hall and Robbins, 2002; Harrison et al, 2008). In Durban, this has meant the involvement of the private sector in economic development plans and project implementation, to the extent that "relative to the South African context…Durban is probably unique in the level of involvement and commitment shown by big business to the broader development of the city" (Nel et al, 2003, 230). The following discussion in Section 5.4.1 outlines the relationships between business and the private sector in urban development during the 1990s and introduces some of the dominant private sector role-players in development. Thereafter, the contention that a growth coalition has emerged in Durban during the 1990s is discussed in Section 5.4.2.

5.4.1   Public private partnerships until 1999

Durban has a long history of development partnerships between the public and private sectors (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998).[83] As apartheid began to disintegrate, local negotiations for transition in Durban could begin and immediately relations between the public and private

---

[83]   The local state has a record of drawing business into the city and facilitating the development of suitable locations for industry and commerce (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). In the 1980s, partnerships between business and the state emerged to develop the Workshop shopping centre and the Springfield Flats industrial area as business and the city shared costs to facilitate the developments (Freund, 2002).

sector were strengthened as both began to both assert their role in the future of the city and to tackle its development needs (Pillay, 1994). Prior to 1994, the large and important businesses lobbied and negotiated with the IFP, ANC and other political and civic organizations to develop a new economic and political landscape, ready for formal national restrictions to be dropped (Pillay, 1994; Freund, 2002). One outcome of these early discussions was the formation of a partnership called Operation Jumpstart which remains a significant foundation of relationships between business and the municipality in Durban.

Initially instigated by the municipality, Operation Jumpstart originally included only business partners and government (Pillay, 1994; Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998) but it grew to include civil and political organizations.[84] The partnership allowed for pro-active negotiation of new paths of economic development in Durban on a non-racial basis and in addition it began to work towards overcoming the violent conflicts within the greater urban area (Pillay, 1994; Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002). Essentially, the partnership was "part of the Durban City Council's strategic planning initiative to form an alliance between local government and the private sector to help save the region's ailing economy" (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998, 132). Although it initially focused on short term projects, Operation Jumpstart saw as its main task the development of an urban growth rate of 8% coupled with the creation of 300 000 jobs (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). The partnership existed for three years, from 1990 to August 1993 (Pillay, 1994), acting as the seed bed for development projects and initiatives in Durban, such as a provincial lottery, the development of the International Convention Centre (ICC) and the redevelopment of Cato Manor, the Point and Warwick Avenue areas (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998; Nel et al, 2003).

Operation Jumpstart was significant because it managed to draw a wide number of stakeholders into the discussions regarding Durban's future and therefore allowed for strategic thinking about Durban as a whole, rather than dealing separately with the racially and spatially divided regions within the city (Pillay, 1994). As Hindson and Ngqulunga (2002, 200) have stated "with this widening of the social basis of Operation Jumpstart, the problematic of reconciling measures to promote economic growth and job creation on the one hand, and addressing social need on the other was first clearly taken up in debates within the city". However, the underlying motives for the partnership have been questioned. Although it was successful in achieving concrete outcomes and raising important debates for post

---

[84] Initial members of Operation Jumpstart were the "Natal Provincial Administration, the South African Chamber of Business, the Durban Chamber of Commerce, KwaZulu Finance Corporation, the Joint Services Board and researchers from two universities in the region" (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998, 134).

apartheid urban development, Pillay (1994; 1996) has argued that Operation Jumpstart functioned to serve the business interests of private sector partners and did little to consult widely with the state and trade unions on decisions or to ensure adequate representation on the powerful steering committee. Pillay (1994, 77) further argues that the partnership thus caused the local state's machinery to become "junior partners" in the development of Durban as their role became to facilitate the development ideas and agendas of their private sector partners.

Following the lead of Operation Jumpstart, the Durban Functional Region Development Forum emerged as a new planning and development initiative in November 1993 (Pillay, 1994). Again, this was a voluntary association which brought together a diverse set of role-players in Durban and included marginalised groups at that time, such as the ANC, IFP, SACP and civic groupings (Pillay, 1994). This forum worked prior to the IDP process to develop a vision for the future of Durban, a set of principles for development, and the allocation of resources to plan for development within the city (Pillay, 1994). The forum saw its task as being "to unblock development" during the transition to a formal post apartheid local government (Hindson and Ngqulunga, 2002, 200).

Stemming from these early partnerships, the Durban Infrastructural Development Trust was formed in the early 1990s as a progressive and inclusive partnership to stimulate the economic development of the city and was charged with moving the Point redevelopment and the ICC project forward (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). However, even in this partnership there emerged conflicts over whether development choices would achieve post apartheid redress and redistribution. Maharaj and Ramballi (1998, 145) have argued that the Point development and the ICC "would only lead to benefits for the public and private elites" (developers, investors and the municipality) even though some efforts were put in place to ensure the project implementation process was equitable. In the Point and ICC development, construction protocols guided the nature of the development activities. Although these stipulated "policies for job creation, affirmative action and the leveling of playing fields", the actual implementation of these requirements has been questioned by many; allowing for continuing debate as to the impact of these developments on the urban poor (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998, 140).

5.4.2   A Durban growth coalition?

Freund (2002) proposes the existence of a growth coalition in Durban, typical of those found in the developed world, by the late 1990s as a product of the ongoing and intimate

relationship between business and government in urban development. In support of this analysis, Maharaj and Ramballi (1998) and Nel et al (2003) have argued that Operation Jumpstart was an initial growth coalition within Durban which acted as a "parent" to other long term relationships between the local state and business elites (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998, 135). Furthermore, Pillay (1994) argues that these partnerships reflect many of the growth coalition characteristics found across the world, however, he recognises that these local coalitions drew their concerns from the locality and its specific concerns which stemmed from the local politics within the South African urban environment, rather than from purely economic motives.

In Freund's (2002, 35) critique of the coalition partnerships in Durban, he argues that the plans stemming from the city's growth coalition "may do little to affect the historic peripheralisation of the poor". Furthermore, he cautions that if the local state is weak then the dominant role of the private sector can be hidden behind the facade of a public private partnership, allowing for powerful self-interest to influence the nature of development in a city (Freund, 2002). Maharaj and Ramballi (1998) are less guarded in their view of Operation Jumpstart, which they characterise as a progressive coalition because it did include civil society and non parliamentary organizations (such as the ANC), incorporating more members than just the typical government and business growth coalition stakeholders.

Whether viewed as a growth coalition or not and whether considered favourably or not, these early partnerships form the foundations of the contemporary relationships between business and government in Durban. The following sections describe the two most recent and significant partnerships in the eThekwini Municipality, the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, on which this study has concentrated.

5.4.3 The Durban Growth Coalition

The Durban Growth Coalition (DGC) has operated as a significant public private partnership for urban development since 1999, with a peaking of activity between 2000 and 2002. The partnership still operates in Durban but has become much less powerful in recent years. The following section will outline the life of the partnership and the main areas of development in which it has been involved.

The Durban Growth Coalition was initiated in August 1999 when the private sector in Durban formulated a 'Business Vision' for the city and presented their vision to local and provincial

government (Durban Chamber of Commerce, 2002). This vision statement announced the private sector's position on how major economic initiatives in Durban should progress and included economic, social, and environmental goals that were to be realised through strategic projects (Naidoo, 1/10/2001; Durban Chamber of Commerce, 2002). Discussions following this presentation led to the formulation of the DGC as an informal group including business and government volunteers who agreed to work together to address some of the concerns and goals raised by the city's business sector.

By October 2000, the DGC partnership was formalised through a merger of the interests of local and provincial government and the private sector. The interests included those of industry's Business Vision, the Durban Chamber of Commerce, the eThekwini Municipality's Department of Economic Development and the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Department of Economic Development and Tourism (Mercury Reporter, 3/9/2002). On 26 October 2000, a partnership agreement was signed and the DGC became something of a 'brains trust' of business and government leaders aiming to move development in Durban forward. To date, the partnership continues to include local and provincial government representatives, the Durban Chamber of Commerce and numerous business partners that range from internationally and locally important companies, such as Mondi and Tongaat Hulett Property Developments, to medium sized businesses.

The DGC is managed via a co-chairmanship with the chairs representing the public and private sectors. The current co-chairs are John Barton the (now-retired) managing director of Mondi South Africa and Sbu Ndebele, an ANC politician who has held the position of Premier of KZN and KZN Minister of Transport during the course of his chairmanship of the DGC. The partnership has operated primarily through regular meetings between government and business and the facilitation of discussion between development role players in Durban and beyond (Wilhelm, 2002). At the outset of the partnership monthly 'six aside' meetings were held between six ANC politicians and six business representatives with other DGC members (business role players and city officials) drawn into discussions as needed (Robbins, pers comm., 29/1/2004). As the partnership progressed four working committees were set up and assigned responsibility for priority development areas, namely, major projects, affirmative action, communications and social responsibility (Wilhelm, 2002).

Outside of formal meetings and committees, and arguably much more importantly, the DGC has facilitated ongoing government-business dialogue in order to address blockages in

development processes and to generate positive outcomes for the local economy (Wilhelm, 2002; Barton, 6/3/2007). Frequently, the DGC has facilitated consensus building over the prioritization of development projects in Durban and then pushed decision-makers to commit to processes which would result in projects being successfully implemented. These important discussions typically took place behind closed doors and relied heavily on the networks between members and their associates (MacMenamin, 8/3/2007).

Over time, the DGC has retained the strong role of the co-chairmanship but has become rather more diffuse in its structure and activities. By 2003, concern for improving transparency and diminishing political bias led to the shifting of the 'six-aside' meeting to include six politicians from across political parties rather than only from the ANC (Robbins, pers comm., 29/1/2004). Furthermore, as development in the city progressed and the post apartheid local government in Durban gained stability and confidence, the need for regular meetings diminished. The partnership co-chairs and secretariat now function as centralised nodes in a government-business network, which galvanises for short periods to share development related information and to address development blockages or concerns as they arise. Once these tasks are completed the DGC disperses. The shift away from the Coalition intensively driving the urban development agenda in Durban in the early phase of the DGC has been further influenced by the strong leadership of the current municipal manager who has aimed to extend municipal involvement in development to avoid private-sector bias.

Originally, the DGC was devised as a mechanism which sought primarily to 'unblock development' in Durban, to encourage economic growth and "realise the city's potential as a world class port and leisure centre" (Wilhelm, 2002, 97). The direct outcomes of the partnership's activities are the large property development projects that have recently emerged in Durban, many of which have been implemented through project-specific public private partnership mechanisms (*The Mercury*, 17/2/2004; Barnett, 8/11/2006). Projects associated with the work of the DGC include the development of the Suncoast Casino complex on part of the city's beachfront area; the revitalisation of the Point, including uShaka Marine World and the development of the Wilson's Wharf marina complex and the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. These projects cover a range of development interventions into the urban environment which have 'fast tracked' development, particularly where plans had been under discussion for many years with no foreseeable outcome (Sewsunker, 2/3/2004).

In addition to the brokering of development projects, the DGC has played an important role in sharing information on development progress and highlighting new agendas for change through annual economic growth summits. The DGC held seven Durban Economic Growth Summits between 2001 and 2008, which were co-funded by the Durban unicity municipality (now the eThekwini Municipality) and business contributors. These summits are an important output for the partnership as they provided a platform for discussion and served to inform partners, the private sector and the broader public of progress in development arenas, planned and current partnership-related projects and the state of affairs regarding urban development in Durban (see Appendix A) (Naidoo, 1/10/2001; McCarthy, 2001; Wilhelm, 2002).

The DGC has served the important function of brokering strategic developments in Durban and in tackling difficult aspects of post apartheid transition within the city through economic development. Through its agenda, activities and internal network of relationships, the Durban Growth Coalition has played a role in negotiating the imperatives of global competitiveness and post apartheid redress. This role will be expanded on and interpreted in upcoming chapters.

5.4.4   The eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture

The eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture is a formal public private partnership which began in 2001 and is currently ongoing. This partnership differs substantially from the Durban Growth Coalition and is focused on the planning and implementation of specific urban development projects.

The Joint Venture operates through a formal contractual arrangement which sets out the terms of the partnership and lays out the specific outcomes which need to be met and the process of managing the partnership itself. Once the project delivery goals of the Joint Venture are met, the partnership will be dissolved. The contractual arrangements of the partnership allow for the partnership to be run by a Joint Board or Joint Venture Committee as it is preferably known within the partnership. This board has equal representation by the municipality and the private sector representatives from Tongaat Huletts Private Property Developers.[85] The Committee is comprised of planners and economists from both the municipality and Tongaat Hulett and leadership from each partner, including one of the Deputy City managers.

---

[85]During the lifetime of the Joint Venture, Moreland Developments has been renamed Tongaat Hulett Private Property Developers after a restructuring process within the wider Tongaat Hulett group, to which this company belongs.

The Joint Venture was initiated in 2001 when city-led plans for the redevelopment of the Point waterfront required that a project management team assist the Point Waterfront Development Company.[86] Moreland Developments were approached by eThekwini Municipality to lead this management team and to take on the task of overseeing the development process on the Point which had been stalled for a number of years (Grant and Scott, 1996). Negotiations around acceptance of this responsibility included the proposition that the eThekwini Municipality and Moreland Developments joining forces to facilitate the development of property and transport infrastructure in the Effingham Avoca area and potentially also within KwaMashu. These development opportunities had been in the portfolio of Moreland Developments for some time but could not be implemented due to the need for inputs on transportation and servicing infrastructure from the municipality and negotiations over the release of city-owned land for development (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). Through deliberations, the costs and benefits of engagement in all three projects were discussed and ultimately the Joint Venture was formulated to allow for collaboration on the Point redevelopment, and the development of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate in Effingham-Avoca and the Bridge City mixed-use development node in KwaMashu (see Figure 5.2).

Since its initiation, the Joint Venture has successfully achieved most of its goals. To date, the Tongaat Hulett role in overseeing the Point redevelopment is complete as the implementation of the comprehensive plan for the area has been implemented, barring the separate but related project for the development of a small craft harbour. The Riverhorse Valley Business Estate project involved the development of new access roads and linkages between the sites and the N2 freeway as well as the planning design and management of the development of a large light industrial estate on each side of the N2 between Newlands East and Effingham-Avoca. This project has been held up by the Joint Venture partners as a great success and, at the time of writing, has been ahead of schedule with the conclusion of all land sales and building operations for most of the lifespan of the project. Currently, Bridge City development in KwaMashu, a mixed use node including commercial and residential sites and public services, is in the implementation stage, with the first precinct of the development opened in October 2009 and further property development and servicing of the area underway. These projects will be critically analysed in Chapter Nine.

---

[86]The Point Development Company is jointly owned by the eThekwini Municipality and Metallon, a local BEE company, which owns the Point land.

5.5   Conclusion

This chapter has served to establish a foundational understanding of the contemporary city of Durban. The history of division and inequality in Durban's spatial form, and its governance and economy, particularly in the apartheid era, has been highlighted as being responsible for the contemporary inequalities within the city. Furthermore, the chapter includes an overview of the main characteristics of contemporary Durban, including an understanding of the quality of life in the city, the economic and governance characteristics as well as strategic development and planning policies.

Quality of life in the city is predominantly characterised by inadequate income, high unemployment, low levels of education, high HIV infection rates, and serious backlogs of housing and service provision. The Durban economy makes a significant contribution to the national economy, particularly through manufacturing, activities in the port, and tourism. However, the city faces the economic challenges of high unemployment levels; the largely branch-based economy; the decline of some sectors in the wake of increasing exposure to the global economy; and the need to increase activity in the tertiary sectors which dominate the current global economy. The socio-economic characteristics of Durban result in a highly vulnerable urban population which require urban development which addresses their marginalisation. In contrast, the challenges facing the Durban economy are seen to require development which improves the position of the city in the global economy. These challenges must be met by a local government which, as shown in the chapter, has undergone dramatic organisational and spatial changes since 1994, including the expansion of the municipal area; the reconfiguration of the municipal structure; and the formulation of a plethora of strategic development and planning policies, such as the city's IDP and spatial framework.

Furthermore, the chapter has considered urban development in Durban in the post-apartheid period. This discussion foregrounds the major development activities in the city and the partnerships through which significant development has occurred in Durban. To this end, the chapter includes an outline of the two public private partnerships examined within this research, namely, the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture. These partnerships have been instrumental in driving the planning and implementation of a number of the flagship developments deemed important to addressing the development challenges of Durban.

Overall, this presentation of the historical and contemporary city of Durban acts as a platform from which the urban development imperatives in public private partnerships and their inter-relationship with neoliberalism can be considered. The following chapter describes the methodology employed to construct and interpret the data for this study.

CHAPTER SIX
METHODOLOGY

6.1   Introduction

This chapter details the research methodology applied in this study. Following Mottier (2005) and Cloke et al (2004a), the methodology critically outlines the 'construction and interpretation' of data by accounting for the various data types and data collection methods used, the interpretative techniques employed and the role of the researcher in the process of data construction and interpretation.

The predominance of qualitative methods in this study has determined the range of methods for gathering and interpreting the data. The application of this methodological approach has enabled a detailed examination of the localised practices of a global economic paradigm of neoliberalism. The use of qualitative data for this purpose is supported by Crang's (2002, 648) sense that "qualitative approaches have enabled the study of, and emphasised the importance of, seeing economic activity as a set of lived practices, assumptions and codes of behaviour."

Section two begins by addressing the methodological approach of the research, with a particular focus on the interpretative approach adopted. Section three presents the construction of the data. This section introduces the empirical research which is used as a lens through which to reflect on theory. This is followed by a discussion of the secondary data and the methods and sample used to gather the primary data for the study (section 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). The sources of primary data include semi-structured interviews, documentary and newspaper evidence, observation, site visits, and the 2001 South African Census. In addition, section 6.3.3 describes the supplementary data collected to provide information on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. This data consists of a set of interviews concentrating on businesses located in the Estate and an employee survey. The fourth section describes the interpretation of qualitative data and the analysis of quantitative data undertaken in the research process. The final sections of the chapter include a consideration of research ethics and a 'detour' which reflects on the more personal experiences and subjectivities of this research.

6.2   A Note on the Methodological Approach of the Research

This research is framed within a social constructivist paradigm which assumes that, although a material reality exists, the world can only be understood through the way it is socially

constructed (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999; Kitchin and Tate, 1999). Social construction is defined in the Dictionary of Human Geography as:

> "the idea that the social context of inquiry, rather than the world which is investigated, determines – constructs – knowledge. Knowledge, therefore is always *relative* to its social setting (there are no absolutes), and the outcome of an active process of fabrication rather than the discovery of a reality pre-existent and fully formed" (Johnston et al, 2000, 748).

Thus, a socially constructed reality is relative to the context in which it is produced and is fluid and incomplete, as individuals continually reformulate and shift their understanding of the world (Gergen, 1999). Social constructivism prioritises language as a means through which "social agents generate shared meanings and therefore give meaning to their actions" (Mottier, 2005, 5). Thus, actors use language and the shared meanings within discourses to construct reality (Kitchin and Tate, 1999). Consequently, it becomes possible to understand the realities produced by actors through an examination and interpretation of language and discourses (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999; Kitchin and Tate, 1999). In turn, the human qualities of intentionality, rationality and reflexivity are incorporated into these interpretations as they play a significant role in the social construction of reality (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

Since the study is grounded within social constructivism, the data collection and analysis have been undertaken through an interpretative approach. In this vein, Mottier (2005, 4) has argued that:

> "data are not 'given' observations of external social facts that are independent from the researcher. Rather, the interpretive approaches recognise the constructed nature of 'data', which… are seen as the outcome of a reflexive research process wherein the 'social problems' under investigation are themselves treated not as 'given' but as socially constructed".

The study thus undertakes the interpretation of discourses, texts and social practices in order to gain an understanding of their meaning (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997; Mottier, 2005). In turn, the study relies on interpretations of shared (and sometimes contradictory) language and discourses to generate new understandings of the meanings ascribed to development approaches and to the localised discourses of development themselves.

To this end, it is important to note that this study uses a conceptualisation of 'discourse' in its broadest sense. Discourse is understood as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995, 44). Discourse is thus viewed as productive of meaning and thereby capable of limiting what it is possible to know (Law, 2004). Furthermore, discourses are understood to be linked to power

since they are embodied by the individuals, communities and societies who hold, use or articulate their associated bodies of knowledge to give meaning to the world (McGregor, 2005). In this study, then, the interpretation of discourses is used in the sense of wanting to examine what is said, by whom, and in what manner, in order to construct an interpretation of the issues being investigated which includes a sense of the relevant meanings being used and produced by research participants (McGregor, 2005).

When working within an interpretative framework, the subjectivity of the researcher should be recognised (Cloke et al, 2004). As Mottier (2005, 4) argues, "subjectivity is seen as a crucial and positive component of research in interpretive approaches", particularly because understanding is generated when the researcher brings their own "horizons of meaning" into relationship with that of the text or social practice being researched (Mottier, 2005, 6). In a practical sense, this recognition of subjectivity has resulted in a consciousness of 'the self' within the shaping of the research process as a whole and particularly through the awareness of the influence of the researcher's identity and knowledge on the process of data construction and interpretation. This self awareness has resulted in many moments of self-reflection within the research process and a conscious attention to the processes of data construction so that worthwhile interpretations could be generated in and through the study (Cloke et al, 2004).

This acceptance of subjectivity has also created an awareness that the contributions of this study although rigorously produced, cannot be the final interpretation of the issues being researched (Mottier, 2005). New and alternative meanings can be uncovered or projected by other individuals and therefore new layers of meaning can be generated. As Dear and Flusty (2002, 254) have argued, "knowledge is thus a product of varied localised ways of seeing and each entails a particular perspective that is not necessarily incorrect but must necessarily be partial and possessed of an internal consistency laden with blind spots." Therefore, researchers are forced to be cognisant of the necessarily partial story that they are able to tell, even as one attempts to tell it through rigorous interpretation.

These assumptions underpin the approach adopted in the research process. The following sections discuss the processes of data construction and interpretation undertaken in the study. In the first instance, the process of data construction is discussed below.

6.3   Data Construction [87]

Since the theoretical questions posed in this research have a broad scope, the choice of data, and methods to collect and analyse it, needed to be carefully considered to prevent the project from meandering into vague and insubstantial conclusions. The research thus uses an empirical study through which to apply existing literature and to assert new theoretical arguments. The following section describes the primary and secondary sources gathered in order to construct the data for the study.

Figure 6.1 outlines the sources of secondary and primary data used to construct contextual and empirical knowledge about the study. Secondary data provides the contextual and the theoretical framework for the study which has supported the collection and interpretation of the primary data. The collection and interpretation of primary data forms the empirical heart of the study. To this end, primary data provides the empirical evidence on the two partnerships examined in the study. These partnerships are the two most recent and strategically powerful public private partnerships in Durban, namely the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture. Since the Joint Venture is a project-based partnership, the scope of the empirical research also includes primary data from two important development projects undertaken by this partnership, namely, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City development complex.[88] Although quite different in nature, both these partnerships, and their projects, have been instrumental in changing the urban landscape in Durban and provide insight into the nature of neoliberalism as "lived practices" in an urban context (Crang, 2002, 648).

---

[87] In adhering to the assumptions of social constructivism, Cloke et al (2004, xiii) classify data as 'self-constructed' or 'pre-constructed'. Self constructed data is defined as that primary data which results from "the active field-based research of human geographers themselves" and includes methods such as interviews and surveys (Cloke et al, 2004, xiii). Pre-constructed data is that which has been compiled by other agencies, such as journalists or government departments and from which researchers can extract materials relevant to their own project" (Cloke et al, 2004, xiii). It is these conceptualisations of data which have guided the study and, therefore, the structure of this chapter.

[88] The Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City development projects were selected as part of the empirical study because they provide insight into the on-the-ground consequences of neoliberal thinking within these partnerships and thereby facilitate critical reflection on the theorization of neoliberalism. The reasons for selecting these specific projects are, firstly, because they are flagship urban development projects stemming from the PPPs under consideration and provide a source of empirical evidence for understanding the urban development outputs of PPPs. Secondly, the projects focus on varied kinds of development; the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate concentrates on industrial and mixed land use, while the development of the Bridge City complex addresses urban consolidation and mixed land use, including residential, commercial and public facilities such as a magistrate's court and hospital. Thirdly, the two projects are in close proximity to each other, but in spaces with quite different historical and socio-economic contexts. In addition, from a pragmatic standpoint, the developments are ongoing projects and are well enough established to continue during the course of the research and are thus feasible research cases.

CONTEXT

(Urban Development Context)

SOUTH AFRICA and ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

- Secondary data (articles and books)
- Interviews*
- Policy documents and reports
- Participant observation (meetings)
- Newspapers & websites
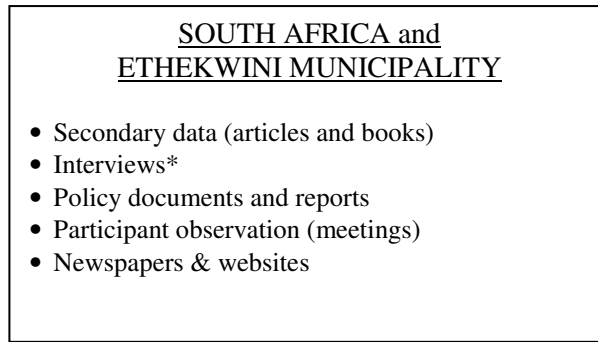
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

(Public Private Partnerships for Urban Development)

INFORMAL PARTNERSHIP

Durban Growth Coalition
- Interviews
- Participant observation (1 summit meeting)
- Reports
- Speeches (from meetings attended and reported on)
- Newspapers & websites

FORMAL PARTNERSHIP

Moreland-eThekwini Joint Venture
- Interviews**
- Policy documents
- Newspapers & websites

EMERGING PROJECT

Bridge City
- Interviews
  o Project planners & managers
  o Local government representatives
- Planning documents
- Reports
- Census data
- Newspapers & websites

ESTABLISHED PROJECT

Riverhorse Valley Business Estate
- Questionnaires
  o Formal sector employees
  o Informal sector traders
- Interviews
  o Businesses
  o Project planners & managers
- Planning documents
- Reports
- Site visits
- Census data
- Newspapers & websites

* Interviews related to the context of the study included questions on the Durban Growth Coalition, the Joint Venture and public private relations within these cases.

** Interviews related to the Joint Venture typically included some questions on the projects stemming from the partnership.

Figure 6.1   Primary and secondary data sources used in the research

6.3.1 Secondary data

Secondary data was collected for the literature review and the description of the context of the study. The literature review was carried out using journals, books, research papers, reports, theses, and case studies; as well as internet sources. The theoretical review covers the general shifts in urban development towards governance, urban management and competition as well as focussing strongly on neoliberalism, the role of neoliberalism in cities and the recent attention paid to the ordinary city and the local scale in the context of a globalising and unequal world. Literature on public private partnerships was also critically interrogated in the literature review. These concepts were used to construct the theoretical framework of the study, which directly informed the selection of the data collection techniques, the subsequent gathering of primary data and, ultimately, guided the data interpretation and the theoretical contributions of the thesis.

Extensive secondary data was used to develop the contextual framework for the study (see figure 6.1). This includes a review of the broader socio-economic and political context of South Africa, as well as a focus on the social, political and economic context of Durban. A review of the history and role of public private partnerships, both nationally and in Durban, forms part of the context of the study.

6.3.2 Primary data for public private partnerships and urban development projects

Primary data for the empirical research on the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, as well on as the two property development projects undertaken by the Joint Venture, was constructed in the course of the study and woven together from a variety of sources. Both self-constructed and pre-constructed primary data was used in the study.[89] Self- constructed data includes that gathered through the use of interviews and some instances of observation. Pre-constructed data has been compiled through the collection of relevant primary documentary evidence, such as municipal reports and newspaper articles. The primary data collection occurred incrementally with new avenues of investigation opening up at various stages in the project, often with different sources of data being gathered simultaneously. The discussion which follows presents the data collection techniques and sampling methods used for the empirical research on the public private partnerships and urban development projects. Furthermore, the characteristics of the samples used in the various aspects of the study are described.

---

[89] See Cloke et al (2004) for a detailed outline and comparison of these types of data.

a) Interviews

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were used as the principal primary data collection technique in the study. These interviews facilitated the collection of data about the public private partnerships and their urban context and the large scale development projects, Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and Bridge City, emerging from the partnerships. The following section details the interview content, the manner in which they were undertaken and the interview sampling.

Interviews were conducted between September 2006 and March 2007. During this period, twenty-six in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants from the eThekwini Municipality and private sector partners within the PPPs. Additional role-players, such as journalists, academics and development consultants involved in the PPPs or the city's development arena both currently and historically, were also interviewed. These key informant interviews related to both partnerships and to the urban development landscape in Durban.

Prior to the administration of the bulk of the interviews, two pilot interviews were conducted. These administered the interview schedule devised for the general survey of the PPPs and were undertaken in mid 2006. The pilot interviews formed the basis for a rigorous review of the schedules which resulted in some adjustments to the interview schedules to avoid unnecessary repetition of questions and to ensure the collection of appropriate data.

All interviews were structured around the interview schedule but allowed for expansion of questions which are relevant to a particular interviewee. A large schedule of interview questions was developed to cover the scope of the research (see Appendix B). The interview schedule was structured to gain an understanding of role players' perspectives on the nature of urban development and public private partnerships; participants' responses to a neoliberal development framework; relationships between partners and motivations for their involvement in partnerships. The interview schedule also aimed to elicit information about the characteristics of the specific partnerships under investigation and on the nature of national and local contexts in which the partnerships operated and through which they could be influenced. In the interviews there was a core of questions asked of each interviewee, especially those regarding the role of neoliberalism in urban development, the use of public private partnerships in urban development and the role of individuals in determining the establishment and operation of partnerships and their related projects.

A number of the interviews were conducted to gather information specific to the two large scale development projects, as examples of projects which emerge from the PPPs. These interviews were focussed specifically on Riverhorse Valley or on Bridge City. At the time of interviewing, RHV was in a far more advanced state of development than Bridge City, and therefore a greater number of interviews specifically related to the development of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. Only one formal interview was conducted in relation to Bridge City. In addition, a number of informal discussions regarding the project and its design and planning process were held with individuals related to Bridge City. Further information on Bridge City was gathered through some of the key informants interviewed as they included this project in their comments and discussions of the PPPs in which they were involved. In the few instances when the interviewee was not directly involved with one of the public private partnerships or their projects, the interview discussions remained at a broader level and interviewees provided information on city-scale aspects of development and the development context, rather than focussing on particular partnerships or developments.

Almost all the interviews undertaken were recorded. Where interviews were not recorded, this was typically due to the informal nature of the discussions[90] or because the interviewee preferred that notes were taken (five out of 40 cases). Interviews lasted between one to two hours and usually took place in the office of the interviewee. [91]

The sampling of interviews was undertaken in accordance with the need to gain an understanding of the PPPs and their development context, and insights into the projects examined as material outcomes of PPPs. The following discussion thus presents the sampling undertaken for the interviews.

A purposive sampling technique was used to identify interviewees who could provide focussed and informed inputs into the research (Kitchen and Tate, 1999; Cloke et al, 2004a). Therefore, the sample includes the role players from both the public and private sectors who are instrumental in the formulation and implementation of the public private partnerships being examined. These interviewees included members of local government, businesses involved in the partnerships and a consultant with experience in one of the partnership

---

[90] Typically, those less formal interviews were conducted with academics that were familiar with the topic and related theoretical frameworks.
[91] One interview took place on campus at the School of Environmental Sciences department and three took place in restaurants in accordance with interviewee requests.

projects. Furthermore, a number of academics who are experts on PPPs and their projects or who were involved in urban development in Durban, formed part of the sample.

For the most part, a snowballing technique was used to devise this sample.[92] Initially a list of interviewees was drawn up through the use of the newspaper assessment (see section 3.3.4 below), attendance of an open meeting of the Durban Growth Coalition and existing background information on the partnerships and the city. Once the first interviews took place, interviewees often suggested further possible role players that could contribute to the study. These leads were then followed and additional interviews were conducted with the relevant parties. The snowballing process was especially important to the empirical research because the elite status of a number of interviewees made access difficult and a referral from a trusted person provided an entry point to individuals who would otherwise have been unlikely to respond to an interview request.

Although Cloke et al (2004a) express a concern that snowballing can lead the interviewer to formulate a narrow sample of like-minded people, the identification of personally connected individuals was important to this study. The character of networks between role-players is an area of interest within the study itself so the process of identifying possible further research participants, whether they were interviewed or not, provided insight into the character of these networks, especially because these connections are usually not evident in published sources. Aside from these referrals, and to balance the possible skewing of data from 'like-minded people', interviews were also conducted with people who the researcher deemed important to the study, based on the initial list of interviews which was compiled purposively.

The sample for the project-focussed interviews included planners and project managers involved in co-ordinating and implementing both the partnership-related projects. This sample was assembled through a purposive sampling technique in which important role-players within these projects were selected for the interviews.

Although 26 interviews were successfully conducted in this part of the study, a few potential participants were not included. Three possible interviewees declined to participate in the research although numerous attempts were made to include them. These role players were Sbu Ndebele, the long term co-chair of the Durban Growth Coalition, who also spent a term

---

[92] Snowballing is a technique in which the researcher is referred by respondents to other potential candidates who can contribute to the research and, as such, facilitates access to informants which the researcher may not have been familiar with prior to the referral (Visser, 2001; Cloke et al, 2004a).

as the KwaZulu-Natal premier, and two black business people who had histories of working in partnerships and Durban-based urban development projects. In order to go some way towards overcoming these potential gaps in the data, published speeches and presentations were used in lieu of a personal interview with the DGC co-chair, while the concerns and interests of black business were sought through an interview with the deputy chairman of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, a black businessman himself.

Comments on the interview process

The positionality of the researcher and the nature of the context in which data collection occurred are seen to play a role in the interview process (Mottier, 2005). Primarily the differences in power and, in certain instances, gender, between researcher and interviewee were observed to influence the nature of the interview process.

It should be recognised that many of the interviews conducted were interviews with professional and business elites in Durban in which the interviewee held (potentially) more power over the process of the interview than the researcher (Visser, 2001). Beyond the typical reliance on interviewees agreeing to participate in a research process, many of those included in this research sample held positions of power in local government and within important private sector businesses and organisations. This created the possibility for an unbalanced power relationship within interviews. Although most respondents did not leverage the power differences to their advantage, a few interviewees did not allow all the scheduled questions to be asked or did not allow the researcher full control of the interview process, forcing the researcher to adapt to the interview process in order to successfully conduct the interview (Elwood and Martin, 2000). This power-relation was somewhat compounded by the location of interviews which took place in the offices of senior officials, business people and elected leaders as they established 'ownership' of the interview environment by the interviewee (Elwood and Martin, 2000; Sin, 2003; Mottier, 2005).[93]

The exclusivity of the networks and partnerships being researched (especially those concerning the Durban Growth Coalition) led to a further concern that individuals were not fully disclosing their knowledge and experiences of the public private partnerships because they did not consider the researcher an 'insider' (Visser, 2001). This was confirmed in one or two interviews in which respondents were extremely open and gave detailed information

---

[93] On the other hand, these office spaces did usually offer a quiet, private space and relatively little disruption in which the interviews could take place (Elwood and Martin, 2000).

which greatly expanded the less explicit information obtained by some interviewees. Overcoming this limitation was not entirely possible but detailed information from those more expansive respondents could be used to build a more comprehensive understanding of the development projects. In addition, the referrals given in the snowballing process did provide the interviewer the chance to build credibility and trust and to directly corroborate information provided in earlier interviews, particularly from those respondents who were more revealing.[94]

Accepting these limitations and difficulties with the construction of interview data requires that the interpretation be extremely rigorous and critically conscious of the depth of the information provided (Crang, 2002). Furthermore, use of this data needed to be made in conjunction with other forms of data, to allow for corroboration and accuracy of interpretation. The following sections thus detail the construction of data from other sources, i.e. those derived from observation, site visits and published documentary sources.

b)   Observation and site visits

The technique of observation was used in order to assess the interrelations of public and private partners and to gather data on the development agenda of both business and government. This technique allows for the observation of relationships while actors are in action rather than relying simply on interview data (Kitchin and Tate, 1999). Observation was included as a data collection technique in the study to compliment the interview data where possible.

It was initially envisaged that observations would take place through the attendance of meetings related to both partnerships (the Durban Growth Coalition and the Joint Venture) and their development projects. Furthermore, it was planned that any public meetings or information dissemination events related to the PPPs and their projects would be attended. In reality, it was possible to attend very few meetings. Both the DGC and the Joint Venture Committees did not grant permission for attendance of their meetings (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Kiepiela 10/10/2006, pers. comm). In addition, the DGC held only ad hoc, infrequent and usually informal meetings from which little documentation was produced. In the case of the Joint Venture, the committee meetings are held on a regular basis. The Joint Venture committee members refused to allow the researcher to observe their meetings,

---

[94] This corroboration of certain information provided in interviews was done with the full permission, and even encouragement, of particular interviewees.

believing that the interview process allowed for sufficient information regarding the projects and the functioning of the partnership.

Despite these limitations, observation did take place at one Growth Summit meeting held by the Durban Growth Coalition. The summit was held on 1 March 2004 at the International Convention Centre and was open to relevant private sector parties and other interested parties. In addition, over the course of the research a number of development related meetings have been attended. These included two African Renaissance Conferences held in the eThekwini Municipality (25-26/3/2004; 19-20/5/2005) and meetings related to urban development for nodes in the municipal area such as the Outer West area and the Point Precinct (Outer West Spatial Framework public meeting, 14/2/2004; Small Craft Harbour EIA public meeting, 28/10/2006). Although the meetings were not strictly related to the partnerships, they allowed for the observation of the main role players in the public private partnerships as they worked towards particular development goals within the city. Furthermore, contextual information on the development agendas at city, provincial and national scales was gathered through these meetings.

Site visits were undertaken through the course of the research (22/6/2005, 30/6/2005, 28/9/2005, 6/10/2006, 8/9/2008). These visits focussed on projects related to the PPPs, such as the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Point waterfront. Progress on the implementation of projects and the characteristics of the spaces being created through new urban development were observed and recorded through the use of field notes and photographs. These observations served to enrich the data gathered through interviews, documents and questionnaires.

Self-constructed data derived from the administration of interviews and observations proportionally comprise a critical and predominant area of primary data for the study, allowing for the assembling of a large portion of the primary data used in the study. Further sources of the primary data, such as the pre-constructed information available in documentary and newspaper sources and census data, also informed the study. These data are discussed below.

c)   *Documentary evidence*

Numerous types of primary documentary evidence are used in the study. Documentary evidence is viewed as crucial to the project, especially in cases where historical aspects of the

partnerships and development projects needed to be established or where the elite status of role players meant that they were unavailable to be interviewed or observed within the research process (Cloke et al, 2004). Documentary evidence further provides insight into the goals and expected outcomes of the partnerships; their related projects; the process through which they were formulated; and how the partners function in the PPPs.

Relevant documentation from the Durban Growth Coalition, the Moreland-eThekwini Joint Venture and from the selected development projects was collected and interpreted. This documentation included government reports, policy documents and formal documentation related to the establishment and functioning of the partnerships in question. Furthermore, newspaper articles, transcripts of public speeches, planning documents, environmental scoping and assessment reports and promotional material associated with the partnerships and their related development projects were gathered.

An extensive study of relevant newspaper articles was conducted as part of the study, covering news reporting from late 1988 to December 2008. This was used as a starting point for developing an understanding of the public private partnerships.

Relevant newspaper articles from all newspapers produced by the Durban-based newspaper company, Independent Newspapers, were gathered. Newspaper articles were gathered continuously through the research process as a source of past and current information on the activities of partnerships and the progress of development projects. Furthermore, the articles provided information on the contemporary perspectives on urban development held by the state and the private sector. Significantly, newspaper articles were used as a starting point for tracing the origins and early practices and perspectives of the partnerships under investigation, especially as these pre-dated the interview process. Particular attention is paid to the news articles relating directly to the Growth Coalition as they provide the chronology of this earlier partnership, including evidence of its goals and activities. These articles also served as a guide for the selection of the initial list of interviewees consulted in 2006-2007.

d)   *Census data*
The 2001 Census data for South Africa was used along with other pre-constructed data to provide data for the contextual background of the study. For the most part, Census data was used to establish macro-scale, socio-economic data on the eThekwini Municipality in conjunction with municipal reports. In the case studies of the Riverhorse Valley Business

Estate and Bridge City projects, census data was used to build a socio-economic profile of communities surrounding the developments as these were likely to be the most directly impacted by project-driven urban restructuring.

Thus, the primary data has been constructed through interviews with key stakeholders, documentary evidence, observation and sites visits and data from the South African census. This data is required to examine the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, as well their projects and the broader developmental context of Durban. In addition, supplementary data on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate formed part of the empirical material.

6.3.3 Additional primary data on Riverhorse Valley Business Estate (RHV)

This section presents the methodology employed to construct supplementary primary data on RHV.[95] This additional empirical material was constructed in order to facilitate a closer examination of RHV as a project emerging from the Joint Venture.

a) Interviews

General information on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate was gathered through comments made by respondents in the main set of interviews. In addition, fourteen interviews which focussed entirely on businesses within RHV were administered between June and August 2004. These interviews served to build detailed information on the nature of the project as a lens to understanding the developmental outcomes of a public private partnership.

The RHV sample was devised through site visits in which businesses were identified and recorded in field notes. At the time of the data collection in 2004, fourteen businesses were located in RHV and the interview sample included all of these businesses except one, which chose not to participate in the research. All respondents were employed at a management level within the companies. In addition to the business data, a short semi-structured interview was undertaken with the representative of a property broker involved in the development of sites and recruiting businesses to the Estate.

---

[95] These interviews and the 200 questionnaires discussed below contributed to both this study and a report produced for Moreland Developments (see Houghton, 2005). The collection of this data and its initial analysis was therefore funded by Moreland Developments. The report has subsequently been used to address a number of issues raised by this data and its analysis. The report is extensively cited in the analytical chapters in this thesis.

A separate interview schedule was formulated for use in these interviews (see Appendix C).[96] The schedule incorporated questions regarding the characteristics of the businesses being researched and their experiences of operating within the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. These interviews were undertaken on a face to face basis and followed the interview schedule closely, allowing a more uniformly constructed set of interview data than the interviews detailed in section 6.3.2 (Kitchen and Tate, 1999).

b) The Riverhorse Valley Business Estate employee survey

In addition to the interviews used to construct information on the range of partnerships and their projects, questionnaires were specifically used in the data collection for the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate project. In 2004, a large survey was used to gather data on formal sector employees of the businesses then located within the Estate.

The decision to implement a questionnaire survey in RHV was underpinned by the need to determine the general characteristics of the formal sector employees in the RHV area which necessitated a less intensive data collection method that interviews (Sayer, 1984). Furthermore, the objective of achieving an overall picture of employees' responses to the characteristics of the business estate, highlighted the need for an extensive survey (Sayer, 1984; Cloke et al, 2004). Businesses in Riverhorse Valley were thus researched through the administration of a short questionnaire which comprised of both closed and open-ended questions. The questionnaires incorporated questions on the personal and employment backgrounds of respondents. This included their residential profile; past and current characteristics of respondents' employment; and their experiences of working in Riverhorse Valley. The questionnaires were available in English and Zulu and were administered with assistance from a bilingual research assistant (see Appendices D and E).

With the exception of one company, each of the fourteen Riverhorse Valley companies interviewed participated in the employee survey. Individuals who comprised the sample ranged from shop floor workers to management level staff within the participating companies and included everyone who volunteered to participate in the research. Some companies made all their staff available for the administration of the questionnaires, but the majority permitted only a very small percentage of staff to participate. Where possible, the researcher and one Zulu-speaking assistant administered the questionnaires on site. Alternatively, questionnaires

---

[96] Two of the fourteen interviews were conducted as pilot interviews to test the efficacy of the interview schedule devised for this aspect of the empirical research.

were left with a representative of the company to be distributed to staff and collected within a few days.[97]

Overall 200 questionnaires were administered in the course of the research. This data set represents a sample of 20% of Riverhorse Valley employees, which is a statistically reliable sample size (Kitchin and Tate, 1999).[98] This data has contributed extensive information on the nature of projects stemming from the Joint Venture between Moreland Developments and eThekwini Municipality. This facilitated a more nuanced analysis of the negotiation of competing development imperatives through public private partnerships in Durban and of the relationship between these negotiations and neoliberalism.

Flowerdew and Martin (1997, 73) contend that "primary data collection must be part of an integrated process which begins with the underlying research questions, is influenced by an understanding of previous work and is designed with specific analysis plans in mind". This premise has been the foundation of the data collection process, as described above, enabling effective interpretation and analysis of relevant data. The following section discusses the process of data interpretation and analysis.

6.4 Data Interpretation and Analysis

The analysis of the data has been carried out within the frame of Mottier (2005) and Cloke et al's (2004) arguments that data analysis is predominantly a process of interpretation of the pre-constructed and self-constructed data gathered for a study. This approach allows for iterative processes of data interpretation in which the researcher is required to rigorously assess data but must equally be self-reflective and aware of her/his positionality and the role of subjectivity in the course of interpretation (Cloke et al, 2004; Mottier, 2005).

The variety of types of data has necessitated the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of interpretation. The interview, observational and documentary evidence has been interpreted using qualitative methods while the data gathered through the administration of the questionnaires has been quantitatively analysed. However, both sets of data inform and are entwined with each other, to tell a 'story'. Thus a critical aspect of the interpretation of the

---

[97] As expected, this resulted in some missing data on the questionnaires that had been left with the companies, whereas the quality of data was much higher if the questionnaires had been directly administered by the researcher (Cloke et al, 2004). This missing data did, however, not compromise the overall integrity of the data set.

[98] This was a 20% sample at the time of the research in 2004; the number of employees has grown substantially as the estate has become more established.

data has been to order and synthesise the qualitative and quantitative data to answer the research questions. Figure 6.1 highlights the combinations of data types used to assess the various aspects of the study. The following section will discuss the process of ordering, synthesizing and interpreting the data collected in the study.

6.4.1   Interpretation of the qualitative data

Qualitative methods were used to interpret data derived from interviews, documentary evidence, observation and site visits.

The initial step in the interpretation of data was the preparation and organisation of the different types of data into a form that would be useful within the interpretation process (Cloke et al, 2004). In the case of interview data, the interviews were all transcribed so that the written transcriptions could be used during the process of interpretation. The many newspaper reports were collated chronologically and summarised in a table which listed reference details and classified the main content. These summary tables allowed for easy access to reports on particular topics or in certain periods and highlighted some trends in reporting.

Using the frame of theory and the research questions, the data was then interpreted using a process of "sifting and sorting" in which data is initially interrogated for themes or facts which are "obvious, significant or meaningful" (Cloke et al, 2004, 210). These assessments resulted in iterative processes of data categorisation to draw out and refine the themes and sub themes within the data (Kitchen and Tate, 1999). The development of further understanding of these themes then occurred through their interpretation through the theoretical framework and their connection with or links to evidence drawn from other parts of the primary data set (Cloke et al, 2004).

At the outset, the overall aim and objectives of the study formed the themes around which data was interpreted and the data was thus organised under these objectives. The objectives were viewed as pieces of a puzzle that ultimately fitted together to reveal a 'picture' from which an understanding could be drawn. These themes shifted and changed through an iterative process of data review (Cloke et al, 2004). As data began to reveal further patterns, for purposes of clarity, the themes were reworked to produce a 'clearer picture'. Themes formed from the objectives of the study were linked together and new themes emerged from further iterations of primary data interpretation. The theoretical framework largely informed

the interpretation of the data once it was initially arranged so that patterns and trends within the themes could be established and their significance interpreted and explained (Kitchen and Tate, 1999).

Within the formulation and discussion of themes, a careful interpretation of discourses and texts has been carried out. Within the context of the interviewing procedure or within a documentary source, the way in which people state their opinions and beliefs an important indication of the ways in which they construct their 'reality' (Burr, 1995). Therefore, interpretation of the discourses used by stakeholders has been a central means through which to uncover the development approaches apparent in the PPPs and their specific projects (Law, 2004).

In parallel with the qualitative interpretation of data, the questionnaire data has been analysed through quantitative techniques. This process is outlined below.

6.4.2   Analysis of the quantitative data

Quantitative data analysis was used in the Riverhorse Valley case study to assess the data from the questionnaires. Quantitative data from the 200 employee questionnaire surveys was analysed statistically on the SPSS programme. This analysis allowed for consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the development project and served to deepen understanding of the nature of neoliberalism within these kinds of projects. In addition, the residential areas of employees in Riverhorse Valley and the interconnections between businesses in the Estate and the wider region have been spatially represented using the Arcview 8.2 GIS programme. In this way, a spatial analysis of the data gathered through the questionnaire survey was undertaken.

Further to the data construction and interpretation process is a consideration of the ethical concerns within the overall research process. This is discussed below.

6.5   Consideration of Research Ethics

A number of steps were taken to ensure that this research was undertaken with integrity and that ethical concerns with data collection, analysis and presentation were carefully addressed. This section outlines the nature of informed participation and considerations of confidentiality within the project.

In all interviews the research ethics protocols of the University of KwaZulu-Natal were followed and all interviewees consented to participate in the study. Initially a letter was sent to each interviewee confirming the nature of the project and the confidentiality to be provided (see Appendix F). Respondents were also invited to direct queries about the research to the researcher and/or the research supervisor. Subsequent to a university protocol change midway through the data collection process (in 2007), interviewees were asked to sign a consent form, highlighting their agreed involvement in the project and establishing the confidentiality of the process of collecting and using data in accordance with their preferences (see Appendix G). All respondents signed these letters of consent. To ensure confidentiality, respondents were asked whether they objected to interviews being recorded and whether they would agree to being named in the thesis.

Within the main survey, all interviewees agreed to be named in the thesis. Where interviewees requested that particular portions of an interview remain confidential, the information given has been used in the interpretation but typically remains unquoted and has been included as a general statement to protect the anonymity of the interviewee. In addition, two interviewees in the main survey, the current municipal manager and a former municipal official, have reviewed parts of the text in which this sensitive information has been used and have given approval for its use. These respondents reviewed the ways in which parts of their interview were used during the process of writing up the research. The interviewees were thus able to approve the manner in which the information provided was included. They did not interfere with the analysis of the said data or conclusions drawn, but rather commented on the manner of presentation of information. Other interviewees were interested in the final results of the work and I undertook to pass on drafts of the work to them for comment on as well as endeavouring to give them a copy of the final thesis if this was requested.

In the project-focussed interview survey a number of the business representatives interviewed in the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate preferred to keep both their names and the name of their company confidential. Thus in this survey, anonymity was provided throughout the data set by assigning a letter of the alphabet to each company in the sample.

6.6   'Just before I conclude'…A Detour through the Research Journey

The previous sections of this chapter have described the research methodology undertaken in this study through the conventions, discourses and practices of the discipline of geography. It is a detailed, methodical description of a research process undertaken with rigor and care;

however, it does not fully reveal the vagaries of the research process. What follows is an account of a more personal nature, one which will enrich the understanding of this research, its process and its outcomes.

Overall, this is *my* research journey. Perhaps this is an unnecessary observation, but I believe that "one's geography cannot be considered a separate domain of one's life but is influenced by many personal, cultural and political 'values' surrounding that work" (Buttimer, 1974, 5). Therefore, I have taken my positionality and my role in the process and outcomes of this research seriously. So, what difference has 'being me' made to this research journey? Although, I expect I shall never fully know the answer to this question, I do know part of the answer. At the core, I am a woman, a wife and mother, a white South African, a Durbanite, a young academic, a geographer and a lover of cities. My positionality is, largely, forged by these characteristics and the values I hold, thus the insights developed during this research journey fall within this framework.

To begin with, I have attempted to address some of the concerns I have with the nature of development in South African cities and Durban, in particular, because these are the places central to my lived experience, my education and my interest. Also, my intellectual endeavours in this study have been framed primarily by the discipline of geography, because this is the body of knowledge with which I primarily engage and understand. Furthermore, I am positioned within and against the body of South African urban geography, because this is the arena in which I have been educated and with which I need to engage in order to forge some new insights into South African cities and their articulation with global processes. Finally, I recognise that my gender, age, race, personality and social position both enable and disable me through the research process by affording entry into aspects of this study and limiting access into others, facilitating a unique research process and outcomes (Cloke at al, 2004). With all this in play, what has the research journey been?

As a resident of Durban and as a geographer, I had witnessed the cityscape being transformed by developments such as uShaka Marine World, the Suncoast Casino and the Umhlanga-La Lucia Ridge commercial, residential and office complexes. These large developments raised both a concern and a question for me. I was concerned about whether the kind of large-scale development evident in Durban was going to help uplift the quality of life of the people who had been disadvantaged by apartheid. And if, as I suspected, the answer was 'no' or, at least, 'unlikely', then why were these kinds of developments being accepted, encouraged and even

promoted across a multitude of spaces in Durban? And so I began a search for answers that would ultimately lead to this manuscript.

This journey and its product, however, have not turned out how I initially thought they would! Naively (I now recognise), I imagined that delving a bit further into the fascinating body of urban studies literature which covers urban development processes and going out to do some good interviews would lead me to those answers. I wasn't expecting a totally linear pathway of 'production' but I did expect that, with some interpretation and a few loop-backs in the process, the linkages between concepts and actions and literature would appear and that they would be fairly direct connections. This is not how things have turned out…

Instead, I began the search for a research route that would allow me to probe 'the city' in order to answer my questions and in doing so was drawn to an examination of public private partnerships, which are the vehicles for decision-making that led to the production of flagship development in Durban. At first I thought I would try to understand just one PPP, The Durban Growth Coalition, but one partnership became enmeshed with another and, once I'd untangled all the background information, media reports and hearsay, I ended up with a study encompassing two very different kinds of partnerships and two projects stemming from partnership activities.

With this empirical focus in mind, I searched through literature on cities and globalisation, space and place, urban governance, and urban regime theory as potential theoretical pathways to the answers I was seeking. None of the possible explanations I found there fully satisfied me and so I searched onwards into the sometimes rocky terrain of neoliberalism. Still not satisfied, but now immensely curious about the possibility that the localised adoption of neoliberalism may provide some insights as to how these flagship, boosterist projects were emerging in my city, I began to shift the focus of my questions. Shouldn't my research allow me to account for the *extent* to which neoliberalism was influential in Durban? My qualitative sensibilities, however, questioned what framework of ideas could provide any certainty in this regard.

In the midst of these theoretical excursions, I undertook the data collection process. Initially a longitudinal study of related newspaper articles was undertaken. Then, in 2004, the promise of additional funding drew me to collect the data on Riverhorse Valley earlier than I expected. This was followed by the interviews for the main survey and some further data collection

related to the partnership-based projects in 2006 and 2007. Useful documentary sources were gathered and meetings attended along the way. Then came the data interpretation and I tried to make sense of how my respondents and documents related to PPPs and development were conflating disparate development agendas, how they almost seemed schizophrenic – wholly supportive of a redress-focussed developmental agenda in one moment and then in the next breath reliant on global competitiveness.

In order to get to grips with what was appearing in the data, I trekked back into theory-land numerous times and (re-)embarked on a process of wrangling with theory and data which often felt as though I was simply running around inside my own head. That 'running around in my head' led me down all sorts of paths, through the intellectual and emotional landscape of excitement and enjoyment, frustration and even grave self doubt as to whether I was remotely capable of developing some reasonable, useful, and acceptable ideas. This was a project far more challenging, circuitous and rich than I had expected. Ultimately, I have collected together a set of, perhaps disparate, ideas through much hard work and a few serendipitous moments. These ideas shifted my thinking away from the disquiet of examining the 'extent' of influence of neoliberalism to developing instead, a formulation of 'how' ideas intersect within places to create the kinds of material realities I have witnessed within my home city of Durban. Hopefully, these formulations will be useful elsewhere, in understanding the explanations of other cities.

6.7   Conclusion

Building on a philosophical foundation of social constructivism, the study addresses the research questions through the construction, assembling and interpretation of varied kinds of primary and secondary data, including both qualitative and quantitative data, which have been collected and amassed from a variety of sources. As evident in Figure 6.1, presented earlier, the primary data encompasses a main set of interviews which addresses the developmental context, the two public private partnerships and the two projects being researched. In addition, a smaller set of interviews and a quantitative questionnaire survey were conducted to provide additional primary data on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. Overall, 40 interviews were conducted and 200 questionnaires were administered. Furthermore, documentary and observational data have strongly supported the interview and questionnaire data, providing further primary evidence for the study. Thematic interpretation of the qualitative data has been undertaken, as well as descriptive statistical analysis of the quantitative data.

It is recognised that all this data, notwithstanding rigorous collection and interpretation processes, can only create a version of events (Cloke et al, 2004). The conclusions drawn from the interpretation of this data serve to assemble a new understanding of public private partnerships, neoliberalism and urban development in Durban, South Africa in the mid to late 2000s. It is believed that this understanding will contribute to the theorisation of development processes in similar (and quite different) cities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ENTANGLEMENT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IMPERATIVES

7.1 Introduction

The analytical argument arising from the interpretation of primary data collected for this study is presented in the following three empirical chapters. Collectively, these chapters offer an examination of the relationship between the global neoliberal economic growth paradigm and the ways in which public private partnerships for urban development negotiate the competing imperatives of post-apartheid redress and redistribution and economic growth. The argument is initiated in this chapter (Chapter Seven) through a demonstration of the negotiation of development imperatives in public private partnerships in Durban through a process which is here termed 'entanglement'. Chapter Seven further presents the ways in which the entanglement of development imperatives incorporates the tenets of neoliberalism, particularly in the form of a strong imperative for economic growth. However, it is argued here that the entanglement of imperatives within the PPPs actually shifts the nature of the economic growth imperative. Consequently, it is contended that there is a qualitative shift within the tenets of neoliberalism. This shift is evident in the ways in which typically neoliberal agendas and processes come to incorporate a concern for, and practices of, redress.

Chapter Eight furthers the discussion through a detailed examination of the relationship between the entangled negotiation of imperatives and the tenets and process of neoliberalism. The implications of the presence of neoliberalism within the entangled imperatives is subsequently examined, highlighting the ways in which this relationship results in the public private partnerships undertaking development which is reflective of a typical neoliberalisation of the urban landscape. However, it is further argued that the qualitative shift in the tenets of neoliberalism produce a shift in the process of neoliberalisation. Consequently, it is asserted that these shifts produce an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is contingent upon the context in which it is formed and implemented (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

The relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of development imperatives within PPPs described above is influenced by a number of contingent conditions related to the place in which it has emerged. These conditions include the networks of affiliation and interest active within the partnerships, leaders within the urban context, the local embeddedness of capital, the legislative context and the overall political, economic and social shifts in the local context of the eThekwini Municipality in South Africa. Thus, further to the initial arguments,

the role of these contingent conditions in determining the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of imperatives within PPPs is addressed in Chapter Eight.

The third part of the empirical analysis (in Chapter Nine) concentrates specifically on the projects undertaken by the PPPs. The assessment of these projects provides insight into the materialisation of the entanglement of development imperatives through the formation of development plans, processes and the outcomes of the projects themselves. Furthermore, the examination of these projects shows them to be the products of a process of neoliberalisation which is qualitatively shifted through the negotiation of urban development imperatives and their articulation with the tenets of neoliberalism. Chapter Ten concludes the study by drawing together the main arguments in the previous chapters and reflecting on their theoretical significance in the discipline of geography in the consideration of neoliberalism and its role in cities. In Chapter Ten, the discussion turns to considering the usefulness of relational concepts, such as entanglement, for furthering geographical understandings of the ways in which 'actually existing neoliberalisms' are produced in cities.

This chapter, Chapter Seven, examines the negotiation of development imperatives in Durban's PPPs for urban development. Firstly, the imperatives for development, which are articulated by representatives of the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, are presented (section 7.2). Thereafter, the discussion presents an interpretation of the ways in which role-players in the partnerships discursively inter-relate these imperatives as a means of negotiating their existence in the city's overall development agenda (section 7.3). To this end, the notion of entanglement provides fresh insight into the negotiation and inter-relationship of these imperatives, particularly through discursive means. Section 7.3 thus examines the production of the entanglement of development imperatives and its overarching characteristics. Finally, the discussion turns to consider the presence of neoliberalism within the entanglement of imperatives (section 7.4) and illustrates how the tenets of neoliberalism are shifted through their interweaving within the entanglement of the imperatives of economic growth and redress.

7.2 Urban Development Imperatives Articulated Within the Public Private Partnerships

Representatives of both business and local government in Durban's public private partnerships articulate a number of development requirements for the city. The development

needs presented by interview respondents, as summarised in Table 7.1, are discussed below.[99] These development needs can be categorised as contributing towards either an economic growth imperative or an imperative which asserts the need for redress and redistribution in the post-apartheid city in order to improve overall quality of life for urban residents. Hereafter, the imperatives will be referred to as an 'economic growth' imperative and as an imperative for 'redress' for ease of reference.[100]

Table 7.1: Imperatives for Development in Durban (Source: all interview respondents)

Economic growth imperative	Redress and redistribution imperative
Economic development	Black economic empowerment
Growth and capacity building of small businesses	Increased service provision
	Improved urban infrastructure
Targeted improvement of specific sectors (e.g. tourism, textiles, vehicle manufacturing)	Maintenance of services and infrastructure
	Poverty eradication
Creation of a positive image for the city	Housing provision
Improved global competitiveness	Addressing the inequalities of apartheid
Improved employment levels/job creation	
Reduction of crime	
Limiting environmental impacts of development	

Within the range of development needs presented by business and local government that can be conceptualised as constituting an economic growth imperative, there is a strong focus on development which will directly strengthen the private sector and will improve the overall economic environment in the city. To this end, the economic growth imperative was defined as including the need for economically-focussed development projects, the enhancement of the small business sector within the city and a concentrated effort by government to support critical or struggling sectors within the economy (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). In these economic growth endeavours, municipal and private sector representatives view the state's role as being a supporter and enabler of private sector activities such that business can operate most effectively, ultimately

---

[99] These development needs in the city are presented by interviewees in response to direct questioning on the topic but also emerge when respondents are discussing other issues. Evidence is also inferred from what people said about development-related issues.

[100] The latter imperative is sometimes referred to as a 'pro-poor' imperative but in the contemporary South African city this imperative also entails a need for overcoming the inequalities wrought through the apartheid system (Pieterse, 2008; van Donk et al, 2008).

building a more vibrant and profitable urban economy (Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).[101]

Central to this economic growth imperative, according to all the respondents, is a concern for the improved competitiveness of the city as an arena for profitable investment and economic activity. Furthermore, according to senior municipal officials (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007: L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Massom, 12/4/2007) and business representatives (Barton, 6/3/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007) this imperative incorporates an entrepreneurial approach to development which promotes the creation of a more positive image for the city, particularly in order to attract externally-based contributors to the economy such as foreign investors and tourists. The interest in boosterist entrepreneurial development activities related to the service economy and tourism and the desire for foreign direct investment are typically understood as representative of an urban development agenda associated with neoliberalism and a related concern for progressing up the global urban hierarchy (Acioly, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

As well as the kinds of development needed to facilitate an economic growth agenda, respondents presented a number of development goals which can be categorised as components of an imperative for redress and redistribution needed to address the inequalities within the post-apartheid city (Sim, 29/8/2006; Redman, 6/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; McMenamim, 8/3/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). These goals include improved empowerment of the formerly disadvantaged black business sector (Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamim, 8/3/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007), an increase in housing provision (Moonsammy, 14/11/2006) and an overall effort to eradicate poverty. Furthermore, the need for increased social equality was highlighted through calls for more widespread and efficient provision of basic services and the improvement of urban infrastructure such as that required for transportation and bulk service delivery (Sim, 29/8/2006; Redman, 6/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). Ongoing maintenance of existing services is also viewed as a necessary development goal in the city, in order to prevent urban decay (Barnett, 8/11/2006).

Because redress is viewed as an essential part of urban transformation there is support for development activities which address inequalities, basic service provision and inadequate

---

[101] Further evidence of the support for the enabling role of the state is presented in section 7.3.3, p177.

quality of life in the city (Sim, 29/8/2006; Redman, 6/10/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). The following comments by a planner in the eThekwini Municipality provide a good example of the concern for urban development activities which address an imperative of redress and transformation:

> [development is] about housing people, it's really about improving the conditions of the Umlazi complex and the KwaMashu/Inanda complex…because obviously the manner in which those townships were developed there was one major road in and out so it's just a nightmare for everybody, so it's really been about putting in new access roads, upgrading facilities, putting in lighting, …giving people options…a lot of big clean up projects, getting a lot of strategic road projects on the go (Redman, 6/10/2006).

These priorities for urban development are indicative of the concerns for resolving problems which reduce the quality of life of urban communities in the developing world (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Zetter, 2002; Perlman, 2005; Stevens et al, 2006; Davis, 2007). Furthermore, since respondents raise these aspects of development in tandem with those associated with economic growth, the development imperatives in Durban are representative of the dilemma facing so many contemporary cities in which often divergent priorities for urban development must be urgently addressed with few resources and little capacity (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Zetter, 2002; Parnell and Robinson, 2006).

Further to these goals, three priorities for development presented by respondents can be considered as contributing to both economic growth and redress imperatives. These priorities are the need for improved levels of employment within the city (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007), a concern for a reduction in crime (Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007) and the need to limit or mitigate the environmental impacts which can accrue due to urban development (Sim, 29/8/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006). It was expressed by business and government that in each instance, the failure to meet these needs is likely to diminish the capacity of the private sector to operate effectively within the city. With regard to the impacts of crime, a high profile member of the private sector and former municipal official indicated that the private sector stood to lose much needed skilled employees if crime rates continued to remain high: "we've go two foreigners on our top management structure, both have been mugged… they don't want to stay, they want to go immediately, but we need their skills" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). In addition, unless these needs are addressed, it was felt that low employment, high crime and a poor quality environment could have a strong negative impact on the overall quality of life in the city (Barton, 6/3/2007; Masson, 12/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).

The development needs articulated above by interview respondents are typical of the competing imperatives in developing world cities which create a dilemma for urban governments because they need to be simultaneously undertaken to meet the needs of urban populations (Perlman, 2005; Stevens et al, 2006; Pieterse, 2008). The competition between these development imperatives, typically occurring in resource-poor and rapidly urbanising contexts, requires that role-players in urban arenas try to urgently accommodate these competing needs with limited budgets and few skills (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Pieterse, 2008). The pressure to undertake the quite different types of development required to address the economic growth and redress priorities in cities can create friction amongst actors who prioritise different imperatives and can also result in the selection of development paths in which one or other of the imperatives is poorly addressed or largely ignored (Pieterse, 2008). When one of the imperatives is prioritised to the detriment of the other, this can also incite protest by sectors such as business or civil society (Ballard et al, 2006; Leitner et al, 2007). The need to address the competition between imperatives and the friction this can induce is further pronounced in PPPs as role-players with greatly differing priorities for development must negotiate their differences in order to work together effectively to achieve improvements in the city (Mullin, 2002; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; McCarthy, 2007).

Although typical of contemporary development pressures in cities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Zetter, 2002; Stevens et al, 2006), the imperatives of economic growth and redress described above have played a role in the development processes undertaken in Durban for some time (Pillay, 1994; 1996; Freund and Padayachee, 2002a; Nel et al, 2003). However, as national and global circumstances have changed, the nature of the economic growth imperative and the redress imperative have shifted. It is worthwhile noting the changing formulations of the economic growth imperative in Durban, as these shifts illustrate the rise in importance of entrepreneurial, neoliberal tendencies within the urban development agenda in the recent past. In addition, the imperative for redress and redistribution has continued to strengthen in the post apartheid era. Thus, this discussion reflects briefly on the historical emergence of these development priorities.

South African cities, such as Durban, have always been capitalist, seeking improved economies and capitalist activity (Lester et al, 2000). In the segregated and apartheid cities, economic development agendas were largely national in focus, prioritising the need to draw economic growth to Durban from other cities in the country and sought to grow the local manufacturing and tourist sectors (Scott, 1994; 2003; Maharaj, 1996; Maylam, 1996). In the

1980s and early 1990s, there is evidence of a strong focus on economic development as a critical urban development imperative (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998; McCarthy, 2002; Robbins, 2005). Post 1994, economic growth priorities have become increasingly influenced by the global context in which South Africa's participation has escalated (see Chapter Four). An economic growth imperative, influenced by neoliberalism and intensified forms of globalisation, has strongly arisen (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002; Bond, 2003; 2005a; McDonald, 2008). This has occurred because the state has become more neoliberal and globally focussed, especially since 1996 with the introduction of GEAR as the national macro economic policy and the increasing involvement of South Africa in global affairs (Lester et al, 2000; Hart, 2002; Pillay et al, 2006).

In this context, the economic growth imperative has not abandoned its search for growth through locally focussed activities such as skills development, strategic support and the support and protection of important industries (Robbins, 2005; Pillay et al, 2006). However, currently, there is much more attention paid to entrepreneurial approaches, and the achievement of economic growth is perceived to be largely impossible without improved global competitiveness, a positive urban image and foreign investment (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002; Robbins, 2005; McDonald, 2008). Thus the economic growth agenda has shifted from one prioritising the national scale and industrial productivity to becoming one which is strongly characterised by the kinds of entrepreneurial and competition-focussed economic development priorities presented by the actors within Durban's PPPs.

In parallel with the shifts in the economic growth imperative, the imperative for redress has emerged as a powerful agenda for national, and, thereby, urban, transformation in the post apartheid era (Parnell et al, 2000; Boraine et al, 2006; Harrison et al, 2008; Van Donk et al, 2008). To this end, redress and redistribution have been viewed as critical in overcoming the inequalities within South African society and the poor quality of life of the majority of the country's citizens, most of whom live in urban areas (SACN, 2006). This development agenda has been strengthened as South Africa has advanced through its transformation. The enactment of the RDP in the 1990s, the mandated practise of integrated development planning, the institutionalisation of policies such as those for housing provision, land reform and local economic development and the abundant post apartheid legislation meant to address the spatial, political, and social inequalities of the apartheid state have all contributed to the

rise of this agenda.[102] The strengthening of the imperative for redress has meant that in the process of transformation being undertaken in South African cities, the redress imperative now competes with the economic growth imperative, including its neoliberal tendencies. While this competition is typical of many cities, it produces a situation in which both these imperatives need to be accommodated in urban development agendas and must therefore be negotiated.

The following section examines the ways in which these competing imperatives for urban development are currently negotiated within PPPs. To this end, it is argued that these imperatives are constructed as priorities which are interconnected, overlapping, mutually reliant and even conflated. These constructions are a critical part of the negotiation of the development imperatives. Such negotiation contributes to successful partnering and the addressing of the development dilemma as it exists in contemporary cities.

7.3   Entanglement: The Interweaving of Priorities for Economic Growth and Post Apartheid Redress

This section examines the ways in which interview respondents involved in Durban's PPPs present the urban development imperatives of redress and economic growth as inter-related. The nature of these inter-relationships between development imperatives in PPPs can be usefully interpreted as one of entanglement. As discussed in Chapter Three, the concept of entanglement is one which foregrounds relational thinking (Massey, 2000; Sharp et al, 2000). Thus, an entangled relationship is one in which the 'components', be they social groups, individuals, ideas or discourses, are closely bound and entwined such they co-exist and are co-constructed, even if this manner of inter-relating is resisted or unwanted (Massey, 2000; Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). The entangled inter-relationships of development imperatives expressed by the respondents are presented below through an examination of how they have discursively interwoven the priorities for economic growth and post apartheid redress. Entanglement is clearly evident in the enmeshing, co-existence and overlapping of these imperatives as they are articulated by representatives of the PPPs over time and space.

Within the articulations evident in the interview data, various discourses serve to produce an entanglement of economic growth and redress imperatives. Firstly, the entanglement of development imperatives is evident in their inter-relating through expressions of a 'need for

---

[102] See Chapters Five and Six for details on the changes associated with an imperative of redress and redistribution.

balance' (section 7.3.1). The expression of economic growth as incorporating the goals of post apartheid redress and redistribution also produces an entanglement of economic growth and redress imperatives (section 7.3.2). Furthermore, the discourses of urban competitiveness and trickle down, along with their associated metaphors, are used to enmesh aspects of the imperative of redress within concerns for economic growth such that they can be conceptualised as entangled (section 7.3.3). In addition, the entanglement of urban development imperatives is produced by discourses which conflate redress and economic growth (section 7.3.4). Important characteristics of this entanglement of the economic growth and redress imperatives which emerge from the discursive inter-relating of imperatives are discussed in section 7.3.5. These characteristics include the continuing possibility that one imperative dominates another, the discomfort present within the merging of imperatives, and the dynamism of the form of entanglement through which these imperatives are inter-related.

7.3.1   The inter-relating of imperatives through expressions of a 'need for balance'

It has been argued that the economic growth and redress imperatives are present in an inter-related mode. A dominant theme expressed in this inter-relationship is the range of arguments presented by respondents who express 'a need for balance'. The seeking of balance by business and official role-players in urban development thus predicates the manner in which imperatives come to be interwoven such that they are implicated within each other.

When addressing the question of how to meet the development needs of Durban, a number of respondents, representing both the public and private sectors, expressed the need to achieve a balance between development imperatives as critical to the future of the city (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007). For example, the former CEO of a large local paper milling company stated:

> "Talk to me, I talk like a capitalist – we've got to spend billions, we've got to build new factories, we've got to put in new harbours, we need a new airport and then you talk to the social community and their needs are often very very modest, they just need better health care, they need...unless you achieve all of those you will achieve none of them, so *its about a balance*" (Barton, 6/3/2007).

Tembe (15/5/2007), a powerful black businessman in Durban and the then incoming CEO of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, was adamant that:

> "the private sector also has to come to the mindset…that yes, profits are important but for us to sustain this country going forward, because we are a developing society, we need to plough some of our profits into the communities out there…*we need a balance*." (Tembe, 15/5/2007).

Tembe (15/5/2007) further argues that even though the interests of business and local government 'are not the same' there is the need for some sort of compromise or negotiation:

> "They [local government] have got to *balance out their act* as well, while economic growth is important but the welfare is also critical…but the challenge is that both of us have to agree that economic growth is critical and also have to agree that the fundamentals that drive our interests in our respective areas of performance are not the same. We have to try and *strike that balance* all the time".

The seeking of balance within development is indicative of recognition by both the private and public sectors that there is a need to take account of both the growth and redress imperatives for development in Durban. Furthermore, the articulation of the notion of 'balance' offers opportunities for the interweaving of the imperatives in unique and innovative ways since it requires a shift away from a dualistic understanding of the imperatives. Instead, the concept of balance itself, begins to construct the entanglement of the imperatives in a more relational fashion.

The eThekwini Municipality's deputy mayor expressed his concern for the 'seeking of balance' metaphorically, as a tightrope walk:

> "In a kind of broad context we have to balance the investment in the economy with providing basic services, the social side of society. So you got to build homes for the poor and the homeless people, we've got to provide basic service like water, electricity and sanitation, so you take people out of the misery of informal settlement and give them a much more decent and dignified life. On the other hand, in terms of development, it's about building the economy and investing in the right kinds of projects… So it's a tough one, *walking the tightrope,* because whilst you want to grow the economy, create jobs at the very same time you've got to satisfy the needs of communities. So investment in the broad development context must be seen as being balanced, taking care of peoples needs and at the same time building the economy" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

It is argued here that the metaphor of walking a tightrope invokes a sense of 'the seam' and is thereby indicative of the ways in which the encompassing of development imperatives within a search for balance begins to create their entanglement (Nuttall, 2009).

'Walking the tightrope' is a metaphor which invokes images of needing to tread carefully, slowly and to steadily take a line, at a significant height. This is a precarious process since on either side of the line is the peril of falling to the ground. The tightrope itself can be envisioned as a seam, holding together the possibility of remaining upright and of falling down, with the act of balancing occurring along the seam mediating the interplay between the possibility of success and failure; life and death. Metaphorically speaking, the danger of

falling and possible death, if balance is not maintained, emphasises the importance of keeping upright.

As a metaphor for negotiating the balance between economic growth and redress imperatives, 'walking the tightrope' highlights the risks inherent in the failure to maintain a balance between the disparate but critical development imperatives within the city. In order to avoid the dire political, economic and social consequences of failing to successfully achieve the appropriate kinds of urban development, there must be a process of engaging in a 'balancing act' on the seam. It is 'on the seam', or 'balancing on the tightrope', that the imperatives for development cannot be viewed as two separate goals but as intricately inter-woven so that their interplay allows for the possibility of successfully negotiating the achievement of both economic growth and redress goals.

Further to his invoking of the metaphor of 'walking the tightrope', L.Naidoo (6/3/2007) repeatedly talks of undertaking redress-focussed and economic growth-focussed development activities 'at the same time'.[103] This expression of the need for simultaneity illustrates the manner in which actors in the city interlink the imperatives of economic growth and redress. They do not envision the implementation of one priority in isolation from the other but interweave them through a temporal discourse, 'at the same time', that places them in tandem; as needing to be negotiated simultaneously, just as the open spaces on either side of the tightrope are negotiated concurrently, through the balancing act of walking the line.

This temporal aspect of the interweaving of the development imperatives reflects entanglement as being constituted by a development process that simultaneously embraces the needs of the present, the history of their production and the necessity of addressing all aspects of transformation concurrently (Mbembe, 2001; Nuttall, 2009). The 'need for balance' between economic growth and redress imperatives and the necessity of simultaneously addressing these imperatives can be interpreted as reflecting an underlying consciousness of the pressure to transform cities in South Africa, given the apartheid history which produced many of the aspects of the current development priorities. Thus, the past is interwoven in the present expression of development priorities, producing an entanglement of the development imperatives and the historical contexts through which they have arisen.

---

[103] For further evidence and an associated discussion of L.Naidoo's (6/3/2007) invocation of 'at the same time' see section 7.3.4, p180.

In addition to the discourses expressing 'the need for balance' and simultaneity, the entanglement of the imperatives of economic growth and redress is produced through discourses which draw the need for redress into concerns for growth and which rely on concepts such as competitiveness and its associated metaphors to inter-relate these imperatives. This theme, through which the discursive production of entanglement can be understood, is presented in the following discussion.

7.3.2   The enmeshing of redress into an economic growth imperative

A central theme in the primary data is that entanglement occurs through the interweaving of the imperative of redress within a more dominant economic growth imperative. This form of entanglement overcomes the traditional competition between the two development imperatives.

The evidence regarding the development priorities for Durban, shows that economic growth is the most commonly cited and strongly articulated development imperative for Durban by both government (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007) and business (Deighton, 26/11/2006; Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). The imperative for economic growth is, however, not viewed as an isolated imperative since respondents express a belief that the benefits of economic growth can be used to address socio-economic inequality within Durban and South Africa. The dominance of economic growth is exemplified by a representative of the private sector who stated: "a country with no money, with social problems like we have, is a recipe for a real disaster, the only way out of this mess is keep the economic growth going" (Brink, 4/4/2007). A concern for the interweaving of economic and social development is evident in the following statement by a director of the city's investment promotion association:

> "There is no getting away from the fact that we have a huge social development agenda, huge social development need in Durban. By the same token, we have a huge economic development and business development opportunity and the two are not mutually exclusive" (Curtis, 27/2/2007).

Here, Curtis (27/2/2007) clearly rejects the binary of economic and social development by classifying these two imperatives as being 'not mutually exclusive'. By rejecting this binary and, instead, discursively producing a strong inter-relationship between the two development agendas, Curtis (27/2/2007) and other actors within the PPPs are interweaving these imperatives and thereby producing their entanglement (Sharp et al, 2000).

The inclusion of redress into economic growth is further evident in the kinds of changes put forward by interviewees as examples of ways to achieve economic growth. Representatives of the private sector argued that the achievement of economic growth is best enacted through increased growth rates, increased employment and improved equality within the economic arena (Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). To this end, rapidly increasing economic growth rates which exceed existing goals for growth are highlighted by the private sector as critical to producing overall transformation within the city (Barton, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). Furthermore, providing employment, a social goal, is often prioritised by business (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007) and government (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006) as an aspect of economic growth. The concern for increased employment rates in the city is exemplified by comments from a municipal official who argued that municipal officials and elected representatives "realise that, in the long term, job creation is crucial to the sustainability of our economy and also for the growth of our economy" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

Aspects of transformation within the economy can further contribute to economic growth, thus facilitating the enmeshing of the imperatives of economic growth and redress. Business representatives, especially those from the black business sector and the Durban Chamber of Commerce and Industry, feel that there is a strong role for redress within approaches adopted to improve the functioning and structure of the business environment (Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). Measures to advance the contribution of black businesses in the mainstream economy and, consequently, to help to address overall employment equity are viewed as vital to the process of economic growth (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).

Respondents from both the public and private sector further argue that there is a need to bring smaller businesses into the development arena and for the building of skills in small businesses and in sectors where skills are in short supply (Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). In addition, a representative of both black business and the Durban Chamber of Commerce argued that there is a need for a greater focus on redress and empowerment within the business sector since past inequalities in the economy have created an deeply unequal business environment and the currently limited response to these inequalities within the economy and in society place long term limitations on the overall success of businesses (Tembe, 15/5/2007). To this end, the private sector needs "to understand the more they

normalise the environment in which they operate these businesses, the more their businesses are likely to be sustained over a period of time." (Tembe, 15/5/2007).

These proposed measures to improve economic growth cited by respondents highlight the need to weave redress priorities into an economic growth agenda, thus facilitating a relationship in which these development priorities co-exist and are enmeshed. This mutual involvement of the imperatives with each other can be considered an example of the 'foldedness' (Sanders, 2002; Nuttall, 2009) of an entangled relationship in which each part becomes implicated in the other and cannot be fully understood outside of their mutual involvement.

The complicity (Nuttall, 2009) of the redress and economic growth imperatives is further evident in statements on development priorities made by a municipal official:

> "it's important that we do everything in our means to create employment, eradicate poverty. And once you create employment the ripple effect [is] that people are employed, there's money in their pockets, they pay for your services… The impact of that is… it'll be less of a burden for the city itself because remember the city only has so much of funds and at the moment we are supplying, we are providing the free basic services etc. but their dependence on the state and the city would obviously, over a period of time, diminish when people are employed. So local economic development is one of the mandates given to local councils in our municipality" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

What is evident here is that employment is seen as a means of creating independence and self sufficiency in individuals and communities. This argument rests on the assumption that programmes to improve the urban economy will include measures for poverty alleviation such that employment levels in the city are improved. Because employment enables individuals to better support themselves, they will be empowered as consumers of services and other economic goods and therefore less reliant on the state for free or subsidised basic services. The improved sovereignty of the individual thus reduces the burden on the state to meet basic needs, as would have been the case in a welfare-oriented state (Painter, 2000; Mayo, 2005). Thus the desire for the benefits of a programme which improves the economy has 'folded' within it a concern for reducing inequality, producing an intimate relationship between these development imperatives (Nuttall, 2009).

It is evident that conceptualisations of the means to achieve economic growth and the purpose of economic growth strongly incorporate elements of development which would typically be considered part of a pro-poor agenda. These processes of inter-relating the development imperatives produce an intimate relationship through which the imperatives become co-

constituted and mutually implicated and can thereby be considered to be entangled (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). This enmeshing of growth and redress imperatives is further evident in the discourses used to assert the need for urban competitiveness as a means of achieving economic development within the city. This theme related to the interweaving of imperatives is examined below.

7.3.3   An enmeshing of imperatives within the discourse of urban competitiveness

Intrinsic to the prioritisation of economic growth presented by respondents is the perspective that growth should be achieved through increased global competitiveness. The following section examines the discourse of urban competitiveness and its associated discourses, particularly the metaphors of 'trickle down', as central themes in the primary data which support an interpretation of the negotiation of development imperatives as entangled.

Both the municipality and the private sector believe that the city needs to be increasingly competitive in the global economy and must therefore undertake development which addresses this concern. From the municipal perspective, the deputy mayor argued that:

> "In terms of the investment destination, we've got to be globally competitive, of course we are seeking investments that can go to Sydney, San Francisco, London, or Ireland so, and, of course, [to] the emerging economies of Brazil and India and China, so we've got to really be geared up to take on the competition" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

Representatives of powerful capital in the city also support competitiveness as a means of growth:

> I think we *need* development so that, at the outset, economic growth, making ourselves more competitive, building our economies is essential for South Africa. The city has to be Durban PTY LTD. and it has to be able to compete… If we achieve significant economic growth and significant improvements in living standards and significant improvements in employment levels we are going to become that much more attractive to people... so I'm a huge proponent of that" (Deighton, 22/11/2006).

> "Where there is a global market, then you must be globally competitive. There are a lot of things that we have that are unique and if you have a unique product or a unique experience then you do have to be globally competitive" (Barton, 6/3/2007).

The need for improved competitiveness is seen as unavoidable even by those city officials whose portfolios focus primarily on development for redress and redistribution. This is evident in an argument, presented by the current municipal manager, that, given the nature of

global capitalism, the quality of life in the city could not be improved other than through increased global competitiveness,

> "clearly we live in a world where globalisation rules... The reality is that capital has become more concentrated and to a general extent, dispersed itself from Africa. Now, unless you change those global capital relations you are not going to be able to sort of argue that suddenly Durban can satisfy all its own needs in terms of that [improved quality of life]. [The] reason is quite simply, I mean, a major part of our economy here is manufacturing and logistics, those two things are highly linked to the international circuits of capital so, I don't think that [not being competitive] would work" (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

One argument for the creation of improved competitiveness is increasing the opportunities for foreign investment and new business growth, predominantly through making Durban and South Africa a cheaper investment destination (Tembe, 15/5/2007). Improved competitiveness is also viewed by private developers and the municipality as being created by municipal investment in urban infrastructure and facilities. Barton (6/3/2007), the DGC co-chair and a long-time industry representative, stated that such investment is likely to make the city more attractive to international business and the global tourism sector. While a deputy municipal manager argued that, "when you want to be a global player… you want to compete with the best in the world, then you've got to have the attractions, you've got to invest correctly" (Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

In discussing the roles of the state and the private sector in achieving the abovementioned measures for improved competitiveness, government is predominantly viewed by role players as the actor responsible for facilitating development and for making it easier for investment to take place (Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). Many respondents from the business sector believe that the government should play an enabling role in establishing a context which is conducive to development:

> "The only party that can create real growth is business because business is the entrepreneur. Government is the facilitator, they create the right environment for growth and I would hope that government acknowledges that, that they don't build factories, they create the right environment, make land available, make infrastructure available" (Barton, 6/3/2007).

In this vein, a number of the business respondents hold the view that the city needs to unblock problematic bureaucratic delays and barriers and to undertake investment in the built environment, in order to facilitate new private sector investment in the city (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

Furthermore, the view that the city should be responsible for creating favourable conditions for investment, and hence improved competitiveness, is also held by some municipal

respondents (Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). This stance on the role of the city in enabling the market is exemplified in arguments presented by one of eThekwini Municipality's deputy city managers that "the city creates the conditions for the private sector to invest in the city" (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). To this end, the role of the municipality within the partnerships is seen to be the provision of infrastructure needed by the private sector and the smoothing of the project implementation process such that the private sector is able to carry out the development projects in their best interest and those of the city (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007).

These arguments for increasing the city's competitiveness are typical of the pro-growth arguments adopted increasingly by cities and urban development practitioners (Painter, 2000; Sheppard, 2000). They arise as a response to the understanding that the contemporary development needs of cities are driven by the processes and context of intensive globalisation (Pieterse, 2008). These responses are also reflective of the predominance of an understanding of cities as existing within a global urban hierarchy (Robinson, 2006; 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2006). Furthermore, the promotion of competition and the reliance on the municipality to facilitate and support the kinds of development necessary to improve urban competitiveness, expressed by the respondents, is evidence of an underlying acceptance of two of the central tenets of neoliberalism. These are the arguments that the competition is good (Sheppard, 2000) and that state should enable the market such that it is able to operate most effectively, thereby producing economic growth (Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005).

Given this strongly belief in the need for pro-growth development, the enmeshing of redress and growth imperatives is nevertheless evident in the rationale for asserting that urban competitiveness must be increased. In a manner which is typical of development policies in many cities (Fainstein, 1996; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Bond, 2005; Pacione, 2005; McCarthy, 2007), interview respondents link economic development to social development goals through arguments which assert that the benefits of economic growth and increased urban competitiveness will ultimately spread, or 'trickle down', to urban residents and thereby facilitate the meeting of social development priorities. The use of a discourse of 'trickle down' is apparent in following example of motivations for economic development provided by a senior municipal official:

> "poverty needs to be addressed and we need housing; [there are] 170 000 people in shacks who need homes. If the city can get income for these developments it will have more money and can then speed up delivery to the poor" (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006).

Curtis (27/2/2007), a strong advocate of improved urban competitiveness, provides a particularly cogent economic argument for the 'trickle down' of benefits:

> "Get more private sector investment because the more economic development and the more business expansion that we get, the more money we as a city earn in rates and services revenues, which we can then apply to the social development needs. So the two are not mutually exclusive. It isn't just a case of I can only do that or that…. I understand that certain areas social housing is absolute priority, in other areas it's not so clear cut, in other areas you've got a bit of a choice and… I'm advocating that on those grey areas and certainly on the areas where it is absolutely clear that we should be going economic development verses social, the government investment in the grey issues and the clear economic development areas will pay larger and more immediate dividends as opposed to making all the investments in social development areas because the economic investments would pay financial dividends ad infinitum and would create annuity style revenue streams for the city to then spend more and more and more in the social development areas."

This argument was supported by a city official argued that "the city has to be competitive for residents in Durban to benefit" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

In the 'trickle down' discourse, the rationale for economic growth is expressed as the belief that if growth occurs it has spin offs, or trickle down effects, that allow for the dispersal of benefits to poor and disadvantaged communities, which would ultimately improve their quality of life and reduce inequalities (Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). This argument stems from the conviction that economic growth in the city will create the resources able to be reinvested in socially-focussed development (Fainstein, 1996; Bond, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Pacione, 2005; McCarthy, 2007). The discourse of 'trickle down', which is strongly linked to arguments for urban competition (Swyngedouw et al, 2002), argues that these resources are created by increasing the rates base of the city, either through increases in land value as property development occurs or through larger taxes paid by businesses (Silal, 7/11/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

In these arguments, the implementation of new developments through partnerships are viewed as assisting with meeting more redress-focussed priorities across the city, such as community development projects implemented with municipal income derived from the partnership activities (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007). As mentioned previously, the employment opportunities stemming from the implementation of partnership projects are viewed by both government and business as contributing to the improved wellbeing of urban residents (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007). Thus, in many instances, a discourse of

'trickle down' is used implicitly to enmesh a concern for redress within the arguments for urban competitiveness. Even as economic growth and competitiveness are viewed as vital aspects of urban development, they are argued as being a foundational step towards redress and can thereby be viewed as entangled with social goals.

The arguments pointing to a discourse of 'trickle down' often take on a metaphorical form, with respondents referring to development which could 'increase the size of the pie' or 'fatten the goose that lays the golden egg'. This is clearly evident in an argument in support of economic growth made by an interviewee: "It's a case of lets fatten up the golden goose and she'll spit out a lot more golden eggs and we can then have more eggs to dish out into those social investment areas" (Curtis, 27/2/2007). Furthermore, in expressing a concern for bureaucratic delays and lows skills levels in Durban which limit economic growth, a private sector representative argued that, "unemployment is not coming down [reducing] here and the reason is because we are busy killing the goose that is laying the egg, that should be laying the egg on the ground" (Tembe, 15/5/2007).

"Growing the pie" or "growing the pot" are other metaphors for the benefits of economic development that are used by both public and private sector respondents to justify activities which are boosterist in nature (Curtis, 27/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). As argued by a former head of the economic development department of the municipality:

> "Although it receives considerable payment from national government, the largest part of local rates will come from business and if business grows and expands so does the pot grow and expand and therefore our ability to do socio-economic projects grows" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

These metaphors are used by respondents to describe the way in which increased economic activity produces socially beneficial outcomes. In the metaphor of 'growing the pie', the financial resources produced by economic activity are equated with the size of the pie. Therefore, if economic activity increases so does the size of the pie. As the pie becomes larger, additional or larger 'slices' of resources can be used to fund social development than would have been possible without increased economic activity. Similarly, the metaphorical 'growing of the pot' reflects the amount of economic resources available to fund social development. Therefore, the greater the resources produced by economic growth, the larger the pot needed to contain them. A larger pot is able to provide more resources that can be 'trickled down' to fund social development.

The argument for a trickle down of development benefits, especially since it supports a discourse of urban competitiveness (Swyngedouw, 2000), can be viewed as a means of expressing the enmeshing of the development imperatives. Whether trickle down actually achieves what it promises is not really of concern here, what is important is that the use of the discourse and its associated metaphors produce an understanding of the inter-relatedness of redress and economic development. This discourse functions to create an enmeshed relationship between the imperatives which is viewed as crucial by both business and government. The entanglement of redress and economic growth imperatives is thus evident even within the prioritization of improved urban competitiveness as a necessary means to achieve economic growth.

7.3.4   Entanglement as the conflation of imperatives

As evident in the themes presented above, an entanglement of imperatives is discursively produced through an individual simultaneously adopting an imperative of growth and an imperative of redress. The following section addresses a further theme which emerges from the interview data. In this theme, entanglement is produced through a discourse which either conflates the competing development imperatives or engenders the belief that imperatives are simultaneously achievable. These inter-relations between imperatives are believed to occur in spite of the recognition that there are frictions created by the competition between the two development imperatives (Sharp et al, 2000; Pieterse, 2008).

A senior municipal official, when discussing development in the city, addresses the need to simultaneously accomplish pro-poor and pro-growth development by fusing these imperatives together (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). This interview respondent directly equates a pro-poor approach and an economic growth approach in his statement that: "the city is pro-poor to the extent of being income driven" (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006).[104] These approaches would not normally be viewed as conflated since the notion of being 'income driven' is typically construed as constitutive of an economic growth approach. In D.Naidoo's (6/12/2006) statement, the difference between the approaches is eliminated by stating that the city's income driven approach *is* a pro-poor approach, i.e. the one is the other and they are conflated. The notion of entanglement assumes that the imperatives are mutually intertwined rather than existing in a competing dualist relationship (Sharp et al, 2000). In this theme, the discursive technique used to meet both priorities simultaneously, is to 'knot' them together

---

[104] In this instance, 'income driven' is used to describe activities which are income generating for the municipality.

and thereby, harness them as an entangled collective (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). In a knot, the tight interweaving of threads makes the identification of the separate threads and their disentanglement more difficult, therefore, the concept of the 'knotting' of these imperatives through their conflation implies the production of an increased level of intimacy between these two development imperatives than when the two imperatives exist independently and retain more of their independent identities (Sharp et al, 2000). In this case, entanglement implies equal prioritisation of imperatives. This is somewhat different to the other ways in which respondents have discursively combined economic growth and redress, such as through discourses of competition or trickle down, in which entanglement usually entails the dominance of an economic growth imperative.

The deputy mayor argues for the simultaneous achievement of development imperatives (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). He states that, "investment in the broad development context must be seen as being balanced and taking care of peoples' needs and *at the same time* building the economy" and "we have to be globally competitive, but I'm also saying that *at the same time* the budget we have will be used in a way we get maximum out of it for the community at large" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). In this simultaneous adoption of both imperatives they are 'knotted together' and central to the urban development process. This concern for simultaneously undertaking development for redress and economic growth links to the deputy mayor's earlier comments on the temporality of the development agendas in association with his use of the notion of 'walking the tightrope' as a metaphor for balancing the implementation of the two competing development imperatives (see section 7.3.1, p169). Here, the conceptualisation of these imperatives as requiring a synchronised implementation process highlights their mutual involvement (Nuttall, 2009) such that one imperative cannot be prioritised or addressed independently from the other. Thus the imperatives can be interpreted as being entangled.

Thus, despite the classification of development priorities into imperatives of economic growth or redress (see section 7.2), the articulation of these imperatives by respondents does not simply occur as the listing or categorisation of types of development goals into either economic growth or pro-poor goals. Instead, actors working together to implement urban development through the mechanism of PPPs can be seen to construct an urban development agenda which accommodates elements from the competing imperatives in the transformation of the city. The process of producing such an agenda incorporates and connects differing dimensions of the imperatives of economic growth and redress by negotiating the goals of

urban development. As evidenced in the themes presented above, this negotiation of the development goals prioritised by role-players within the PPPs occurs through the discursive conceptualisation of the imperatives as enmeshed, mutually constitutive, and ultimately as entangled. These interweavings do not result in the disappearance of either of these imperatives as foci for development. Instead, they are characterised as simultaneously existing in overlapping and integrated forms. The following section elaborates on some of the central features of this entangled relationship, which is shaped by the nature and context of the interweaving of development imperatives.

7.3.5   The nature of the entanglement of development imperatives

As argued above, urban development imperatives are being negotiated such that their interrelationship moves beyond that of a dualism, in which they are seen to compete with each other, to one in which they are interlaced and, thereby, entangled. Entanglement does not, however, imply a simple or stable relationship (Sharp et al, 2000; Simone, 2006; Nuttall, 2009). This section examines the broad qualities of the entanglement of development imperatives. To this end, the entanglement can be characterised as enabling the ongoing individualism of the two development imperatives because neither is completely reduced to the other. However, the entanglement is also characterised by the co-constitution of these imperatives. Furthermore, qualities of the entanglement such as the dominance of the imperative for economic growth within the interweaving of growth and redress; the uncomfortable nature of entanglement; and the potential for the transformation of the shape which entanglement takes, are presented here. The discussion of these overarching characteristics of the entanglement of redress and economic growth imperatives draws on the evidence presented in sections 7.3.1 to 7.3.4 and reference will be made to these earlier discussions.

Within an entangled relationship, the threads which are entangled are not reduced to each other (Sharp et al, 2000). As argued with regard to entanglements of power, each of the elements of an entanglement can be identified in their own right (Sharp et al, 2000). However, in this relational understanding, even though they retain their identities, they come to bear traces of each other (Sharp et al, 2000). This co-constitution of imperatives without the loss of their independent identity is evident within the entanglement of development imperatives in Durban's public private partnerships.

The imperative of redress is evident in its own right as an important post-apartheid priority for development since, in many instances, the role-players in the PPPs present the imperative of redress as critical for urban development (White, 17/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006; Robbins, 23/11/2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). In addition, national and local legislation and policy prioritises redress, redistribution and transformation which is internalised in urban strategic planning and budgeting processes (van Donk et al, 2008). Business and government respondents are thus acutely aware of the need to address the inequalities created by apartheid and give precedence to this imperative in its own right, apart from the prioritization of an economic growth imperative (Redman, 6/10/2006; White, 17/10/2006; Silal, 7/11/2006; Tembe, 15/5/2007). This is especially true for local government representatives in the partnerships since the state is mandated to undertake redress and redistribution (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo; 6/3/2007; Masson, 12/4/2007).

As with the imperative for redress, economic growth is evident as a separate thread within an entangled development agenda. As evident in the discussion in section 7.2, growth is highly prioritised by both private and public sectors and it is typically manifest in the calls for improved competitiveness, higher growth rates, lower unemployment and an improved image of the city to attract investors (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). Within interviews, business and public sector actors made frequent references to a need for economic growth and discussed how economic growth can be best achieved. This priority for development was undiminished by acknowledgement of the need for redress, which was also often discussed, such that the imperative of growth also maintains a strongly identifiable thread within the entanglement of imperatives.

Since they remain identifiable as separate imperatives within the discussion of urban development by actors in Durban's PPPs, the urban development imperatives of redress and growth are never completely merged within their entanglement. However, these 'threads' overlap and interconnect so that they are, at least partly, co-constitutive (Sharp et al, 2000). This reconstitution of the imperatives of economic growth and redress is evident in their intertwining. Thus, within the entanglement of imperatives, economic growth is very seldom understood to be purely constitutive of economic development and improved growth and employment rates. Instead, the economic growth imperative becomes co-constituted by an imperative of redress when the motivations for, and justification of, economic development

relies on the achievement of socio-economic benefits that are seen to improve quality of life and reduce inequality in the city. For example, this is evident in the discourses of 'trickle down' (section 7.3.3) or through the equating of economic development with social development (section 7.3.4) which are adopted by business and government actors. The entanglement of imperatives alters the growth focused agenda by drawing an imperative of post apartheid redress and redistribution into conceptualizations of what constitutes economic growth.

Thus a growth imperative, when entangled with redress, is qualitatively shifted such that the conceptualisations of the form and purpose of economic growth are reshaped and come to incorporate concepts and practices which address inequalities and deficiencies within the economic environment. For example, the flagship projects undertaken by the PPP's, which are typically considered boosterist in nature (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; McCarthy, 2007) come to incorporate practices of redress such as black economic empowerment, skills development, and the potential for profits earned by the municipal partner to be allocated to social development projects (Redman, 6/10/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006).[105] Furthermore, the outcomes of an entangled economic growth imperative are conceptualised as not only achieving growth but also facilitating redress and redistribution such that the quality of life of urban residents will be improved. This conceptualisation is evident in the assurances provided by actors that the lessening of socio-economic inequalities is an inevitable outcome of improved urban competitiveness (Curtis, 27/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

The imperative of redress is also shifted through its entanglement with an imperative of economic growth. This shift in the conceptualisation of the redress imperative is evident in the way that actors argue for economic growth as the central means to overcome the problems associated with poor quality of life and multifaceted inequality. Amongst the actors in Durban's PPPs, issues of redress are seldom discussed as occurring apart from economic growth. Typically, these actors have constructed an understanding of urban development needs such that an imperative of redress and redistribution, although strongly identifiable, is seen to be best addressed through processes, such as improving urban competitiveness, which boost the urban economy (see section 7.3.3). Furthermore, these actors argue that the imperative of redress needs to be in balance with the economic growth imperative or that it

---

[105] These characteristics of the ways in which public private partnerships put an entangled development agenda into practice will be addressed in detail in Chapter Nine.

should occur simultaneously with economic growth activities. These arguments indicate a shift away from a conceptualisation of redress and redistribution as an independent development processes to one in which activities for redress are either constituted by activities for economic growth or necessarily occurring in tandem with economic growth. These constructions are typical in many contemporary cities in which a dilemma over the prioritisation of development goals has arisen, highlighting the recent shifts in urban development and government thinking towards market related sources, and solutions, to problems in cities (Painter, 2000; Sheppard, 2000; Zetter, 2002). Thus, both the economic growth imperative and the imperative of redress are integrated into each other through their entanglement. This co-constitution means that the nature of each of these imperatives undergoes a qualitative shift. Their meaning is changed such that each imperative is partially characterised by the qualities of the other imperative.

However, even as redress and growth imperatives are interwoven, economic development often remains privileged within the negotiation of imperatives (Todes, 19/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). The dominance of the economic growth imperative is apparent in the ways in which it is usually an imperative of redress which is drawn into the implementation of a growth and economic development agenda rather than a concern for growth being interwoven into development which privileges redress and redistribution. For example, respondents listed economic growth priorities before highlighting issues of redress when asked to list priorities for urban development (Brink, 4/4/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).

Furthermore, the discourses used in discussions of development imperatives in the city much more strongly advance economic growth than redress such that nowhere in the data do actors argue that if activities for redress are undertaken, economic growth will follow. Instead, the discourses of economic development, competitiveness and trickle down which are used by actors in the PPPs highlight an underlying belief in the idea that boosterist activities facilitate the achievement of redress goals by increasing the resources available for social development and by facilitating improved participation in the market by those who become employed or wealthier when the economy grows (Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). Furthermore, development which focuses on redress is usually discussed most strongly in relation to a need for balance between economic growth and redress imperatives (see section

7.3.1). Statements by Tembe (15/5/2007), a businessman and leader in the Durban Chamber of Commerce, exemplify this prioritisation of economic growth as central to the development of the city:

> "economic growth is critical, whilst black economic empowerment is equally important you cannot grow the economy today ignoring the aspirations and dreams of the smaller business people down there but whatever that we do, we need to make sure that there, we maintain that economic growth thrust."

Here, Tembe argues firstly for economic growth, then for economic reforms which address inequalities, such as black economic empowerment and then returns in his argument to concentrate on economic growth as a priority. The economic growth imperative is thus dominant, even as it comes to incorporate some aspects of an agenda for redress in the unequal South African economic system,

Further to the dominance of the economic growth imperative in the entanglement of imperatives, the interrelationships between the development imperatives are not always comfortable. As with an entanglement of dominance and resistance in which power does not fully serve either the dominant or the resisting parties (Sharp et al, 2000), an entangled development approach does not straightforwardly serve the purposes or agendas of either the public or private sectors or any particular group within these sectors. This is evident in the existence of a degree of conflict over agendas and shifting prioritisation of imperatives across sectors and within the responses of individuals to the development arena of the city. For example, the municipal manager's advocacy of redress and his reticence about the use of public private partnerships lie uncomfortably alongside his view that the need to boost urban competitiveness is unavoidable (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). This discomfort is evident in his interview discussion of public private partnerships:

> "one means of doing PPPs is by privatising services. I don't think that there's anywhere in the world that you can truly say privatizing the provision of social goods is in and of itself more effective, more efficient, more economic….because it's profit driven, that can never mean that it has the interests of people at heart."

> "Obviously PPPs can't [generate pro-poor development] because the very nature of public-private partnerships would be that you are putting together two agencies that have very different interests at heart. The one agency is an agency that is driven by profit, the other agency is driven by the need to provide goods and services to people."

However, despite these reservations, the municipal manager elsewhere expressed the opinion that engaging in activities which assert the competitiveness of the city is necessary in the global economy (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). Thus the city has become involved in public private

partnerships that provide flagship developments and address the needs of important businesses in the city:

> "the major [PPP] was really between ourselves [eThekwini Municipality] and Moreland [Developments], where the city needed to deal with certain urban regeneration, shift the tourism focus in the city etc, and Moreland needed to open up development in the Sea Cow Lake/Effingham area... So that really was saying, lets take the synergy between a company that owns a significant amount of land in the city, that needs to open up development and bring that together with the city… most of our other public-private partnerships… are primarily where we try to solve specific problems that companies might have. So… Toyota needed a dedicated route from its factory to the railway line, in which case we provided a bridge which they could use" (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

The discomfort involved in relationships between business and government when they collaborate in public private partnerships is further evident in comments made by a powerful property developer who was centrally involved in the establishment of the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Development Joint Venture:

> "there's a natural conflict between private sector and government. That's just the nature of the beast. And the only time they work together is when they need each other. Private sector is full of partnerships of comfort,…because sometimes you have to partner with someone else even if you hate his guts, because…it makes your business look better, so you do that strategically. But it's uncomfortable for government to do that because they don't like [the] private sector… So it's the uncomfortable bed fellow syndrome,…you just have to make peace and understand you've got to give something to get something" (Brink, 4/4/2007).

The entanglement of Durban's development imperatives is currently born of the necessity of transforming a complex urban landscape and enacting its transformation through an approach to development which simultaneously accommodates the need for economic growth and improved quality of life. However, despite the need for mutuality, this entanglement is accompanied by a friction between development priorities and the consequent discomfort associated with the compromises that must be sought in working with other discourses, and the concomitant need for actors to change or shift their opinion or position. Thus, as with the entanglement of domination and resistance presented by Sharp et al (2000), the entanglement of development imperatives encompasses the friction between the two approaches to development and the actors which attempt to prioritise either one approach or the other. This friction produces discomfort in various quarters and thus, is evidence of the sometimes uncomfortable; perhaps even unwanted, relationships which are typical of entanglement (Nuttall, 2009).

Because of the continuing distinctiveness of the development imperatives and the inherent discomfort experienced through their entanglement, the inter-relationship of these imperatives

is continually negotiated by individuals and within partnerships. This is evident in the observations made by an urban development consultant involved in the partnerships: "in subtle ways, I think, you've had a set of tacit agreements emerge about priorities... They are always under negotiation and re-negotiation and so on and so forth" (McCarthy, 30/10/2006). As evident here, entanglement is usually an unspoken agreement, born of a mutual acknowledgement that change needs to happen. Entanglement is, however, open to the possibilities of renegotiation and reformation of the inter-relationships between the imperatives. The potential for renegotiation and transformation of this entanglement is particularly high if the context which entails the need for the entanglement, and which contributes to the character of the entanglement, shifts. This will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Given its potential for renegotiation and change, entanglement does not imply a singular form of inter-relating but a multiplicity of forms which can and do occur simultaneously, and over time, to construct a richly and variably textured overlapping and interconnection of urban development imperatives (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). Which strands or approaches dominate within the entanglement are not likely to be static and the form of the relationship and thus of the overall development approach is likely to shift over time, producing moments in which one or another of the elements (appear to) dominate (Sharp et al, 2000). The threads can be 'knotted' or woven differently such that another version of the entanglement will emerge in different conditions to influence the nature of partnerships and urban development processes in a different way (Nuttall, 2009). Even in one moment, the manner of the interweaving of imperatives can be diverse, multi-layered or partial; however, the fact remains that these imperatives are interwoven.

This section has argued for an understanding of entanglement as the negotiation of urban development imperatives. This entanglement is discursively produced in a variety of ways by actors within Durban's PPPs who are engaged in addressing competing development needs within the city. The development imperatives, although they remain visible in their own right, become interwoven and, thereby, are mutually constituted by their entanglement such that they are qualitatively shifted. The following section more closely examines the inter-relationship between the growth and redress imperatives in Durban's PPPs in order to ascertain whether, and how, neoliberalism plays a role in their entanglement. To this end, the entanglement of development imperatives is examined for its potential manifestation of the tenets of neoliberalism.

7.4   Neoliberalism Within the Entanglement of Imperatives

This section addresses the ways in which neoliberalism articulates with the entanglement of the imperatives of economic growth and redress. To this end, it is argued that the tenets of neoliberalism are evident within the entanglement of the economic growth and redress imperatives which occur in Durban's public private partnerships. These tenets are part of the economic growth imperative and the discourses used to express how economic development in Durban should be undertaken. However, as presented in section 7.3.5, the imperative of economic growth is partially constituted by concerns for redress since it is entangled with the imperative for redress and redistribution. As part of the economic growth imperative, the tenets of neoliberalism are also inter-related with the imperative for redress and through this relationship are, at least partially, reconstituted. Thus the argument in this section presents the ways in which the tenets of neoliberalism are interwoven with the imperative of redress and, consequently, how they are altered by this entanglement.

Before presenting these arguments, however, it is useful to reflect on how the tenets of neoliberalism are conceptualised in the literature. At its most basic, neoliberalism should be thought of as both an ideology and a process of neoliberalisation through which this ideology is implemented. At its core, neoliberalism advances the notion that the best way to achieve the greatest quality of well-being is to achieve the maximum possible liberalisation of the market (Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005; Castree, 2006; McDonald, 2008). Market freedom is seen to encompass free trade, the withdrawal of state intervention in markets and the reliance on competition to produce fair and favourable outcomes of market practices (Sheppard, 2000; Peck, 2001, Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). The state is only expected to involve itself in the economy if its role is to facilitate the conditions under which the market can work most favourably or to create new markets for goods and resources which may not previously have been included within market activity (Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). Furthermore, the sovereignty of the individual is upheld as central to neoliberalism. Individuals are relied upon to achieve, and improve, their quality of life, through entrepreneurial behaviour, self sufficiency and enacting their freedom of choice (Painter, 2000; Harvey, 2005; Mayo, 2005).

It is assumed that in order for market liberalisation to occur, the principles of neoliberalism need to be implemented within society. This process of implementation, or neoliberalisation, is complex and varied across space and time (Larner, 2000; Peck, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005;

McDonald, 2008). As part of the research question, it is necessary to evaluate whether the abovementioned tenets of neoliberalism are enmeshed within the negotiation of development imperatives in Durban's public private partnerships, and to what extent this is so, before embarking on an examination of the processes of neoliberalisation resulting from the entanglement of development imperatives.

As evident in the discussion of development imperatives in section 7.3.5 above, an economic growth approach is dominant in the entanglement. This imperative is characterised by the advancement of competition as a critical means of growth and transformation in Durban and the belief that the role of the state in the economy is to facilitate rather than control the operations of the private sector within the city (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007; Masson, 12/4/2007). As described in section 7.2, state facilitation and support of the private sector are central themes within the concern for economic growth activities presented by respondents. Furthermore, increased competitiveness and the associated boosterist activities which are deemed necessary to improve urban competitiveness are listed by respondents a critical to an economic growth imperative (see section 7.2). In addition, competitiveness is an important discourse in the production of the entanglement of economic growth and redress imperatives (see section 7.3.3). A belief in the benefits of competition and an advocacy of the role of the state as enabling of the market are tenets of neoliberalism (Pryke, 1999; Peck, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Barnett, 2005; Dumenil and Levy, 2005; Harvey, 2005; 2006; Mayo, 2005). The presence of these characteristics of economic growth in the conceptualisation of this imperative thus provide evidence that the tenets of neoliberalism are present within the entanglement of imperatives.

A municipal official argued that one of the benefits of economic development in the city is the potential for increased sovereignty of individuals (Silal, 7/11/2006).[106] He argued that this comes about because increased employment has the effect of improving the independence of individuals and enabling them to more freely participate in the market and consume (Silal, 7/11/2006). Here, a combination of redress and economic growth, particularly through the creation of employment and up-skilling of the labour force, are viewed as necessary to reduce the burden on the state to provide basic services (Silal, 7/11/2007). This evident shows that it is assumed that as imperatives become entangled, activities to produce redress which contribute to economic improvements, such as skills development, become a means of

---

[106] See the quotation on p173.

creating individual sovereignty. This sovereignty is achieved by undertaking economic reform, such as affirmative action, and educational projects, such as adult basic education for the workforce, which enable people to help themselves by being more productive and, hence, more active in the market-place (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005; Purcell, 2008). In this argument, the achievement of individual independence is thus motivated by the desire to reduce the burden on the state, rather than being underpinned by the more egalitarian motives expected within a discourse of redress and thus represents an acceptance of the neoliberal approach, which advocates the strengthening of the sovereignty of the individual. Ultimately, these newly employed individuals are expected to be 'good' neoliberal citizens (Painter, 2000; Purcell, 2008). This argument about the benefit of economic development for urban residents can therefore be construed as representative of a neoliberal stance which prioritises the sovereignty of the individual and independence from the state.

The abovementioned characteristics of the entanglement of the development imperatives and the overall dominance of the growth imperative in the city's PPPs encompass a number of the tenets of neoliberal ideology. This is indicative of the presence of neoliberalism within the entanglement of imperatives occurring within the PPPs. Through their interweaving, the entanglement of the imperatives of redress and economic growth, engenders a reworking of the form of the imperatives of redress and of economic growth such that they are mutually constituted (see section 7.3.5). The mutual constitution of the imperatives engenders a qualitative shift in the nature of these imperatives, i.e. they are not what they would have been if they occurred in isolation or independently. The nature of the growth imperative is qualitatively shifted through its entanglement with redress and thus comes to be partly constituted by aspects of an imperative of redress. Since the tenets of neoliberalism are enmeshed within this entanglement, they are re-formed through their intertwining within the enmeshed development imperatives. In turn, the tenets of neoliberalism are interwoven in the entanglement of imperatives through their interconnection with the growth agenda. This means that within an entanglement, the tenets of neoliberalism come to be enmeshed with the aspects and aspirations of redress, which now constitute the growth imperative. These tenets are prioritised within the PPPs and are, therefore, themselves entangled with the imperative for redress. It is argued here that these tenets of neoliberalism are, in part at least, reconstructed through being enmeshed with the redress imperative. This enmeshing with redress will, at least partially, reconstitute the tenets of neoliberalism.

The shift in neoliberalism, produced by being interwoven within an entangled approach to urban development, is evident in considerations of the entanglement of growth and redress within concerns for urban competitiveness and in the adoption of a discourse of 'trickle-down'. Further, this shift is evident in the additional discourses which weave redress into economic growth via market reforms, such as affirmative procurement policies. As presented in section 7.3.3, competitiveness is a strong component of the economic growth imperative advocated by interview respondents. However, these respondents believe that the imperative for redress lies within increased urban competitiveness in that it is argued as producing a 'trickle down' of benefits to communities. Therefore, the rationale for competition is its potential for producing social upliftment, redress and redistribution. Furthermore, the imperative of redress is evident in respondents' arguments for competition where they propose that market reform, in the creation of greater racial equality in the business sector and an increased skills level in the labour force, is both necessary for egalitarian reasons and will improve the overall productivity of the market. When interests in an improved level of urban competition are reviewed in the light of these market-place reforms, which interweave aspects of the imperative of redress, they are seen to require fewer of the usual reforms undertaken in a neoliberalisation process (Castree, 2006) and, instead, adopt redress-focussed reforms.[107] Therefore, the arguments for competition made by the interview respondents do not represent a purely globally derived argument. Instead it is an argument which remains intricately linked to that of locally-derived pressures for the reduction of inequality in South Africa through redress and redistribution. If competitiveness and these other discourses of growth are bound up with concerns for redress within the entanglement of imperatives, the conceptualisation of competition as indicative of a 'typical' form of neoliberalism is, in turn, shifted within the entanglement. Here, neoliberalism is embodied in the entanglement in that competition is a strongly upheld argument but it is also qualitatively reconstituted because the nature of competition itself is altered through its assimilation of arguments which address the need for post apartheid transformation.

This shifting of neoliberal principles is further evident with regard to the discourse of 'trickle down' adopted by the actors within Durban's PPPs (see section 7.3.3). The notion of a trickle down of benefits from economic growth and boosterist projects to marginalised urban communities is commonly found in arguments supporting large-scale urban development and

---

[107] Economic and policy reforms often undertaken as part of a neoliberalisation process include privatisation through the assignment of property rights; marketisation, in which prices are assigned to resources and goods which were previously unpriced; deregulation of social and environmental life; and reregulation such that the state deploys policies to facilitate privatisation and marketisation (Castree, 2006).

city imaging projects (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Miraftab, 2005). In Durban, 'trickle down' is likely to have been adopted as an argument because of its predominance in the international discourses of urban development (Robinson, 2006; 2008). On one level, the adoption of this discourse by actors in the PPPs thus supports the argument that the implementation of neoliberalism in cities is inevitable, because so few alternatives exist in commonly found development discourses and tools (Guthman, 2008). Under the rubric of a typical assessment of neoliberalism in cities, a discourse of 'trickle down' is thus likely to be ascribed to the inevitable dominance of the forces of a global neoliberal economic paradigm in which cities find it difficult to forge their own paths of development (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Guthman, 2008). However, viewed from the perspective of entanglement, an alternative interpretation is derived, one which does not completely abandon the influence of a neoliberal ideology but which does allow for it's (re)formation. Viewed through the lens of entanglement, the discourse of 'trickle down' is evidence of the production of the interweaving of the imperatives of economic growth and redress. Therefore, the use of the discourse also points to a rationale for development which is bound up within localised agendas for balanced development which incorporate redress and which are, therefore, not wholly representative of an externally derived global neoliberal agenda. Rather this is an approach to development adopted in the PPPs which is formed through the interaction of development priorities within localised processes for development that are driven by both locally-derived needs and globally constituted pressures for change.

A qualitative shift in the tenets of neoliberalism is also evident in the ways in which approaches to development projects by the PPPs are not purely focussed on their profitability and the efficiency of their implementation. Instead there is a willingness to undertake an intensive, collaborative design phase in which the principles of a property development project are formulated in a manner in which both imperatives can be accommodated. There is also an acceptance by the public and private sectors that they need to accommodate the development goals and discourses of both parties in development projects and that the project outcomes and the process of implementation should address the need for redress. Therefore employment of local labour, redress-oriented procurement policies, shifts in the design of open spaces are some of the redress priorities incorporated into the projects undertaken via PPPs (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Ives, 24/2/2007; Iyer, 19/3/2007).[108] These measures increase the time it takes to complete a project, and can reduce the return on investment, thereby reducing the efficiency and profitability of a project. Thus, even though, on the surface,

---

[108] Chapter Nine will discuss this topic in much more detail.

typically neoliberal boosterist projects are being undertaken, below the surface, redress imperatives are incorporated into the development projects. This indicates that a neoliberal process of development, which is interwoven with aspects of redress, is being undertaken.

The tenets of neoliberalism are shifted through the entanglement of development imperatives. In this instance, these tenets have been altered by local discursive reconceptualisations of urban development imperatives that have produced an entanglement of the two development imperatives. In this way 'the local' has taken ownership of these global principles and re-formed them into an approach which is more suitable for addressing the divergent and competing development needs of the local context. This shift can be interpreted as an 'appropriation' of the global economic paradigm of neoliberalism by the local (Robinson, 2006). According to Robinson (2006), appropriation occurs when cities negotiate with western trends such that they work to formulate their own outcomes rather than simply adopting the 'accepted wisdom' from outside and mimicking processes use elsewhere.

Furthermore, this shifting of the nature of the development imperatives of economic growth and redress, through their entanglement, and the concomitant reformulation of the tenets of neoliberalism is indicative of the ways in which cities draw on ideas, discourses and practices from elsewhere (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Robinson, 2006a). The tenets of neoliberalism, and the associated processes through which neoliberalism is implemented, which are widely accepted and promoted across the globe, can be found within the discourses of development used by actors within Durban's PPPs because the actors within the city have drawn on the knowledge and experiences of cities and institutions across the globe which come to circulate at the local level.[109]

However, cities are places in which local histories, resources and systems are also influential in determining the approach to urban development which is undertaken (Pile et al, 1999; Robinson, 2006; 2006a). The characteristics of local contexts offer opportunities for the emergence of new processes of urban transformation that are unique rather than simply adopted from the theorisation and practice of urban development elsewhere, and particularly

---

[109] For example, the eThekwini Municipality has a number of 'twin' cities with which it interacts. These cities include Chicago, Leeds, Rotterdam, Alexandria, Bulawayo and Guangzhou (Cole, 20/9/2002; Mlaba, 25/3/2004; eThekwini Municipality, 12/12/2009). The networking opportunities arising from the 'twinning' facilitate the gathering of knowledge regarding issues such as efficient governance; the generation of economic growth and business networks; and housing and service provision best practice (Mlaba, 25/3/2004; eThekwini Municipality, 12/12/2009). In addition, sporting and cultural events incorporating participants from sister cities have occurred, particularly during the annual 'Celebrate Durban' week (Cole, 24/9/2002).

from the developed world (Pile et al, 1999; Robinson, 2006; 2006a). Thus, since they are globally circulated, the tenets of neoliberalism are evident in the development agenda presented by the PPPs. However, the entanglement of development imperatives and the associated shift in neoliberalism, occurring under the influence of a localised pressure to address the competition between the imperatives of economic growth and redress, illustrate how changes in these global discourses and practices can be exercised through the influence of local conditions (Robinson, 2008).

That neoliberalism is entangled with the imperatives of development for Durban, potentially allows partnerships to work as a tool for neoliberalisation. This potential arises because the interweaving of neoliberalism within the entanglement of redress and growth imperatives facilitates the adoption of an approach in which the kinds of development processes and projects associated with neoliberalism are deemed acceptable and are therefore likely to be implemented. However, neoliberalism forms a part of the entanglement of development imperatives in which the form and purpose of economic growth is qualitatively shifted through its inter-relationship with an imperative of redress. As discussed above, the tenets of neoliberalism are not impervious to this interweaving and overlapping of imperatives within their entanglement and are qualitatively shifted themselves. The implications of the presence of the tenets of neoliberalism within the entanglement and their appropriation through the entanglement will be further discussed in the following chapter.

7.5   Conclusion

This chapter presents an overall outline of the structure of the analytical argument of this thesis and the first stage of this argument. To this end, the chapter has concentrated on the development imperatives as expressed by business and government actors which are negotiated within Durban's strategic PPPs.

The negotiation of these imperatives is interpreted through the relational understandings facilitated by the adoption of the notion of entanglement as a framing concept. Entanglement can be found within the multiple ways in which imperatives of redress and economic growth come to be inter-related by decision-makers and practitioners involved in the reconstruction of the urban development landscape in Durban. Within the discussions of Durban's development priorities, interview respondents tend to espouse discourses which produce the conceptual mixing of priorities for the city, thus the imperatives are argued to be interwoven and enmeshed within each other, even to the extent of being mutually constitutive. Discourses

are a critical vehicle for the enmeshing of development agendas and the articulation of their entanglement and are therefore critical to the process of negotiation. To this end, discourses which rely on the arguments and metaphors related to the 'trickling down' of development benefits or which fuse imperatives are central to an entangling of development imperatives in the PPPs in Durban

The negotiation of imperatives through their entanglement is a 'messy' process in which the inter-connection between growth and redress is being reshaped into a much more relational engagement than that of a competitive dualism, and one which is shifting and incomplete. The ways in which development imperatives are negotiated points to their entanglement. An entangled relationship is one which implies inter-relatedness, connection, and the intimate binding up of imperatives within in each other; even if this interconnection is uneven, uncomfortable or open to reconfiguration (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). As such, the development imperatives are enmeshed in ways which cannot be easily categorised because their inter-relationships do not follow uniform patterns but are tangled up and knotted in complex and dynamic webs of meaning. However, five over-arching characteristics of this entanglement are discussed in the chapter, namely, that the imperatives of economic growth and redress retain their individual presence within the entanglement; that the two imperatives become co-constituted; and that within the entanglement the economic growth imperative is dominant. Fourthly, the entangled relationship involves a sense of discomfort; and finally, the entanglement of these imperatives is dynamic and open to transformation.

The chapter further reviews the relationship of neoliberalism with the entanglement of imperatives. It is argued that since a number of the tenets of neoliberalism are evident within the entanglement of development imperatives, a neoliberal ideology is evident as a thread within the entanglements of imperatives as they occur in the PPPs. These tenets are, however, re-constituted through this entangled inter-relationship and can be understood as appropriated by actors in the PPPs in order to facilitate a localised process of development which encompasses the pressures for both redress and redistribution and economic growth as part of the post-apartheid transformation of Durban. The implications of this integration of neoliberalism within the entanglement of development imperatives and the influence of local conditions on this entangled relationship are addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ENTANGLEMENT:
THE PRODUCTION OF AN 'ACTUALLY EXISTING NEOLIBERALISM'

8.1   Introduction

Chapter Eight presents the second step of the analytical argument of this thesis. As asserted in Chapter Seven, the negotiation of development imperatives within public private partnerships is interpreted as an entanglement. The tenets of neoliberalism are implicated within this entanglement, with the result that they undergo a substantive shift. Following on from these arguments, this chapter examines the implications of these entangled neoliberalism(s) for processes of development undertaken through the public private partnerships.

Section 8.2 presents the ways in which these development processes initially engender a typical process of neoliberalisation of the city. However, the shift within the character of neoliberalism implies that although development processes associated with the public private partnerships are reflective of neoliberalisation, they are also altered. As discussed in Chapter Two, Brenner and Theodore (2002a) have argued that the reality of the neoliberal project in specific places should be considered as an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is historically specific and continually unfolding rather than identifiable as a defined project with fixed tenets and particular and predictable outcomes. It is argued here that an entanglement of development imperatives, by shifting the tenets of neoliberalism and, thereby, altering the development processes undertaken through the PPPs, produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). Furthermore, a number of conditions make an important contribution to the relationship between neoliberalism and the entanglement of imperatives as they produce an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. These conditions are discussed in section 8.4.

8.2   Evidence of a 'Typical' Process of Neoliberalisation Undertaken Through the Public Private Partnerships

The following section discusses the ways in which urban development activities undertaken through the public private partnerships are seemingly 'typical' of the kinds of actions undertaken when cities adopt and implement a neoliberal approach to development. These activities include the adoption of boosterist development projects and increasing the entrepreneurial agenda of the local state.

Much has been argued regarding the variability of neoliberalisation processes across time and within different places (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Peck, 2004; Castree, 2006). However, some degree of commonality and overlap does exist within these processes, such that they can all be identified as processes through which the tenets of neoliberalism are implemented (Castree, 2006). Similarities in the process of neoliberalisation across space are evident within the 'roll back' and 'roll out' of neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002) and within the moments of deconstruction and creation implicated in the neoliberalisation process (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; McDonald 2008).

As discussed in Chapter Two, these processes of neoliberalisation involve moves to decrease state involvement in the market and in the provision of social services, with subsequent changes in governance, as well as the implementation of neoliberal reforms to advance the entrenchment of neoliberalism within states and at the local scale (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, Castree, 2006). Typical changes to the state and market through these processes are increased privatisation, the allocation of market value to resources or phenomena which previously fell outside of the marketplace and the withdrawal of the state from involvement in social welfare (Castree, 2006). Furthermore, the state becomes involved in market regulation only from the perspective of furthering the role of the market in social and environmental spheres (Castree, 2006). Additionally, civil society and the private sector are encouraged to engage in the provision of social services and welfare from which the state has withdrawn, requiring that new systems of deliberative governance become prominent (Castree, 2006).

These regularly occurring 'typical' processes of neoliberalisation, although often controversial, are the means through which the tenets of neoliberalism are implemented and institutionalised. In particular, they create conditions and processes through which the market can operate more freely. Under these conditions, the state enables the functioning of the market such that competitiveness and individual sovereignty can be materialised (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; 2002a; Harvey, 2005; 2006; Castree, 2006; McDonald, 2008).

In cities, these commonly occurring processes of neoliberalisation have resulted in a shift in both the nature of urban governance and the development approach adopted. As discussed in Chapter Two, development in cities has increasingly become focussed on resolving urban problems through improved urban competitiveness. This is largely driven by investment in urban infrastructure which aims to create a positive image for the city, especially as a good

place to invest, and which equips the city with the technology and transportation systems necessary to facilitate efficient global connectivity (van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Sheppard, 2000; Zetter, 2002; Caldeira and Holsten, 2005; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Pieterse, 2008; Robinson, 2008). Urban regeneration, typically through large scale property development, is commonly advocated as a way to draw capital into the city and to create an urban image of productivity, investor confidence, and the attractiveness of iconic developments (Lees, 2000; Acioly, 2001; Boyle and Rogerson, 2001; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; McCarthy, 2007). Mechanisms, such as public private partnerships, place-marketing, area-based management, and corporatised urban development precincts have become popular tools through which these urban agendas are implemented (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). In this way, cities have become more entrepreneurial in the ways in which they attempt to address socio-economic concerns (Harvey, 1989; van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Acioly, 2001).

The processes of neoliberalisation and their associated shifts within the realm of urban development are evident within the public private partnership activities in Durban. Although the partnerships are not directly involved in privatisation and marketisation processes, they are engaged in neoliberalised forms of urban development. This is evident in the entrepreneurial role adopted by the state within the partnerships. Furthermore, boosterist activities such as flagship developments and the creation of a good image for the city can be considered the main focus of the work of Durban's public private partnerships. The following discussion critically examines the role of the local state as entrepreneur within the PPPs and the boosterism evident within Durban's PPPs as evidence of the neoliberalisation of development processes in the city.

Within Durban's public private partnerships, the role of the municipality as an entrepreneur in urban development is typical of neoliberalisation processes. Overall, the local municipality and the members of the private sector who engage in these partnerships, have different core functions within the urban environment and therefore prioritise different kinds of development needs and approaches. In general, the private sector is predominantly characterised as profit seeking and inherently self-interested and is therefore primarily concerned with economic growth imperatives (Silal, 7/11/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). The eThekwini municipality is viewed as primarily oriented towards service delivery and socio-economic redress (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). These

differences are evident in statements by a municipal official, when referring to the private sector:

> "they're private sector, they're answerable to a board of directors, for them its bottom lines. For us, we're accountable to an electorate. We need to provide services and things for the poor people (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

However, although the abovementioned priorities tend to dominate the approach and activities of each sector, there is evidence that the roles of business and government increasingly overlap, especially within public private partnerships. For example, the private sector has taken on some of the local government's responsibility for redress. This often occurs through corporate social responsibility and community-support initiatives such as financial and material donations to schools, adult education for private sector employees and charitable donations to non-governmental organisations (Houghton, 2005; Silal, 7/11/2006; Fakisandla Consulting 2007). In a similar vein, the city is viewed as becoming progressively more entrepreneurial in its behaviour:

> "in fact the profit motive which drives business… applies equally to local government. Local government is a business now and here it is maximum service delivery to the consumer; turn it the other way around, and that makes emphasis on the three E's, efficiency, economy and effectiveness…. Especially when you are dealing with public monies, you've got to say to yourself I want to get value for money… what should I be looking at and then you can build in BEE requirements, supply chain management requirements and all of that so there's a win win right from day one" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

The city is thus increasingly adopting an approach to development which requires that project implementation is efficient and cost effective, or better yet, profitable.

The city is further viewed as supportive of the private sector. To this end, one of eThekwini Municipality's deputy municipal managers argued that "the city creates the conditions for the private sector to invest in the city" (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). Furthermore, Barnett (8/11/2006) argued that it "is the city's job" to assist specific industries, such as textiles and the vehicle manufacturing, so that growth in their productivity can be encouraged through targeted support. This support extends into the public private partnerships as the city accepts a role which promotes boosterist developments and which sees the local state take on risk in order to gain profit, which it is argued, will trickle down to communities in need. This is evident in the rationale provided by the municipal management for municipal involvement in large scale property development:

> "we needed to start establishing a kind of confidence in economic development in the city. We are a very conservative city on a whole and we needed to say to people listen, if the city is prepared to put its money where its mouth is, you will

follow. So in a lot of these initiatives it was the city saying we are going to put our money in this, we are going to do X, Y, and Z, and what we found is now the private sector is coming and doing that" (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

"We had to make a decision, a painful decision, about investing big sums of money in mega projects that will eventually pay off, and I think we are seeing the pay off now. We were being criticised that we were spending …too much money on all these big projects, neglecting the townships, because that was a perception, but I think we've gone the right route, we went down the right path and we will reap the benefits of that" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

Furthermore, negotiations over developments in public private partnerships lead, in certain instances, to the state accepting the role of providing costly infrastructure and services in support of private sector driven projects in order to further the overall policy agenda of economic growth (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).[110] On a practical level, the municipality's involvement in partnerships results in their active support to improve the efficiency of the development projects. Project planning and approval of planning applications related to partnership projects typically happens much more quickly than would usually be the case. In referring to the importance of the public sector's involvement in the developments associated with the Joint Venture in smoothing the development process, Brink (4/4/2007), a private property developer, commented: "Pity the poor small guys that sit out there and don't have networks and influence. I mean, they're just dead, they just pray, I guess. It's all they can do" (Brink, 4/4/2007). Here he is referring to the benefits of operating within networks linking private sector developers and city management as they exist within the PPP.

Further to the entrepreneurial role of the state adopted in the partnerships, the public private partnerships can be understood as being active in the process of neoliberalisation through their focus on boosterist development. Within the PPPs, boosterism includes a strong focus on implementing flagship projects and the creation of a positive urban image as a means of improving the overall competitiveness of Durban in the global economy. These activities are thus discussed below.

Public private partnerships are mechanisms for urban renewal which typically involve large scale property development (Wiehe, 2006; McCarthy, 2007). In Durban, the partnerships in question offer both an opportunity to formulate an urban development agenda and the resources to move that agenda forward through property development and boosterist flagship projects. Concern over the lack of economic growth through large scale property development

---

[110] Chapter Nine will discuss these aspects of the partnership in detail.

was inherent to the formation of both the Durban Growth Coalition (DGC) and the eThekwini-Moreland Joint Venture. In the 1990s, both city officials and members of the private sector were concerned that there were no signs of large scale investment in the urban landscape (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). According to the deputy mayor, in the 1990s, the city was "at the crossroads, there were no cranes in the Durban sky line, there was very little development" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). Consequently, Durban was seen as stagnating and initiators of the DGC believed that unless the condition of the urban economy improved, the city, its economy and its communities were seen to be facing a difficult future of socio-economic decline (Robbins, 23/11/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

The Durban Growth Coalition was thus formed as a direct response to concerns over the lack of evidence of economic development within the city and has as its main agenda the role of unblocking the constraints slowing down the development of flagship projects within the city as a means to boosting investor confidence and creating economic growth. Subsequently, the Joint Venture was formed in 2002, with a view to facilitating the implementation of three specific property development projects[111] which would further address urban renewal and economic development goals in the city (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007). As a result of the successful boosting of property development activity and the implementation of the three projects, the partnerships are viewed by the public and private sectors as important tools for the efficient and successful planning and implementation of flagship urban development projects in the city (Silal, 7/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007).

Support for flagship projects by public and private sector representatives rests on the perception that they initiate economic growth in the city. It is argued that this occurs because the act of planning and implementing a development project is an economic activity in itself, but also because these large scale projects create increased revenue for the city when under-utilised land becomes productive and rates revenues are received (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). A number of interviewees argued for the development of iconic developments in the city because of their ability to provide an increase in rates for the municipality (Silal, 7/11/2006; Curtis, 27/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). These arguments are in line with boosterist agendas and the subsequent adoption of global competitiveness as a necessary development

---

[111] As described in Chapter Six, these projects are the development of the Point waterfront, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City mixed use complex. Of these three, Bridge City is the only project in which implementation of the development plan is ongoing at the time of the research.

agenda in the city (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). In particular, the rationale of an improved tax base and the growth of the local economy, expounded by interview respondents, is typical of a boosterist agenda for urban development (Swyngedouw et al 2002).

The public private partnerships play a boosterist role because they highlight the ability of the city and the local private sector to address development concerns and to undertake large-scale investment in the city. Flagship projects themselves are intensely marketed and bring about noticeable changes in the urban landscape. They thereby serve as a means of creating investor confidence in the city because they are taken as signs of growth and economic activity (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007). This creates a positive business climate and provides an encouraging example to local and foreign investors (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

Furthermore, the activities of partnerships contribute to the creation of a business climate conducive to growth because they facilitate the sharing of information about large-scale developments with the public and private sector. This communication role of PPPs is especially evident in the functioning of the Durban Growth Coalition as it has progressed from its initiation in 1999 into the mid 2000s (McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007):

> "I think the coalition was the public packaging of things that were determined elsewhere… it's the shop window that I want to put in there to attract the customers and so on and so forth. So, in some respects it's a public and marketing sort of exercise" (McCarthy, 30/10/2006).

At the outset of the DGC partnership, meetings to address development concerns and obstructions to the planning and implementation of projects were frequently held behind closed doors, including only the parties involved. Once progress was made in facilitating the implementation of projects, only then was information shared with the broader public and private sector and residents of Durban (McCarthy, 30/10/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). Subsequently, as these initial development projects went into the implementation stage, the early role of unblocking development became less critical, and the DGC devoted more resources and energy to the sharing of information on the progress of development initiatives with the private sector and broader public. Communication took place predominantly via the media and through the Growth Summits held almost annually by the DGC between 2000 and 2008 (Kearney, 31/10/2000; 6/6/2001; Canning, 12/6/2001; Cole, 29/10/2002; Sewsunker, 2/3/2004; Robbins, 23/11/2006; McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007).

All of these activities within the partnerships reflect the strong role of the economic growth imperative that is evident within the entanglement of the development imperatives (see section 7.3.5). Because of this strong role for economic growth within the entanglement, there is a tendency for PPPs to adopt a boosterist role. The drive for improved urban competitiveness through boosterist projects exemplifies the kind of development approach typically associated with a process of neoliberalisation.

However, the adoption of an entrepreneurial role for the municipality and the undertaking of boosterist activities in the city are not without their complexities and contradictions. In a context of entanglement, the imperative of redress remains firmly on the urban development agenda and needs to be accommodated within urban development projects. These complexities indicate that the neoliberalisation process is 'impure' (Castree, 2006) and must be considered as a strongly localised formulation. The following section undertakes to present the nuances within these seemingly neoliberal activities. Furthermore, the ways in which the municipality's entrepreneurial role and the boosterist activities of the PPPs, both aspects of neoliberalisation, are altered, and thereby (re)formulated, through the engagement with the entangled development imperatives within the public private partnerships are examined.

8.3   Nuances in the Character of Neoliberalisation

Although economic growth is a dominant imperative within the entanglement of development imperatives, the character of the economic growth imperative is transformed by being enmeshed with the redress imperative. Since the economic growth imperative is so closely bound up with the tenets of neoliberalism, the qualitative shift in this imperative implies a shift in the nature of the tenets of neoliberalism. In this way, both economic growth and neoliberalism become partially constituted by the imperative of redress and redistribution. Entanglement thus reduces the 'purity' of the neoliberal tenets and the process of neoliberalisation. It is argued that the entanglement of imperatives does not prevent the process of neoliberalisation, but acts instead to qualitatively change the nature of the process. To this end, the qualitative shifts in neoliberalisation evident in the nuances within the role adopted by the state and the incorporation of redress into the boosterist activities of the PPPs, are examined below.

As argued above, the municipality can be viewed as adopting an entrepreneurial stance in its approach to urban development. However, this position is not without its complexities and contradictions. The nuances within the municipal approach indicate a formulation of

neoliberalism which is 'impure' and partially driven by localised concerns for redress (Castree, 2006).

Although the municipality has played the role of enabling the private sector, it has not done this to the extent that its mandated regulatory role and its service provision and transformation agendas are ignored. Firstly, the public sector has not relinquished its power to regulate the development process by entering into a public private partnership. Instead, municipal officials are well aware of the need to prevent the negative consequences of inappropriate or overly extensive development and continue to impose these controls on private sector partners. As explained by Barnett (8/11/2006): you've got to look at all the options and eventually somebody's got to turn around and say to whoever the developer may be, 'guys, you can't carry on'. There's … a finite limit to this thing somewhere along the line."

Secondly, the municipal officials view their engagement in public private partnerships as a means of exerting a degree of control on the private sector by engaging with them on the formulation of development plans and project implementation processes, such that issues of redress can be incorporated prior to submission of planning proposals to the municipality (Redman, 6/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). In this way, municipal officials astutely enhance the achievement of the mandated redress imperative through the development activities of the powerful land-holding and business elite in the city. According to the municipal manager, the strengthening of redress and redistribution goals in a public private partnership is only possible if a partnership extends over a long period (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). In cases such as the Durban Growth Coalition and the Joint Venture, the longevity of the partnerships encompass a longer term perspective which accommodates profitability over the longer term and allows for the public sector to build an ethic of long term social gains into the partnership (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

Thus, within the partnerships, public sector engagement with the private sector directly addresses differences in their perspectives on what partnerships are primarily aiming to achieve and the processes through which these goals can be accomplished:

> "what we've been able to do is to engage with them, whereas they will start by saying what profits do they want to generate and work backwards to say ok, how do we distribute the income ranges across our properties? We start by saying, what are our income ranges and or start by telling them the better way to do it is to start by asking, 'what are the very constituent elements in Durban'? And how do we expect them to be grown over time? And so that's the engagement that we have, so that's where the innovation comes,… I think it's because in some senses

you are forced to begin to look at ways you can do things differently" (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

Here, discussions between partners do not require a party to abandon its development perspective. Instead, these engagements prompt each partner involved to address their priorities from a different angle, which leads to accommodation of development objectives which would otherwise be considered less important. These kinds of debates and negotiations thus have the effect of drawing considerations of socio-economic equality into more profit-driven agendas, thereby facilitating more of a balance between development imperatives. Furthermore, discussions amongst partners allow for a greater emphasis on development planning which attempts to combine disparate imperatives. The private sector is encouraged to take into consideration the inequalities within the urban environment in which it functions since these inequalities can limit both the size of the market available to the private sector and the skills available for use in business, such that the profitability of business can be negatively effected (Tembe, 15/5/2007).

In its participation in public private partnerships, the state can therefore be seen to support market activities but, additionally, to encourage longer term thinking and more socially-focussed benefits from development. This is reflective of the entanglement of redress and growth imperatives in which local government undertakes a role that encompasses both imperatives. The process of neoliberalisation thus shifts to become one in which the entanglement of development imperatives is inherent.

Further to this multiple and nuanced role of the public sector, there is a shift in the nature of the boosterist activities undertaken by the public private partnerships. These activities incorporate a strong vein of redress and redistribution concerns and cannot be considered as representative of a purely neoliberal process. The shifts evident in the boosterist activities of the public private partnerships through their incorporation of redress and their implications for neoliberalisation are presented below.

The inclusion of redress within the goals and implementation processes of the partnership projects is evident in the stance adopted by the municipality in this regard. The municipality undertakes to raise the profile of redress within development projects by insisting that a range of redress requirements are embedded within these projects. For example, in the process of implementing development through a partnership, the public sector is more able to introduce

into urban development projects its mandatory processes of procurement and tendering processes, which promote black economic empowerment (BEE) and skills development:

> "When we are in a joint venture, when our officials are representative on the board it's much easier to do the monitoring and accountability aspects because in approving those budgets we put all of those things down. Secondly, big contracts that are won must come to some kind of authority, a board of directors or a forum of officials that sit and adjudicate. And that's where we deal with the nitty gritties of empowerment etc." (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

In collaborating with the public sector, the private sector is thus required to incorporate the national and local policy requirements for redress and transformation into the partnership-related projects much more substantially than if it was operating independently (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).

The ongoing collaboration between the partners in the partnerships therefore strengthens the possibilities for the inclusion of redress and redistribution in large scale urban developments. This is the case in the Joint Venture, as the municipal representatives on the Joint Venture committee encourage and guide Moreland Developments towards processes which include more dimensions of redress (Barnett, 8/11/2006). National policy, such as that for black economic empowerment, and the municipal procedures for supply chain management and procurement are therefore more actively incorporated into the formal partnership agreements and the planning and implementation of projects than would be the case if the public and private sectors were not working in partnership with each other (Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

Redress is thus incorporated into the flagship property development undertaken by the public private partnership. This does not mean that projects are not boosterist, but implies that the boosterism undertaken through the public private partnerships is tied to both growth and redress imperatives and therefore cannot be understood as reflective of a 'pure' neoliberalisation process.

The activities of the public private partnership can be viewed as a mechanism through which neoliberalisation occurs within the city. This stems from the presence of the tenets of neoliberalism within the development imperatives adhered to by the actors in the public private partnerships. However, the tenets of neoliberalism are a thread within the entanglement of the economic growth and redress imperatives and therefore cannot be considered as independent from the imperative of redress and redistribution prioritised in the partnerships. The enmeshing and interweaving of these imperatives changes the nature of

neoliberal principles as they are implemented through development projects which incorporate aspects of redress and transformation. In turn, this shifts the character of the neoliberalisation process and includes many more directly socially-focussed development priorities along with the more 'purely' neoliberal activities, such as boosterism. Therefore, since neoliberalism is interwoven within the entanglement of the development imperatives, the processes through which it is realised are substantively altered to produce a localised version of neoliberalism which can be considered an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). This particular, localised version of neoliberalism is produced by its application within the local context, the influence of local actors, institutions and the specific policy arena in which it occurs (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). Thus the 'actually existing neoliberalism' exhibits the 'pure' tenets and processes of neoliberalism but incorporates local characteristics which produce a version of neoliberalism which is context specific and 'actually existing'.

It is contended here that this production of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' can occur in all local contexts where a process of entanglement occurs. In all localities, the local conditions influence the nature of the entanglement of development imperatives and facilitate the production of a context specific actually existing neoliberalism. In South Africa, the strong legal and policy mandate to bring about redress and transformation has a strong influence on the form of 'actually existing neoliberalism', contributing to the specificity of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the PPPs in Durban. In this process is evidence of the creativity possible within an ordinary city (Robinson, 2006). An 'actually existing neoliberalism' is produced by actors appropriating the 'global' tenets of neoliberalism and the trends of boosterist entrepreneurial development (Robinson, 2006). These actors create a unique urban development outcome, in the form of a localised version of neoliberalism, which serves context specific agendas as well as externally-derived pressures for development.

As indicated above, an 'actually existing neoliberalism' is the result of the appropriation of neoliberalism through the entanglement of urban development imperatives that are influenced by the local context. The following section discusses the local conditions which were most influential to the production of the locally specific 'actually existing neoliberalism' in Durban's PPPs.

8.4   Conditions which Influence the Production and Character of this 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'

Partnerships and their activities exist within a context which affects how they negotiate urban development imperatives and, therefore, the nature of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' which this negotiation produces. The following discussion examines the conditions which are most strongly influential in the life of the public private partnerships and thereby play a central role in shaping the entanglement of imperatives and the consequent production of localised forms of neoliberalism and neoliberalisation. These characteristics include the networks which work to facilitate development and the process of partnering; the leadership involved in public private partnerships; the role of locally embedded capital; the policy context in which entanglement occurs; and the overall shifts in the context in which the public private partnerships function.

8.4.1   The influential role of networks of interest and affiliation

Public private partnerships entail the interaction and collaboration of members of the public and private sectors (Van Ham and Koppenjan, 2001; Muller, 2003; Weihe, 2006). The actors who enter into and enact a partnership as representatives of these sectors bring with them many professional and personal relationships (Harding, 1998; Harding et al, 2000). These relationships influence the process of partnering (Harding et al, 2000) and affect the negotiation of development imperatives and the nature of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' that is produced through these negotiations and partnership activities. The networks and their influential activity in Durban's strategic public private partnerships are discussed below.

The primary networks which underpin the strategic public private partnerships in Durban have been forged between actors that have, typically, worked for 20 to 30 years in the city's development arena, in various guises (Moffett and Freund, 2002; Redman, 6/10/2006; Freund, 12/10/2006; Robbins, 23/11/2006). The long term involvement of partners within the urban development arena is evident in the example of Moses Tembe (long standing member of the DGC)[112] and John Barton (co-chair of the DGC) [113]. Durban is a city with a small group of

---

[112] Moses Tembe has a long history of involvement in business and property development in the Durban and has political connections relating to the struggle to liberate the South African economy from the inequalities of apartheid. Prior to 1994, he was involved in township retail ventures and served as secretary general in the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce & Industry (NAFCOC), a black business association which fought strongly for equality in the business environment (Tembe, 15/5/2007). Since 1994, Tembe has involved himself in the initiation of Vulindlela Investment Agency, a powerful BEE company, and has played a role in multiple property developments in Durban, including, the sale of land for the Point redevelopment, the development of the Albert Luthuli Hospital and the Suncoast Casino.

intellectual and socio-economic and political elite. This equates to a relatively small decision-making elite within the city who play an influential role in urban development and who enter into these partnerships in various roles (Pillay, 1994; Maharaj, 2002; Moffett and Freund, 2002; Freund, 12/10/2006). The networks of these actors therefore often overlap and intersect, with actors in the partnerships often forming part of each other's associated networks (Freund, 12/10/2006; Todes, 19/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Robbins, 23/11/2006; McCarthy, 30/10/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007).[114]

The networks associated with partnerships are derived from the affiliation of actors to particular organisations or sectors, particular causes, and specific shared histories, such as involvement in the country's liberation struggle (Freund, 12/10/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). These affiliations arise through a long term shared interest in the meeting of particular agendas, such as the democratization of the country or the desire to reap the rewards of an improved local economy. Because of these affiliations, personal networks extend into the national political and economic arenas in many instances. Furthermore, these networks are typically characterised by time-honored relationships of trust forged through long term interaction between actors within the urban development arena in Durban and the national process for democratization of South Africa (White, 17/10/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007).[115]

The networks linked to partnerships play a crucial role in the facilitation of negotiations which take place within partnerships. Firstly, networks, and the influence wielded by actors within these networks, can facilitate the formation of a partnership. For example, in Durban, it

---

[113] John Barton has been involved in city development issues from the private sector side for a long period of time as the CEO of Mondi (a paper processing company) and as an influential member of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, including a term as Chairperson in the late 1990s.

[114] Examples of the intersection of these networks include the connectivity between individuals involved in the DGC and the networks they have developed through prior roles in the development and transformation arenas in South Africa. For example, the former academic colleagues of the current municipal manager included an urban development consultant who worked as an advisor to the DGC (McCarthy, 30/10/2006). Furthermore, the networks of the then director of economic development in the eThekwini municipality and of the current municipal manager include an overlapping group of business people, trade unionists and politicians with whom they worked during the struggle against apartheid (McMenamin, 8/3/2007, Tembe, 15/5/2007, Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Robbins, 23/11/2006).

[115] Vivien McMenamin's involvement in various organisations involved in economic development is an example of the long-term relationships which were brought into the partnerships such as the DGC. Since the early 1990s, McMenamin played a variety of roles in the economic development field in South Africa. She served as a member of the ANC's Department of Economic Policy, as the director of the economic development department within the Durban (and later eThekwini) municipality and within the private sector as a senior executive of the South African division of Mondi (Hirsch, 2005; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). These roles allowed for the development of multiple connections within the ANC, the local government in KZN and in Durban and the economic actors within the city and the country, all of which could be drawn upon to aide the activities of the partnership.

was a collective of businessmen from across major companies in the city who collaborated to form a business vision which was then taken to the local government for discussions, ultimately leading to the formation of the DGC (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007). Specific relationships between actors also negatively effect the functioning of a partnership if potential partners have a history in which there is conflict or mistrust. In these cases, an aversion to collaborating with a particular actors can potentially limit the success of a partnership or will result in the failure of a potentially critical actor from entering into partnership activities (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007).[116]

Networks of affiliation and interest are viewed as critical to the overall formulation of agreements on development projects (Robbins, 23/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). The centrality of these networks is highlighted by McMenamin (8/3/2007):

> "The informal networks are what will allow informal coalitions to work and its not built on recent relationships. Also, if you just take in that bunch [of people] – Moses Tembe, I've now know Moses Tembe for 15 years. Themba Ngcobo, 15 years. If you don't have that [then] you can't pick up the phone and say, 'this is a bit of a problem now, lets talk to each other'. And then of course your reputation within that, so that if you damage people again and again and again you can phone them up, even although you are powerful, you can phone them up and say, 'I want to talk to you'. They will come and talk to you because you are powerful but will they do anything? Maybe not. So informal relationships are everything and its the way the world works".

This crucial role for networks is evident in the Durban Growth Coalition from 1999 to 2002. At this time, important actors within the DGC would utilise their networks to gather information which enabled them to understand how and why 'log jams' arose within stalled development projects and to negotiate through these so that projects could move forward (Barton, 6/3/2007). In many instances, these networks operate across and within the three spheres of government in South Africa and drew from a wide spectrum of actors who continue to be significant actors in government and the private sector and who have played an extended role in national transformation, including during South Africa's liberation struggle (Robbins, 23/11/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). The importance of connectivity within networks across the spheres of government is evident in the following statement from a former official in Durban's economic development department:

> "If you look at the projects that were involved, the casinos were multi-government level decision-making, the Riverhorse, multi-government level

---

[116] For example, a senior municipal official was reported to have a strong aversion to a private sector member of the Durban Growth Coalition. This dislike is reputed to have contributed to the reduction of municipal involvement in the DGC over time (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

decision-making, the Point, multi-government level decision-making. In all cases, I would be the legs that would go and break the log jams at each level of government and just because of my own history I had the sufficient access into different departments" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

Thus, in the case of the strategic urban development projects negotiated in the DGC between 1999 and 2002, networks were needed to overcome the constraints to development because the agreements were brokered across multiple levels of government and the private sector. Without access to these linkages to the spheres of government and various organizations through networks of affiliation and interest, lobbying and negotiation could not have successfully taken place.

In the DGC, these negotiations also relied on the background support of highly positioned members of political parties, namely, the ANC, with which some important actors had a history of involvement prior to 1994 (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). These supportive networks allowed for the sharing of information regarding 'sticking points' within negotiations and the actors responsible for 'hold-ups' within decision-making (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). Consequently, this knowledge led to new avenues for negotiation which ultimately led to the finalisation of property development agreements and the subsequent implementation of strategic projects in the city. Furthermore, these actors who belonged to supportive networks would sometimes become involved in the background negotiations of development agreements themselves, eliciting support from the powerful decision-making elite across the three spheres of government, which ultimately prompted favourable outcomes for stalled development projects such as the revitalization of the Point waterfront (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). The role of these networked associations is evident in the comments made below by McMenamin (8/3/2007), an actor in the DGC with ties to the ANC:

> "So if I got stuck on a point, I would get stuck because…I was bumping into interests which I couldn't understand… and I would say to [a member of my network] what do I do now? …He would say, 'go and speak to this one, go and speak to that one, go and speak to this one' and he, because of his position, would be able to call in the city politicians, the provincial politicians, and say a word at a national executive level".[117]

As presented above, these networks of powerful actors are central to the productivity of the partnerships. They operate as a critical mechanism through which agendas are negotiated so that urban development activities can take place. The agenda of the network influences the nature of entanglement as it directs many aspects of the partnership. The network brings local political agendas into play and draws in specific actors who have particular approaches to

---

[117] The name of the third party used in this quote has been omitted in the interests of confidentiality.

development, facilitating the intermeshing of a range of beliefs and agendas. Networks which rely on wider political circles in the country are particularly fundamental to drawing a mixed national agenda or a strongly redress-focussed agenda into the partnership. These agendas ultimately contribute to the shaping of the entanglement of imperatives which in turn affects the form of neoliberalisation implemented through the partnership. Ultimately, if the networked processes of partnering change to incorporate new or alternative networks there is likely to be a shift in configuration of the entanglement of imperatives. This will impact on the form of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' established through the relationship between the tenets of neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives.

It is evident that the negotiation of development goals through partnerships requires actors who are well connected to local networks of decision-making and are themselves in positions of power such that they are able to drive the process forward by utilizing their networks to realise an agenda for development which they support. It is, therefore, to the exercise of power and the role of leadership within partnership-related networks that the discussion now turns.

8.4.2   Leadership

Leadership within the public private partnerships influences the processes operating in partnerships. In turn, this can influence the development agendas which are negotiated in a partnership and the ways in which the entanglement of imperatives is configured, with consequences for the production of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. The following section thus discusses the role of leaders within the public private partnerships, concentrating on how they construct, maintain and shift the inter-relationship between the negotiation of development imperatives and neoliberalism.

Foundational to the networked processes of negotiation within partnerships is the involvement of actors who hold a strong enough position within their sector and within their associated networks that they are able to draw support for a partnership and its activities. Thus,

> "partnerships…really depend on the energy and the personalities at a particular time…its also the profile of the individuals concerned. So, on the private sector side you can have very energetic and committed individuals but if you don't have someone with enough respect in the business community to command the attention of other leaders in the business sector, you wont get the involvement of the kind of people that you want" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

Therefore, often potential actors will join a partnership because they believe, due to the involvement of high calibre actors and their personal networks, that there is potential for the

efforts of the partnership to reap rewards which serve the interests of all actors (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). Furthermore, these leaders need to remain active within, and supportive of, the public private partnership if confidence in the partnership is to be maintained.

In addition to their position, the ideological views and personal agendas of powerful actors within a partnership are influential in directing the focus and outcomes of the negotiation of development imperatives. The ideological approach adopted by an actor influences the ways in which they prioritise aspects of urban development (MacLaran, 2003). This has implications for the types of development pursued within a partnership and for how projects are implemented. Leaders thus impact on the nature of entanglement because they bring with them their perspectives on urban development and growth and drive particular agendas, including the agenda of 'a search for balance'.

In Durban, some of the most influential leaders within the private sector have adopted a stance which is highly influenced by the World Bank's advocacy of public private partnerships (Barton, 6/3/2007). The adoption of this position is evident in comments by a partnership representative who produced a World Bank report on public private partnerships during an interview, announcing, "this is from our friends at the World Bank" (Barton, 6/3/2007). Furthermore, both public and private sector leaders involved in the partnerships support a development agenda derived from the recommendations made by an economic development report for Durban produced by the Monitor Group in 2000 (Monitor Group, 2000; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

The World Bank reports and advice on public private partnerships and the Monitor Group's (2000) report on Durban, strongly advocate improved competitiveness and market liberalization. These institutions emphasise on the private sector as the main actor in creating change while the public sector is viewed as playing a supporting role by facilitating an environment conducive to economic growth (Davies, 2000; Painter, 2000; Bond, 2005a). In the case of the report on Durban by the Monitor Group (2000), the social benefits of economic development to be achieved through the processes of trickle down, underlie the argument for a focus on economic growth which is enmeshed with the need for redress and redistribution within the city. Acceptance and support of these arguments by actors within the PPPs facilitates a strong advocacy for economic growth and development and to approaches to urban development which advance the incorporation of tenets of neoliberalism into urban development projects within the city (Barton, 6/3/2007).

Alternatively, some powerful members of the municipality maintain a strongly socialist or Marxist agenda in the midst of the pressures of capitalism (McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007),

> "Importantly, I think there is quite a strong set of socialist precepts, and actually emotionally, anti-capitalistic views….within government, and especially eThekwini. So there are a number of senior officials who are unabashed Marxists…And who are deeply suspicious of anything that has to do with profits" (McCarthy, 30/10/2006).

This ideological stance places some of the influential members of partnerships in the uneasy position of being involved with the private sector through partnerships but as continuing to advocate a strongly pro-poor agenda that is not supportive of capitalism and the tendencies for state withdrawal advanced by neoliberalism.

The differences in approach adopted by powerful actors affect the negotiation of development imperatives within partnerships. Since discourses of growth and redress are brought into the partnerships by influential actors with strong opinions and the backing of powerful networks, these discourses become powerful threads within the discussion and overall agenda of a partnership (see section 7.2). It is important that evidence of the different approaches brought into the PPP by actors is maintained within a partnership. This is necessary because the ongoing support and involvement of the powerful actors, and their networks, is reliant on the belief that the partnership can support and advance their development agenda (Harding, 1998; Stoker, 1998; Mullin, 2002; Flinders, 2005). The desire that partnerships serve the agenda of actors involved in it is evident in comments made by a member of the business sector: "even if you've got a profile individual involved or a couple of profile individuals involved, if there isn't demonstrated results, the private sector just votes with their feet and withdraw [from a partnership], slowly but steadily" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

However, within partnerships for urban renewal there are typically contradictions between the economic and social agendas brought to the partnership by the actors involved (Basset et al, 2002). Therefore, in order for the partnerships in Durban to function successfully, the contradictions between economic growth and socio-economic redress principles need to be overcome and an integrated approach to development must be negotiated in which both approaches are accommodated. The process of negotiation which serves to, at least partially, overcome the contradictions between development approaches relies on the discursive production of an entangled discourse (detailed in Chapter Seven). These discourses, such as a seeking of 'balance'; the relational notion of 'trickle down' as a means to accomplishing both

economic growth and post apartheid redress; and one which fuses agendas (see Chapter Seven) produce an entanglement of imperatives. This entanglement allows for competing approaches to co-exist within the development agenda of the PPP, satisfying actors' needs for the explicit evidence of their chosen approach within the PPP.

The impacts of powerful leadership on the partnership itself and on the ways it negotiates imperatives of economic growth and redress, and thereby produces a localised form of neoliberalisation, is particularly evident in the role played by the current municipal manager of the eThekwini Municipality. In the case of the municipal manager, his strong leftist ideology and his powerful position within the city and ANC have had a significant impact on public private partnerships in Durban.[118]

The current municipal manager is a somewhat controversial character in terms of his approach to transformation and development within Durban. He has a reputation for preferring to adopt a more leftist approach to development and governance, concentrating on the transformation of the apartheid city and the reduction of socio-economic inequalities (Sim, 29/8/2006; White, 17/10/2006; McCarthy, 30/10/2006). He is also sceptical of the self-interest of business in undertaking urban development (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). Furthermore, he is cautious in his acceptance of the use of partnerships as a tool for urban development (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). The strength of this stance is coupled with a leadership style that is independent and which is sometimes labelled as hierarchical (White, 17/10/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). This leftist stance and his strong leadership style can cause conflict when decisions are made that are deemed controversial.[119] As an actor with a long professional history in Durban and within national political circles, the municipal manager is a well connected and powerful person (Silal, 7/11/2006, Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007).[120] As evident in the comment below, his power is further entrenched by his position as the municipal manager: "the city

---

[118] Data on which this discussion relies has been accumulated from interviews with actors in the partnerships and from the interview with the current municipal manager.

[119]For instance, since 2004, controversy has existed over the renaming streets in Durban, a process which the municipal manager has steadfastly and vociferously supported despite ongoing protest from communities, businesses and a number of political parties (Savides, 23/8/2009). Furthermore, the municipal manager's advocacy for processes of urban revitalisation through a programme for the renewal of transportation and market facilities in Warwick Junction have raised much controversy (*The Daily News*, 27/5/2009).

[120] Prior to acceptance of his current position, the municipal manager had a career in academia, reaching a professorial position in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the former University of Natal in Durban (Maharaj and Low, 2008). By the 1980s, he had become involved in politics and worked within the liberation movement. This role led to his appointment as a representative of the ANC in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial parliament in 1994 and, subsequently, to his chairmanship of the Municipal Demarcation Board in 1999 to lead the process of nation wide redemarcation of municipal boundaries (Maharaj and Low, 2008).

manager, you can't do anything substantial without talking to him. It's a fact of life" (Tembe, 15/5/2007).

The impacts of the municipal manager's ideological stance are clearly evident in shifts which have occurred in the Durban Growth Coalition from 2002. The DGC came into existence in 1999 prior to the appointment of the current municipal manager in 2002. Soon after his appointment, the municipal manager brought his strongly equity and redress focussed agenda and his perspective on partnerships into the negotiations regarding the redevelopment of the city's main beachfront area.[121] His powerful position within the city, coupled with a strong critique of the development plans being proposed, had the immediate effect of the withdrawal of support for the beachfront renewal project by many of the members of the private sector involved (Curtis, 27/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). This withdrawal as driven by the actors who became sceptical of the possibility of accruing benefits to themselves, and the city, by partnering on these kinds of urban development issues, in the light of the critique offered by a powerful role-player such as the municipal manager.

This leadership stance had further direct impacts on the Durban Growth Coalition. It resulted in a shift in personnel from the municipality to the private sector, and in a more widespread loss of faith by members of the private sector, effectively removing key leaders and influential negotiators from the partnership (McMenamin, 8/3/2007). Over time, this reduction in support for the DGC substantially reduced its strategic role and ultimately shifted its focus to one of communication and of concentrating on provincial rather than local development in Durban (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007).

The current municipal manager has thus been influential in reducing the activity and power of the Durban Growth Coalition in recent years. This is a result of his concern that strategic development decisions need to be taken under the auspices of the municipality itself, rather than through a self-defined and convened partnership which is strongly profit motivated rather than inclusive of the more socially oriented goals of the city (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).[122] These

---

[121] Underway in the DGC at the time, these negotiations centred on the development of "a triangle of safety" marked by the Suncoast Casino, the Point Waterfront and the Durban International Convention Centre (McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). It was envisaged that this development zone would be managed by the private sector in an effort to provide a safe tourism and leisure zone of excellent quality in a more efficient and well-marketed fashion than would be possible through an uncoordinated approach (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).
[122] This stance is however contested as some view his opposition to the partnership as a move to protect the independence and decision-making power of the municipal manager's office rather than continuing with the more collaborative decision-making processes being undertaken through the partnership of the DGC (Brink,

interventions in the partnership and their motivation reflect the manner in which the outlook of a dominant and powerful leader can influence the partnership.

The ways in which networks and leadership contribute to the approach and activities within the partnerships has a direct influence on how the process of negotiation of urban development imperatives is determined by the local context. This process of negotiation has very little to do with 'global forces' in terms of how it unfolds and on whom it relies and instead reflects the minutiae of strategic decision-making processes at the local level. The process can be seen as serving broader, national interests, but is predominantly about localised affiliations and relationships between actors and about the actors who broker agreements, exert power and influence development processes behind the scenes. These localised processes mediate the ways in which global approaches come to be realised in a particular place by imposing local development agendas within partnerships and by affecting the productivity of the partnerships themselves (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). Consequently, such conditions involve the appropriation of global approaches and the subsequent creation of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' executed through the public private partnerships (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Robinson, 2006).

8.4.3   The role of locally embedded capital

The Durban economy is characterised as having a small business elite (Freund and Padayachee, 2002; Moffett and Freund, 2004). Therefore, there are few companies which are sufficiently well-resourced and powerful to engage in strategic partnerships with the municipality and to devise and implement large scale boosterist development projects. The local embeddedness of this powerful segment of the private sector is significant to the partnership-based negotiation and development which has been taking place in Durban. The long term, vested interest of capital in the city means that capital is fixed and is therefore more reliant on local urban development for its long term success than other, more mobile capital would be. Thus, the local embeddedness of capital encourages the formation of partnerships in which development imperatives can be negotiated and engenders a greater inclination and potential to accommodate the imperatives advocated by the public sector. To this end, the case of Moreland Developments provides insights into the role of locally

---

4/4/2007; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). According to a former senior municipal official, "he drives by himself and he doesn't necessarily build partnerships to achieve things and the Growth Coalition lost energy" (McMenamin, 8/3/2007).

embedded capital in the partnering process and its negotiations of development imperatives in Durban.[123]

Moreland Developments was incorporated as the property development arm of Tongaat Hulett in 1981 in order to undertake development of the extensive landholdings of the Tongaat Hulett Group.[124] Since that time, it has become one of the largest profit-making subsidiaries within Tongaat Hulett with approximately R13 billion invested in the development of commercial, industrial and residential properties (www.moreland.co.za). These projects have included large scale shopping malls such as Umhlanga Gateway, the luxury gated communities of Mount Edgecombe, an entertainment complex north of the city at Sibaya Casino and Entertainment World and the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. In addition, the comprehensive planning and development of Umhlanga New Town Centre and the La Lucia Ridge office park have confirmed the role of Moreland Developments as important creators of the contemporary urban landscape in Durban, especially in the northern parts of the city (Michel and Scott, 2005; Fakisandla Consulting, 2007a). Prior to this extensive drive to develop property, Tongaat Hulett had recognised its powerful role as a land holder in Durban and in the late 1980s had instigated a collective planning process called the Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum which informed the sweeping property development investments which have occurred in the last decade.[125]

As with its past successes, much of the future success of Moreland Developments is dependent on the development of its landholdings in and around Durban (Barnett, 8/11/2006;

---

[123] In line with internal restructuring within the Tongaat Hulett group, Moreland Developments changed its name to Tongaat Hulett Developments in August 2007 (*Sunday Tribune*, 19/8/2007). This study incorporates a consideration of the company before and after its name change. For the purposes of consistency with the nomenclature used in the primary data, the discussion in thesis refers to the company as Moreland Developments or Moreland. In some instances, interview respondents refer to the company as 'Morelands'.

[124] Tongaat Hulett has a historical origin in the early sugar farming industry in and around Durban therefore the company is rooted in the colonial ownership of sugar farms along the North Coast of Natal. The company set up the property development wing of Moreland Developments in 1981 to explore the potential of developing formerly agricultural land into urban properties (www.moreland.co.za, accessed 15/7/2008).

[125] In 1989, the Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum was devised as a process which could incorporate private and public sector representatives and academics in the development of a spatial plan for Durban outside of the confinements of the political constraints of the period. The spatial plan which emerged from this process was the first of the 'new plans' for Durban, which used the principles of nodes, corridors and infill to advise on the future development of Durban. The plan focused on urban restructuring and initiated the ideas about the development of the city through a plan for a growth corridor that extended northwards towards the Umhlanga area (Todes, 2002). This forum was followed by various other spatial planning forums in the 1990s from which a series of plans were created. The first Metropolitan Spatial Plan in 1999 gave legality to ideas which were developed by previous plans and formed the most advanced plan of its kind for Durban at the time (Todes, 2002). Innovation in this plan included an emphasis on including the development of previously disadvantaged areas, such as townships and informal settlements, and a further emphasis on the development of corridors and nodes rather than relying on the dominant core-periphery thinking (Todes, 2002).

Deighton, 22/11/2006). As eThekwini Municipality is the overseer of all development projects in the city, and pays special attention to those on a grand scale, Moreland Developments has an interest in maintaining a positive relationship with the municipality. Furthermore, the ongoing profitability and growth of Moreland Developments is reliant on working within an urban economy in which property development remains a viable and lucrative economic activity. This requires that Moreland Developments make an effort to ensure that the local economy is produced and maintained. These interests encourage the forging of partnerships with the local state since it is central to the facilitation of property development (Harding et al, 2000; Healey et al, 2003; MacLaran, 2003).

Beyond Moreland Developments' motivation for entering into partnership with the municipality, the embedded position of Moreland within the urban economy and its history and experience of large scale property development have made it the municipality's primary choice as a partner for urban development (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007). Public sector officials have favoured partnering with Moreland Developments because they can rely on the stability of the company, its resources and its extensive experience in the successful implementation of property development (Silal, 7/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). As highlighted by a city official and member of the Joint Venture committee:

> "the important thing is you've got to get into partnership with somebody who's established, who's got a history of achievement, who's been able to deliver consistently, I think Moreland speaks volumes for itself in terms of service delivery" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

The city is also motivated to collaborate with Moreland Developments because of the sweeping changes it has wrought in the northern landscape of the city and the many future developments it plans to undertake (Redman, 6/10/2006; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). Since the company has exerted such a powerful influence on urban development in Durban, representatives of the city argue that it is better to engage the company directly on development planning than to allow these widespread developments to occur with very little other than adhoc and environmental impact assessments and planning applications (Barnett, 8/11/2006). This motivation for collaboration with Moreland Developments is exemplified in a comment made by the deputy mayor: "I think partnerships like this are good in the sense that you are dealing with a major land owner, you rather bring them to the table and plan together than have them on their own, you know" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

Given the mutual desire for collaboration, the relationship between Moreland Developments and the city is cordial and mutually respectful (Redman, 6/10/2006; Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). However, at times, tensions emerge from the pressures placed by Moreland Developments on the city to attend to their development applications (internal and external to the Joint Venture and its projects) and because Moreland Developments, in turn, sometimes views the city as obstructive or lacking in expertise to approve or advance their development applications (Sim, 29/8/2006; Redman, 6/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). As one urban planning official stated, the municipality's relationship with Moreland Developments is,

> "like two bulls fighting in a ring and I don't think the winner has been declared yet… I find them bombastic at times and they may see the city as holding up development but we can't just put up development all over the place, we need to take account of the limits of development and the impacts of all these developments. The planners have some trouble with them" (Barnett, 8/11/2006).

Furthermore, a deputy municipal manager argued that,

> "there are tensions very often in terms of their planning and our planning. And we have made it clear now that the city is not going to continue to fund ad infinitum… the infrastructure which benefits their developments primarily" (D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006).

The city thus intends to work collaboratively but does not want to be pressured into hasty decisions which may result in development which ultimately has a negative impact on the urban landscape. Furthermore, these decisions may place too much pressure on services infrastructure in the short term and therefore require the city to, unwillingly, shift its own development programme to suit the demands of the private sector (Sim, 29/8/2006; Redman, 6/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006).

The willingness to collaborate, the economic and strategic power of Moreland Developments and the historical relationship between the company and the municipality, influence the negotiation of development imperatives in the city, further supporting the entanglement of their agendas. Moreland Developments recognises the benefits of collaboration and co-operation with the city, particularly in attaining the city's approval of their proposed development plans, and gaining the assistance of the city in the implementation of these projects (Redman, 6/10/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006). Thus, in order to acquire and maintain this positive relationship, the company has become more willing to address concerns for redress and redistribution within the formulation of projects and in the development process itself. This is confirmed by statements made by the current city manager:

"private sector firms… usually only think of BEE, when they are doing government contracts. And that's the reality and so yes, I don't think they would even think about [redress] frameworks if they were not involved with us" (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007).

This positionality of Moreland Developments in the local context means that the negotiation of competing imperatives occurs somewhat differently to how it would with foreign investors or less locally embedded capital that has fewer ties to the local context. The latter investors would be able to conduct their business elsewhere if pressed too hard to include sometimes costly measures for redress within their proposed projects (MacLaran, 2003).

Furthermore, the reliance on the municipality to facilitate a context conducive to the best functioning of the market means that the private sector has to adopt the discourses and approaches required by the municipality so as to enlist their support. Thus, an agenda for redress and redistribution is more strongly adopted than would otherwise be the case (Todes 19/10/2006; Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007) with the result that, the competing imperatives become entangled. That this may simply be a pragmatic discursive practice which smoothes the relationship between parties and allows the achievement of self-interested goals more readily, does not negate the fact that redress becomes a more powerful discourse in the negotiations related to development projects. In practice, although the city undertakes investment which supports the private sector agenda within the partnerships, the exclusive adoption of market related practices is circumvented because the private sector includes redress in its development which are counter to the tenets of market liberalisation under a neoliberal approach. Overall, the embeddedness of local capital predicates and facilitates the enmeshing of redress and growth imperatives. This allows for a shift in the neoliberalisation process to produce a locally specific version of the process and form of neoliberalism; what Brenner and Theodore (2002a) have deemed an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

Thus the imperative of economic growth inherent in the drive for profits by locally embedded capital becomes enmeshed with an imperative for redress which, if adopted and complied with, will promote the furthering of both public and private sector goals through a localised form of neoliberalisation. The inclusion of redress within partnerships and their projects is also influenced by the national policy and legislative context. This will be discussed below.

8.4.4   The role of the national policy and legislative framework

The national policy and legislative framework influences the negotiation of imperatives in partnerships. As legal entities, such as in the case of the Joint Venture, partnerships are required to follow national legal requirements for partnerships and for procedures and conduct relating to development such as the Public Finance Management Act (Act 1 of 1999) and the Municipal Financial Management Act (Act 56 of 2003). Additionally, even when partnerships themselves are not institutionalised, public and private sector partners are required to adhere to national legislation. This is especially significant for local government which has many of its policies, procedures and agendas determined by the national government (Harrison et al, 2008). The following discussion presents an examination of how this necessary condition influences the negotiation of imperatives in PPPs and the consequent formation of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

National and local laws and policies require that redress and redistribution must be considered within the processes and outcomes of PPPs and their projects (see sections 4.2.5). Thus, imperatives for redress and transformation are introduced into partnerships through the pressures for compliance with black economic empowerment (BEE) requirements and procurement and tendering procedures that are brought to bear by the public sector partners. The predominant legal requirements stemming from legislation and policy emphasised by the respondents are the black economic empowerment policy, the Municipal Systems Act, the Public Financial Management Act and the Municipal Financial Management Act (White, 17/10/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Curtis, 27/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).[126]

However, in reality, despite the existence of these legal requirements, the formalised influence of redistributive processes, programmes and policies can be quite limited. This is partly due to the fact that partnerships and, in the case of the Joint Venture, their concomitant contractual agreements predate much of the national legislation which now governs the local municipality

---

[126] The implementation of these laws and the control of PPPs through the National Treasury Department has limited the opportunities for local government to venture into future PPPs and also limits the conduct of municipalities within the context of a partnerships such as a joint venture (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). Legislation such as the Municipal Financial Management Act precludes the eThekwini Municipality from taking on extensive risk within development projects and prevents the municipality from acting as a developer with extensive shareholder investment in projects. This is seen positively, in the sense that it protects the tax payers' money and municipal resources. However, it is also viewed negatively because it limits the creativity of municipalities in determining how to address their development needs. In addition, quite a strict interpretation of the Municipal Financial Management Act is used by eThekwini Municipality, which exacerbates the potential severity of the limitations imposed by the law (Curtis, 27/2/2007).

(Barnett, 8/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). Thus, as evident below, the inclusion of redress within the partnerships occurs voluntarily:

> "The Riverhorse JV was structured and signed and sealed before all that legislation was a requirement. So, in the JV…Moreland do all the administrative work. They put out the contracts, they administer the contracts, they supervise the construction of the internal roads and earthworks and all the rest of it, or they have somebody doing it. And it's not in accordance with the city's current procurement policies because that's not what was in the deal. But it has been part of the discussion subsequently and they are…well let's put it this way, they [Moreland Developments] have a way of structuring their work to encourage people to meet BEE requirements… so we have been encouraging them to do it, even though in terms of the agreement it doesn't apply. They've actually been doing it quite actively anyway, but subsequently if we were to sign a JV agreement today, we would definitely say look these are the requirements in terms of the current legislation, of supply chain management, of black economic empowerment," (Barnett, 7/11/2006).

The timing of the formation of DGC and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Development Joint Venture thus precluded much formal imposition of the, now legislated, requirements for redress which could have been included in binding partnership agreements when the partnerships were instituted. Furthermore, these partnerships are focussed on boosterist projects which were not originally designed to meet issues of equity and redistribution in the city. These aspects of the partnerships thus limit the enforcement of institutionalised mechanisms of redress and results in a heavy reliance on the voluntary incorporation of redress into partnership activities.

The broader development policy and legislative frameworks of South Africa are not entirely focussed on the inclusion of practices which improve redress and redistribution. While the redress and redistribution imperative appears in national and local legislation and policy, the overall policy environment also incorporates the tenets of neoliberalism and a drive for economic growth. The main policy instituted in 1996, to promote economic growth is the macro-economic strategy of GEAR, which is also framed in a neoliberal discourse (Biggs, 1997; Hart, 2002; Bond, 2005a). In addition, the national adoption of programmes such as NePAD and the Millennium Development Goals, impose particular policy frameworks onto the local government (African Union, 2001; Versfeld, 2003; United Nations, 2005). These require that they adopt a stance on development issues which address both the social and service provision priorities of the United Nations and the neoliberal agendas of the New Partnership for Africa's Development promoted by the African Union (Bond, 2002; Tsheola, 2002) (see Chapter Four). Thus the policy environment provides a mixed impetus for redress, improved equity and quality of life, and the liberalisation of the market in order to fast track

an increase in the national and local rates of economic growth (van Donk et al, 2008). This multi-faceted national agenda filters down to influence partnerships by creating a simultaneous need for economic growth and for redress and redistribution which will overcome the inequities of the past in the urban development arena (Cleobury, 2006).

The dual agenda for economic growth and redress produced by the policy environment in which partnerships function is further evident in the multi-pronged agenda of the eThekwini IDP. As stated by the deputy mayor, the IDP "really is the plan that drives development priorities in the city" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). As such, the IDP is a framework which outlines the strategic goals of the municipality and which drives the trajectory of urban development and the mandated transformation in the city. This planning tool enforces an approach to development which has to accommodate both redress and economic growth. This therefore requires the negotiation of imperatives such that they are balanced across and within development activities in the city and, thereby, creates their entanglement.

In the eThekwini Municipality's current IDP (2009), the municipality's principle priorities are laid out in an Eight Point Plan which includes the following strategic areas:

1. Sustaining our natural and built environment.
2. Economic development and job creation.
3. Quality living environments.
4. Safe, healthy and secure environment.
5. Empowering citizens.
6. Celebrating our cultural diversity.
7. Good governance.
8. Financial viability and sustainability (eThekwini Municipality, 2009, 10).

Collectively, these eight priority areas cover a spectrum of development concerns from pro-growth to pro-poor approaches and do not particularly separate growth and redress. Instead, the IDP fails to prioritise any of the eight goals over others and provides a sense that these agendas need to be and are being addressed concurrently and in relation with each other. It is argued here, that for the most part, this Plan, while upholding the mandated responsibility of the city to undertake redress, draws on elements of economic growth and increased competitiveness to undertake urban transformation which will lead to an improvement of the overall quality of life in the city. In response, rather than viewing these priorities as competing with each other, representatives of the municipality see them as strongly interwoven, for example,

> "the eight programs in our IDP is to create a sustainable economy, grow the economy, to create better living environment, but all these things... it's all linked, whichever way you look at it" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

This produces a development agenda which is characterised by the requirement for enacting both redress and growth and therefore facilitates an entanglement of development imperatives.

In addition to the IDP, the 2006 municipal budget illustrates the ways in which the prioritisation of boosterist activities which are seen to facilitate economic growth and improved competitiveness are entangled with development imperatives for redress. Within the municipal budget, the strong focus on operational expenditure indicates a prioritisation of service provision and maintenance of urban infrastructure on an ongoing basis (eThekwini Municipality 2006b; Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007). However, if one examines the, admittedly lesser, portion of the budget that is allocated to capital expenditure it is evident that much of this money has been assigned to flagship developments and boosterist projects which are aimed at improving the city's global competitiveness (Robbins, 2005). This indicates that although activities for redress and ongoing maintenance in the city are financially prioritised, the capital expenditure on new infrastructure and facilities for the city is highly concentrated on boosterist activities, rather than those which would more directly serve the need for housing, community, education and health facilities in urban communities. Thus neither economic growth nor redress imperatives for development are entirely prioritised within the budget, reflecting the co-existence of agendas within the activities funded by the municipality.

The policy and legislative context thus establishes a mixed agenda of both redress and growth which underpins and facilitates the entanglement of these imperatives. Legislation within the country, particularly as concerns development at the local level, is particularly supportive of an agenda of redress and redistribution. However, the macro-economic policy environment and the devolution of a number of unfunded mandates, such as local economic development and housing, to local government create a context in which the local state is required to support economic growth and to become more self-sufficient in its undertaking of local development.

A policy context thus exists, which establishes dual development imperatives and requires that they be accommodated within the development approach formulated in public private partnerships. This provides an impetus for their entanglement. Consequently, these conditions strongly influence both the emergence of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' and the form that it takes. If the policy and legislative environment was altered and became focussed on one or other of the development agendas much more singularly, this would shift the inputs

into the entanglement of imperatives and, ultimately, change the form of their inter-relationship. Such a shift would cause the relationship between the negotiation of imperatives in PPPs and neoliberalism to be reformulated, potentially producing a new 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

8.4.5 The role of context: Shifting opportunities for negotiation over time

The role of PPPs in the negotiation of development imperatives is neither uniform nor static. Partnerships are viewed as being very strongly driven by context (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007), therefore how they emerge, operate and define their focus occurs within moments in time and space where specific contextual and structural conditions coalesce. Within these moments, certain public-private relationships and their development outcomes are possible which would be unlikely under different circumstances. As the context in which they operate shifts, the character and functioning of PPPs are impacted upon, with the result that partnerships might diminish or adapt, thus altering the ways in which development imperatives are negotiated, with consequential shifts in the formation of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

In Durban, in the mid to late 1999s, concern about economic stagnation in the city, the emergent processes of transformation, abounding optimism in the county's future and the policy vacuum in local government coalesced to create an opportunity for partnering between business and local government which could work creatively to address concerns for development in Durban (McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007). With few guidelines on the way forward and a need to overcome the barriers between business and government, leaders and thinkers in the public and private sector had the opportunity to come up with their own solutions, to intervene in ways that they believed necessary. This need for the overcoming of barriers and the adoption of new mechanisms for development is articulated by Barton (6/3/2007), the long-standing DGC co-chair,

> "you realise that unless all the parties, business, society, government and the trade unions, those four parties, if they don't start to work together you are not going to build a nation… A lot of people think that PPPs are about business getting together with government and building a factory and its not, its about understanding each other."

Also important was the optimism of the era in which such dramatic change had occurred in South Africa. There was a pervasive sense both of multitudinous possibilities and the need for actors to work hard to make transformation happen successfully (Pieterse and Meintjies, 2004; McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Barton, 6/3/2007).

These conditions thus created an openness for dialogue between actors in urban development and saw powerful actors taking up what was perceived as a welcome and necessary duty to promote transformation at the local level, as part of a national process (Barton, 6/3/2007). New mechanisms for urban development were needed as vehicles for the processes of deliberation and negotiation inherent in forging urban transformation and thus opportunities for the implementation of tools such as public private partnerships emerged. In 1999, the Durban Growth Coalition thus began to act as a mechanism for critical negotiation regarding urban development (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). The subsequent formation of the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture further encapsulates the recognition of a need for shared responsibility in urban development (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). The Joint Venture moved beyond the DGC's main task, of instigating development, by forging new project agreements. These encompassed the negotiation of the practical aspects of undertaking development projects through partnerships, such as shared investment, skills, risk and profit (Silal, 7/11/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; Robbins, 23/11/2006).

By the mid 2000s, the context in Durban had shifted, with implications for partnerships inherent in this shift. By this time, the roles and responsibilities of local government had become instituted in law (Parnell et al, 2002; van Donk et al, 2008). Furthermore, those working in the local government sphere were increasingly secure in their roles and responsibilities and a number of pivotal positions within the city had been taken up by leaders with strongly defined agendas for the nature of transformation in Durban (White, 17/10/2006; McCarthy, 30/10/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). Added to this, by the 2000s and thereafter, the national thrust towards reconciliation and transformation which had prevailed in the late 1990s had diminished somewhat, with the result that relationships between business and government have hardened to a degree. This is evident in statements by a reputed economic and urban analyst that these changes in context have impacted on the nature of relationships between the public and private sector within the partnerships:

> "If I take 1998, you know there was a deliberate effort to be convivial, I thought. People put their backs into being nice to each other, didn't quite always understand each other, but put their backs into it and sort of worked at collaboration and I don't sense that now, on either side… Its symptomatic perhaps of a national situation, but there is a degree of uniqueness as well which depends on the particular chemistry of individuals and so on… I think they each had decided they don't need each other as much as they used to…There's also been a shift from the Mandela to the Mbeki era in terms of how you conduct yourself generally,…The Mandela era was wearing Francois Pienaar's rugby jersey and actually really trying to make up, you know. The Mbeki era is much

more of a negotiation era, bit of a stand off era, where you tell each other what you think and sometimes you work together and other times you won't. And I think that's mirrored at a microscopic level as well" (McCarthy, 30/10/2006).

Of particular importance for the prospects for the negotiation of imperatives within partnerships, and for the longevity of partnerships, is the eThekwini Municipality's view of itself as much less reliant on the private sector to address development priorities than it was in the 1990s and, consequently, is more able to impose its agenda (Silal, 7/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007). According to a number of respondents, communication of the municipal approach to urban development is prioritised over genuine negotiation and deliberation. The municipality is viewed as lacking concern for the creation of partnerships or the relationships necessary for shared decision-making (White, 17/10/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007; Sooklal, 10/4/2007, Tembe, 15/5/2007).

Furthermore, the sense of independence, which is so strongly communicated by the municipality, is often not well received by the members of the private sector who have been previously involved in negotiations and shared decision-making through partnerships in Durban. Thus, although negotiations continue within ongoing partnerships, such as the Joint Venture, the private sector is concerned that there are fewer opportunities for communication and negotiation than in the past (Brink, 4/4/2007; Tembe, 15/5/2007). The shift in approach by the municipality and the implications for negotiations within partnerships is evident in the following comments by a former member of the DGC and the Joint Venture:

> "So the whole nature of PPP's in government circles has changed probably from where it was ten years ago. Where government was uncertain, insecure, new boys on the block and they needed to get private sector skills to help them get out of the starting block. Now they're arrogant, controlling freaks, and self-centred and you'll see very few PPPs coming off the ground now…I don't sense that we even talk the same language here [in Durban] anymore" (Brink, 4/4/2007).

These changes have thus created a context in which there is diminished opportunity for the open and fluid types of partnerships which emerged in the late 1990s in Durban. Given these contextual changes, many respondents believe that the two partnerships in Durban which have dramatically impacted on the urban landscape since the mid 1990s are a product of the specific context through which they emerged and could not be established in the present circumstances. Opportunities for new partnership formation and for the scope of further negotiations entailed within the existing partnerships have been reduced because of a shift in the away from the strong attitude of reconciliation within South Africa in the 1990s, a (related) changed relationship between local government and the private sector in Durban.

Furthermore, the restrictions imposed by recent policy and legislation which determine the boundaries of how the local state works limits the opportunities for future partnerships between the municipality and the private sector.[127]

The implications of shifts in context are particularly evident across the lifespan of the Durban Growth Coalition. From the mid 2000s, these contextual changes resulted in the DGC experiencing a lessening of partnership activity in terms of negotiations for development thus diminishing the influence of the partnership within the urban development arena in Durban (Robbins, 23/11/2006; McMenamin, 8/3/2007; Brink, 4/4/2007). In order to maintain a measure of usefulness, during the mid to late 2000s, the Durban Growth Coalition has shifted towards taking an interest in provincial economic development concerns. It has become a conduit for communication between provincial ministers and the broader KZN business community (Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007).

It is thus evident that changes in context can affect the character of a public private partnership and its opportunities for partnering in the city. This has implications for the role or importance of PPPs in the future transformation of the city. Shifts in context influence the nature of neoliberalism and the processes of neoliberalisation undertaken in the urban development sphere. This occurs because the relationships within partnerships are influenced by the context in which they are forged and maintained. When the ties within these networks weaken, strengthen or are less convivial, the form of entanglement changes and there is a shift in the manner in which imperatives are negotiated and the forms of neoliberalism and neoliberalisation which emerge through these engagements. Furthermore, if a change in context produces opportunities for partnerships to engage in new arenas, then the development projects through which neoliberalism is implemented are also likely to change these urban spaces.

In conclusion, each of the conditions found to influence the PPPs in Durban and their urban development processes are implicated in the nature of the public private partnerships and, importantly, influence the manner in which development imperatives are prioritised and negotiated. Therefore, these conditions actively contribute to the shaping of the entanglement of imperatives and the formation of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. As discussed in

---

[127] The Municipal Financial Management Act, for example, now restricts the way that a municipality can use its funds. Therefore, a municipality is no longer permitted to take the kinds of financial risks as were still permissible when the Moreland developments-eThekwini Municipality Joint Venture was formulated (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Silal, 7/11/2006).

Chapter Seven, the nature of an entanglement is somewhat fluid and unstable (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). It is therefore likely that, if these local conditions shift, actors will renegotiate the relationship between the development imperatives and the nature of entanglement will be altered. Change in the nature of the entanglement will shift the relationship between the negotiation of imperatives and neoliberalism. These conditions can, therefore, influence the overall character of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' which comes to be in the urban development arena of the city.

8.5   Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the overarching outcome of the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of development imperatives in partnerships is the production of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. The localised form of neoliberalism is produced through the particular configuration of the entanglement of development imperatives such that redress and economic growth become enmeshed and thereby, co-constituted. As this occurs, the interconnections between the growth imperative and the tenets of neoliberalism result in a shift in the character of neoliberalism and the processes through which it is materialised in urban development. A locally produced neoliberalisation process is evident since the multi-faceted role of local government within partnerships and the nuances found within boosterist processes incorporate redress within activities which could otherwise be viewed as purely reflective of 'neoliberalism in theory'.

The production of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' is further considered in the light of conditions related to the locality through which the partnerships are produced and enacted. These conditions are the networks used to facilitate the developments and the partnerships, the PPP leadership, locally embedded capital and its role in partnerships and their urban development, the policy context in South Africa, and the shift, over time, in the context in which partnerships operate. These conditions are shown to contribute to the relationship between neoliberalism and the entanglements of imperatives and thereby play a role in shaping the 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

The following chapter supports the arguments initiated within Chapter Seven and Eight by examining the urban development projects undertaken through the public private partnerships. These large scale property development projects are presented as processes and material outcomes of an entangled urban development agenda, and are, thereby, evidence of the production and character of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

CHAPTER NINE

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:
REVEALING THE CHARACTER OF AN 'ACTUALLY EXISTING NEOLIBERALISM'

9.1   Introduction

This chapter presents a critical analysis of two urban development projects which have been undertaken through the public private partnerships in Durban. The first section of the chapter describes the kinds of development projects undertaken under the auspices of the public private partnerships. The discussion then turns to a more critical examination of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate (section 9.3) and the Bridge City mixed use development project (section 9.4). These projects serve as a lens through which to understand the character of the locally specific neoliberalism produced by the entanglement of development imperatives in the public private partnerships. This 'actually existing neoliberalism' is evident in the boosterist form of developments which, although they aim to produce market-oriented economic growth (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a), incorporate of a concern for post apartheid redress and redistribution. Furthermore, the critical analysis of these projects sheds light on how variability within neoliberalism occurs within places (Larner, 2000; Barnett, 2005). Tracing the intricacies of these development projects extends the understanding of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' as a complex and nuanced development approach which occurs variably and can produce seemingly inconsistent outcomes in the city.

9.2   Projects undertaken through the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture

The following section provides an overview of the kinds of projects undertaken by the public private partnerships in Durban to address the economic growth and post-apartheid redress and transformation development priorities of the actors within the partnerships. As is evident below, the projects undertaken through PPPs are generally strongly indicative of a neoliberal boosterist urban development agenda. This agenda concentrates on flagship development as a means of improving competitiveness, building investor confidence and fostering economic growth within the city (Swyngedouw, 2000; Paddison, 2001; Begg, 2002; Ball and Maginn, 2005; McCarthy, 2007).

The Durban Growth Coalition (DGC) did not directly implement flagship projects. However, between 1999 and 2002, it played an instrumental role in facilitating these kinds of projects by driving an intensive negotiation and lobbying process through which barriers to development were overcome and agreements between actors were achieved (Robbins, 23/11/2006; Kiepiela, 17/1/2007; Barton, 6/3/2007; McMenamin, 8/3/2007). In the DGC, the Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World complex[128] and the Point Waterfront development[129] are prime examples of the kinds of large scale projects which were facilitated by the activities of the partnership (see figure 5.2).

The Joint Venture between the eThekwini Municipality and Moreland Developments has played a more direct role in the development of flagship projects within the city. The partnership agreement incorporates the undertaking of three urban development projects (Deighton, 22/11/2006). These developments have been included in the Joint Venture through negotiations between the municipality and Moreland Developments, in which each party has successfully attempted to meet its own development agenda. The negotiations which led to the Joint Venture were initiated by the eThekwini Municipality (Robbins, 23/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006).

Prompted by the negotiations for urban development being undertaken in the DGC during the late 1990s, the municipality developed a plan for the ways in which the decaying and neglected Durban Point area could be revitalised. As part of this planning, the municipality took a decision to draw on an experienced property development company, such as Moreland Developments, to assist in the overall management of this mega-project:

> "What happened is that they [eThekwini Municipality] drew together a group,… there were a couple of councillors from the then executive committee and there were a handful of senior officials at the time... And behind closed doors, in a sense, they decided… how they were going to develop the Point. And they made the decision to bring Moreland on board to be their development partner" (Barnett, 8/11/2006).

---

[128] Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World is located at the northern end of the Durban beachfront and has been operational since 2002 (www.suncoastcasino.tsogosun.co.za, 9/4/2010). The complex includes a casino, restaurants, cinema and privately managed outdoor leisure spaces on the shore front adjacent to the complex (www.suncoastcasino.tsogosun.co.za, 9/4/2010).
[129] The Point Waterfront development commenced in 2000 with the building of the uShaka Marine World. uShaka Marine World incorporates an aquarium and water park as well as retail and restaurant areas on a 22 hectare site (Brits, 25/3/2004; Wiggins, 2004). To date, high-rise apartment buildings have been developed in the shoreline areas to the south of uShaka Marine World and many of the surrounding streets and pre-existing historical buildings have been upgraded (Durban Point Waterfront Management Association, 2009). In 2010, further developments will include the construction of infrastructure which will support the future development of a small craft harbour at Vetch's Bight, on the seafront of the Point adjacent to the northern harbour wall (Durban Point Waterfront Management Association, 2009).

This request prompted a series of negotiations between key actors in the city and Moreland Developments, in which agreements were reached concerning how the skills and resources of both parties could be utilised in a series of three development projects. Collectively, the undertaking of these projects fulfilled development ambitions of both parties and the Joint Venture agreement was eventually finalised in 2001 (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006). It was decided that the city would be better equipped to successfully undertake the Point development, including Ushaka Marine World, with the managerial assistance of Moreland Developments. In return, the city agreed to engage with Moreland in the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate development (see figure 9.1), which required municipal infrastructural investment and input in order to be viable. These aspects of the agreement are highlighted by a city official:

> "Moreland agreed to project manage Ushaka [Marine World] for us, provided that we entered into a back to back agreement with them to engage with them on Riverhorse Valley, and they said fine, so then the Joint Venture came in" (Silal, 7/11/2006).

The third project, Bridge City, in KwaMashu, was agreed upon as it also furthered the development agendas of both parties. It was envisaged that seed money for the project would come from profits generated by the municipality through land sales in Riverhorse Valley. This would facilitate a development that allowed for the unlocking of a further piece of the Moreland Developments landholdings and would provide a development node at a critical site for the city, adjacent to KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda and Phoenix (Sutcliffe, 20/2/2007; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007) (see figure 9.1). The development would serve these marginalised townships directly, provide linkages between the spaces and improve their connectivity to the rest of the city (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006).

The Joint Venture agreement also included details on what roles each party would play in the developments and how they would be financed.[130] In the case of Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City, it was agreed that Moreland Developments would be responsible for the management of the development process, marketing of the project and the private land sales (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006). The municipality would be largely involved in the initial collaborative planning of the sites and the delivery of infrastructure, such as new transport routes and bulk services (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006).

---

[130] Data regarding the partnership agreement has been gathered through interviews rather than directly from the contractual agreement itself. Members of the Joint Venture Committee preferred to keep these documents private, despite numerous attempts to gain direct access to them.
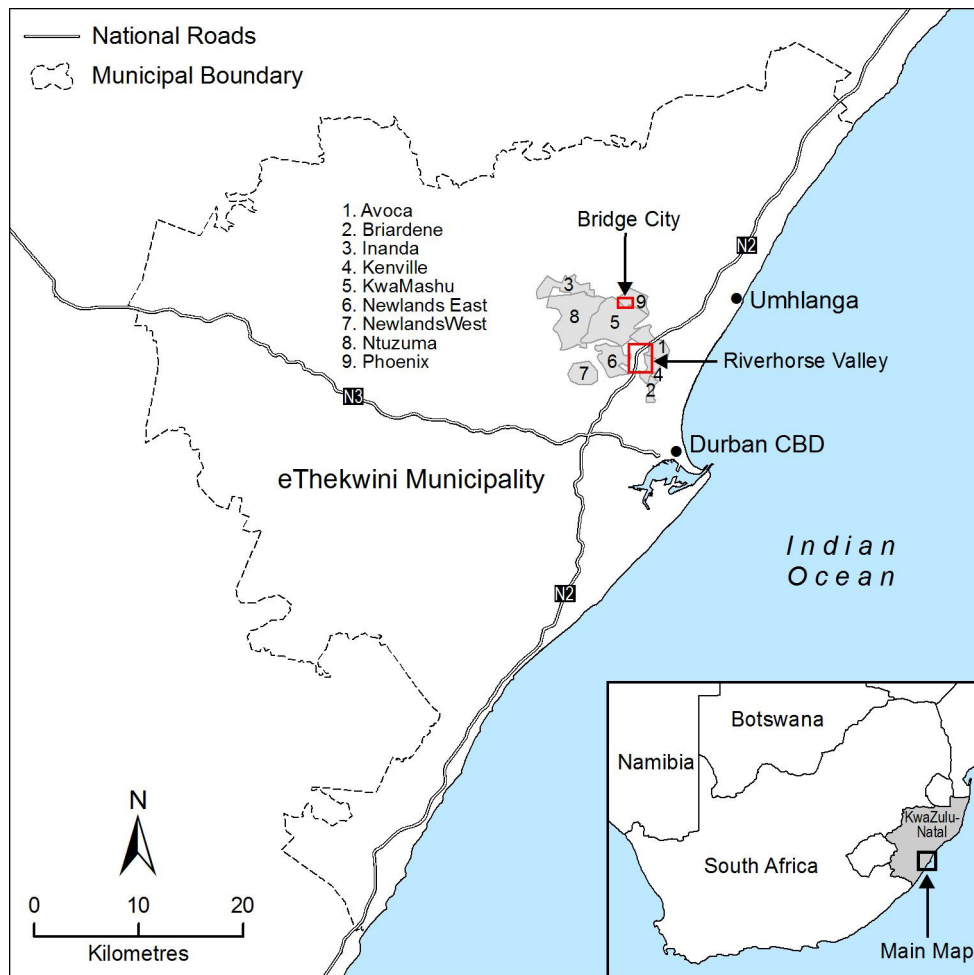
Figure 9.1 The Location of Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, Bridge City and their surrounding communities

Prior to the building of the new link roads and freeway interchanges needed for the two projects, the city bought the land on which they would be developed from Moreland (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006). This initial land sale served as the city's financial investment in the projects (Silal, 7/11/2006). Overall, profits from the Joint Venture were to be divided, with one third allocated to Moreland and two thirds allocated to the municipality (Silal, 7/11/2006). Furthermore, the municipality agreed that Moreland would be paid a management fee of 25% of the profits generated from the developments (Silal, 7/11/2006).

Once this agreement was in place, actors within Moreland began their involvement in the development of the Point Waterfront and the development of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate was initiated in 2002, followed by Bridge City in 2006 (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). The following sections provide an analysis of Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City as partnership-driven, large scale property development projects through which the 'actually

234

existing neoliberalism', emerging from the entanglement of development imperatives in the PPPs, can be better understood.

9.3   Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

The following discussion presents an outline for the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate as a development project undertaken through the Joint Venture public private partnership. The key characteristics of the project are described below. This is followed by an examination of the ways in which the project is indicative of the entanglement of development imperatives and the production of a localised form of neoliberalism. This project illustrates the dominance of the growth imperative within the form of entanglement present in the partnership and therefore highlights the prioritisation of economic growth within the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced in the PPP. This localised form of neoliberalisation has therefore produced material outcomes which give precedence to achieving the economic growth imperative and actually makes few direct contributions to the achievement of redress and transformation agendas in Durban.

9.3.1   The nature and purpose of the project

As an urban development project, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate (RHV) was initiated long before it was incorporated into the Joint Venture between the eThekwini Municipality and Moreland Developments. The rezoning of agricultural land in the Effingham-Avoca area to mixed and light industrial use was approved by the municipality in 1994 and the subsequent environmental impact assessment was completed in 2001 (VARA, 1994; Guy Nicholson Consulting, 2001). However, the development of the area as a new economic node for Durban was reliant upon the construction of transport and bulk services infrastructure in the Effingham Avoca area by the eThekwini Municipality. The municipality did not agree to undertake these projects until the formation of the Joint Venture partnership in 2001. Following the partnership agreement, the development has progressed with new transportation infrastructure being developed by the city, land being sold to developers and the mushrooming of businesses in the Estate since 2002 (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Fakisandla Consulting, 2007).

The R1.6 billion development project consists of approximately 70ha of industrial land located on the eastern and western sides of the N2 freeway (see figure 9.2) and adjacent to the residential areas of Newlands East, Newlands West, Briardene and Avoca (see figure 9.1) (Guy Nicholson Consulting, 2001; Houghton, 2005; Moreland Developments, 25/8/2006;

Prendergast, 8/9/2008). The municipal contribution to the project includes infrastructure, i.e. the freeway off and on ramps which give access to the site; the roads within the development; and the bridge which spans the freeway and links the two halves of RHV and the communities on either side of the freeway (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Moonsammy, 14/11/2006). Furthermore, bulk services for the development were provided by the municipality (Silal, 7/11/2006). Moreland Developments has been involved in marketing the development as well as managing the sales and the implementation of the design approach for the area (White, 17/10/2006; Prendergast, 8/9/2008). Moreland has also instituted private policing in the area; the management of the open spaces in the Estate; and has formed the Riverhorse Valley Management Association which involves landowners, the municipality and Moreland Developments in management of the Estate (Prendergast, 8/9/2008).

Figure 9.2: Site of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

The project is deemed a great success by both the municipality and Moreland, with land sales completed in 2007, two years ahead of schedule, and at much higher values than were

originally expected (McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).[131] By 2008, over eighty companies had located in RHV (Moreland Developments, 10/2/2010).[132] Furthermore, as of 2007, approximately 4000 people were employed by the companies in RHV (Fakisandla Consulting, 2007).[133]

The following section presents a critical examination of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate which reveals the characteristics of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the PPP. In particular, the dominance of an economic agenda within the local form of neoliberalism is discussed.

9.3.2 The 'actually existing neoliberalism' evident within the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

The following discussion examines the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate in order to determine the form of an actually existing neoliberalism produced through the PPPs. In the case of RHV, an evaluation of the goals of the project reveals that the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced by the public private partnership is one in which the growth imperative predominates, such that the development is largely a boosterist undertaking. However, traces of the imperative of redress can be found interlaced within the project's boosterist agenda. Furthermore, an examination of the project's goal of increasing employment and the role of the local state within the project deepen the understanding of how the form of this actually existing neoliberalism is nuanced and contradictory. These nuances produce a neoliberalisation process which is reflective of a negotiation of economic growth and redress and redistribution; and of the consequent inter-relationship between global development approaches and local priorities, even within a predominantly boosterist development outcome.

---

[131] Original feasibility studies for the project indicated that the land could be valued at R160-R200/m^2 but by the end of 2006, sites were being sold at approximately R500/m^2 (Barnett, 8/11/2006). This dramatic increase in property value is largely due to the overall property boom which took place nationally from 1999 (Bond, 2009) and because good quality industrial land is in short supply in the central areas of the eThekwini Municipality (Robbins, pers comm. 29/1/2004).

[132] Questionnaire surveys and interviews conducted in 2005 and 2007 commissioned by Moreland Developments indicate that companies range from small start-up firms to large well-established businesses which are more than 30 years old. The surveys further reveal that all companies in RHV fall into either the manufacturing or service sectors (Houghton, 2005; Fakisandla Consulting, 2007). Areas of economic activity include realty, construction and development, transport and communication, household goods, publishing and printing, food and health services, sales and after sales service (Houghton, 2005; Fakisandla Consulting, 2007). The majority of companies are branches or divisions of larger South African or internationally-based companies (Houghton, 2005). This is typical of Durban's economic profile where branches of national and multi-national companies are located in the municipality while the headquarters are located elsewhere in South Africa (usually Johannesburg or Cape Town) or internationally (Freund and Padayachee, 2002).

[133] According to the 2007 questionnaire survey in RHV, 85% of employment occurs on a permanent basis, with skilled employees making up 62% of the labour force (Fakisandla Consulting, 2007).

One of the main goals of Riverhorse Valley has been to unlock the land potential in Effingham Avoca and, particularly, the land adjacent to the freeway in this area. It is envisaged that development of this strategically located, municipally owned, underutilised site would facilitate a sizeable return on investment (Wilkinson, pers comm. 15/6/2005; Sim, 29/8/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006).[134] To this end, the private sector expected that the development would provide profitable land sales (Rory Wilkinson, pers comm. 15/6/2005; Singh, 31/8/2006; *Sunday Tribune*, 19/8/2007). Furthermore, public sector investment and involvement in the project has been motivated by the expectation that turning unused land into an economically productive space would provide short and long term benefits. In the short term, profits generated by land sales would accrue to the municipality, thereby expanding its financial resources. In the short and long term, the increased availability of industrial land in the city would boost the potential for greater economic activity within the city while the generation of an improved rates base for the municipality would ensure the ongoing accrual of financial benefits for the municipality. These public and private sector goals are evident in the statements made by Tongaat-Hulett CEO, Peter Staude, in 2006, with regard to the PPP and its projects,

> "we are accelerating the pace at which we unlock value from our more than R4 billion worth of land. In this, partnerships such as the one with the eThekwini Municipality at Riverhorse Valley, play an important role. This partnership is expected to generate more than R60 million per annum in rates for the city" (www.moreland.co.za, 25/10/2006).

Furthermore, in describing the core agenda of partners in undertaking the RHV project, Brink (4/4/2007), a key business actor in the formation of the Joint Venture agreement commented that:

> "it's [Riverhorse Valley] a pure business venture and they are shareholders and it was driven along private sector principles. Within the agreement there's very clear directives about outsourcing and contracting and there are BEE [black economic empowerment] targets that were set at that stage and I'm sure within the board of management they measure those performances… Social imperatives in the broader sense? No, it was a business venture, it was very focused. It had a piece of land, it had to do certain things with that land, it had to invest and it had to sell and it had to stimulate economic development. Except for those BEE controls that were put in, it was driven purely by business principles."

---

[134] The eThekwini Municipality purchased the land from Moreland developments subsequent to the formation of the Joint Venture.

These comments confirm that the project's aim is to earn profits from the development, even on the part of the state, which has taken on a strongly entrepreneurial role by engaging in the activities of selling serviced land (Bassett, 1996; Begg, 2002; Freund, 2002). [135]

The garnering of profit from land sales and infrastructural investment and the desire to undertake development to improve the rates base of the city is indicative of a boosterist entrepreneurial approach adopted by the city (Begg, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). In this project, both partners have prioritised the economic value generated from the development, either through directly accrued profits or income generated by municipal rates, and have shown little overt concern for an imperative of redress. As Swyngedouw et al (2000, 205) have argued,

> "The employment and economic activity generating consequences of the projects, however important they may turn out to be, are all subject to the successful appropriation of the 'manufactured' land rent embodied in the new built environment."

RHV is thus viewed as a means through which the local economy can be advanced and through which new opportunities for private sector investment are created. This points to the adoption of a boosterist urban development agenda which is characteristic of an urban neoliberalisation process in that it typically concentrates on market-oriented economic growth (Harvey, 1989; Harding et al, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; McDonald, 2008).

However, even as economic growth is prioritised, it remains enmeshed with an imperative of redress through the entanglement of development imperatives produced in the PPP. The economic growth agenda for the project is interlaced with a concern for redress and the inclusion of practices which facilitate the promotion of redress. As evident in the comments by Brink (4/4/2007) above, the municipality imposed activities to achieve redress within the negotiated agreements for the project. These activities focussed on the requirement of BEE quotas for project-related employment and the use of black SMMEs within the contracting and outsourcing of development work undertaken during the construction phase of the project (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). Therefore, the economic outcomes produced through the project are not solely driven by an imperative of economic growth. Instead they reflect the enmeshing of an imperative of redress in the economic agenda of the

---

[135] The successes of the project hailed by partnership representatives reflect these goals. These successes are characterised as the rapid sale of land and the larger-than-expected profits generated by the development (Barnett, 8/11/2006; Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Naidoo, 6/3/2007; Silal, 7/11/2006; McCarthy, 30/10/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007).

project such that, at least in the construction phase of RHV, economic activities are responsive to an entangled agenda of economic growth and redress and redistribution.

One of the indirect aims of the Riverhorse Valley project is to spatially integrate different parts of the city that had been fragmented through apartheid planning and create a mixed land use zone. A representative of Moreland Developments involved in the initiation of the project upheld the integration of fragmented urban space as a strong motivation and purpose for the development of RHV (Wilkinson, pers comm. 15/6/2005). Furthermore, the initial planning documentation for the Estate promises that,

> "the character of the proposed Effingham-Avoca development will be unlike the sprawling; mono-functional; introverted and cellular character of adjacent townships and housing estates. Instead, through the use of land-use mixing, a variety of compatible and mutually supportive land-uses will be brought into close proximity in the urban environment and to make use of the benefits of access, proximity, flexibility and sustainability that are derived from such a blending" (Vara, 1994, 15).

Here, the development is seen to improve spatial linkages in the city by using vacant land which had previously served as a buffer zone between communities that were divided by apartheid policy and planning. This goal highlights the integration of local concerns into an urban development process that could otherwise be considered as being driven purely by a neoliberal agenda of economic growth.

These insertions of both a concern for redress and the pressure to incorporate practices which facilitate redress into a largely profit-driven project reflects an agenda in which a strong economic growth focus is entwined with the redress imperative. Thus, the urban development agenda produced in the PPP is one in which growth and redress are enmeshed and co-constituted (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). Therefore, although neoliberalisation can be viewed as a dominant process transpiring through the boosterist nature of the development, it has incorporated elements of redress and therefore cannot be conceptualised as being either externally imposed or 'pure' (Castree, 2006). In this case, the 'actually existing neoliberalism' is dominated by the economic growth imperative but is nevertheless entangled with some threads of the redress imperative.

Consideration of employment and job creation within RHV provides further evidence of how the local version of neoliberalism present in the development is characterised by the predominance of an economic growth imperative in which some interlacing of an imperative for redress is discernible. Furthermore, the nature of employment within RHV reveals some of

the nuanced and contradictory characteristics of this 'actually existing neoliberalism' and its manifestation in the projects of the PPPs.

The creation of employment is listed as a goal of the Riverhorse Valley project (Houghton, 2005; Fakisandla Consulting, 2007). At the outset of the project in 2002, it was envisaged that approximately 3500 jobs would be created during the construction phase (Business Report, 29/7/2003). By 2005, job creation in the companies locating themselves in Riverhorse Valley showed signs of growth with a number of companies creating new positions and increasing the size of their staff (Houghton, 2005, Fakisandla Consulting, 2007).[136] Moreover, the Joint Venture has placed an ongoing emphasis on the need to create employment opportunities for residents of neighbouring communities, such as Newlands East, Avoca, Kenville, and KwaMashu, in which unemployment rates are unacceptably high (Houghton, 2005; Kamman, 2009). To this end, "Moreland Commercial and Industrial Development Director, Mike Deighton, said the [Riverhorse Valley] initiative had helped secure opportunities for previously marginalised communities by bringing jobs to their doorstep" (Singh, 31/8/2006).

The creation of employment suggests the dominance of a neoliberal agenda of market-oriented growth (McDonald, 2008). However, the private sector's stated concern for creating employment opportunities for marginalised communities is indicative of the enmeshing of redress within a boosterist agenda. This inter-relationship between the economic and redress imperatives highlights the influence of an entanglement of development imperatives on the partnership-based project and, thereby, reflects a local appropriation of the global development practice of boosterism and the subsequent materialisation of a local version of neoliberalism in which redress and economic growth are intertwined (Robinson, 2006).

The emphasis on employing people from local communities is, however, problematic when viewed in the light of patterns of employment which have stemmed from the development. By 2007, at least 4000 people were employed in the companies located within Riverhorse Valley, predominantly in permanent and fulltime positions which provide a good measure of stability.[137] Many of the companies in the Estate had relocated from elsewhere in the city and

---

[136] According to the questionnaire survey conducted in 2005, much of the workforce in Riverhorse Valley companies had been working for less that a year in these companies (37%), of which a significant proportion (12%) were employed less than three months prior to the survey being conducted. This indicates that there was a significant growth in the availability of employment by companies in the Estate, particularly because many have expanded their operations into new and larger premises.
[137] The survey results indicate that the majority of companies employ 100% of their staff on a permanent basis with almost no instances of contract staff and with very few companies using casual labour. Casual labour is used in a limited manner because of problems with labour legislation, issues of security, and the lack of

had brought their employees with them (see Appendix H) (Houghton, 2005, Fakisandla Consulting, 2007). Furthermore, they were encouraged by the PPP, but not mandated, to acquire future employees from neighbouring communities (Houghton, 2005). To this end, a number of companies interviewed in 2005 indicated that, in future, they would favour the employment of residents of neighbouring communities. However, this was due to practical rather than redress concerns since this made the companies' provision of transport for employees easier (Houghton, 2005). Thus, although the PPP development did relocate jobs to the doorstep of the communities neighbouring Riverhorse Valley, this did not equate to there being many new employment opportunities being made available specifically to these communities.

It is clear that although the employment goals for the project reflect a development agenda which enmeshes economic growth and post apartheid redress, the actual patterns of employment in RHV do not strongly reflect the incorporation of an agenda of redress into the neoliberal growth agenda of increasing employment. The contradictions between the project's entangled goals for increasing employment, specifically in neighbouring communities, and the material reality of employment patterns in the Estate, imply that the development emerging from the PPP does not embody the concerns for redress professed by the actors involved. This implies that although the neoliberal approach produced in the PPPs does incorporate a concern for the achievement of post apartheid redress, the enmeshing of redress with economic growth is not fully realised through the neoliberalisation process. Instead, these projects produce a boosterist urban development that does little to address the low levels of employment in the marginalised communities surrounding Riverhorse Valley. Thus the actually existing neoliberalism is characterised by a nuanced and contradictory adoption of redress in which redress forms part of the development agenda but is not necessarily implemented in the development.

In addition to issues of employment in Riverhorse Valley, the role of the state in the development further highlights the nuances within the character of the 'actually existing

competency of employees (companies prefer to have employees who are familiar with their processes and methods of production). These conditions of employment provide an indication of the stability of the workforce and the level of security gained by employees. As the global economy moves towards higher levels of contract labour, the workforce becomes more fluid and social benefits, such as unemployment and medical aid funds, are reduced. This effectively cuts the labour costs for businesses and makes labour more insecure (Herod and Aguiar, 2006). In an economic environment such as Durban, where greater economic equity and social upliftment are priorities (Nel et al, 2003), it is beneficial for business to focus on employing people on a permanent rather than a contractual basis. These jobs are more likely to be long term and therefore are anticipated to provide more benefits to workers, giving them greater income and social security which has many positive spin-offs in society as a whole (Lester et al, 2000).

neoliberalism' produced by the PPP. Here, the redress and economic growth imperatives are shown to be intricately interwoven and co-constitutive within the actually existing neoliberalism.

Within a neoliberalisation process, the state is expected to play an enabling role for the market, facilitating the best conditions possible for the free and successful operation of the private sector (Kohl, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Harvey, 2005, Castree, 2006; Leitner et al, 2007). In the development of Riverhorse Valley, the municipality is viewed as enabling the private sector. However, the manner in which this occurs does not explicitly conform to the broader processes of state enablement associated with roll back or roll out neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Within the PPP, the state enabled the private sector by assisting in the unlocking of land and the development of a new economic space which is needed to support and expand the existing urban economy. The state's facilitation of a process of market-oriented growth is characteristic of urban neoliberalisation (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Peck and Tickell, 2002; McDonald, 2008). However, as is shown below, this process of enabling the market is complicated by both an entanglement of redress within an economic growth imperative and the enrolment of the state in private sector activities. These complexities reveal the nuanced character of this 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

Without assistance from the municipality, Moreland Developments would not have been able to develop RHV. Although adjacent to the freeway, the land had been used as a barrier between race groups during apartheid. The underutilised and divisive space thus needed to be integrated into the urban fabric by the development of transport linkages and through the provision of services that would facilitate its development into a productive urban location. As previously mentioned, these costly infrastructural investments were undertaken by the eThekwini Municipality once the project was incorporated into the PPP, and included the Nandi Drive on and off ramps to the N2 freeway, a bridge over the freeway and road linkages into neighbouring areas (see plate 9.1). Furthermore, the municipality's involvement in the partnership enabled the expedition of the planning process so that development plans could be implemented quicker than would otherwise have been the case in a context where the municipal planning approval process is usually protracted (Redman; 6/10/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007).

Once developed, the site became accessible to property developers and businesses with the consequent creation of facilities and opportunities for economic activity in the Business Estate

and the marketplace beyond.[138] The 'unlocking' of the land through municipal investment has thus enabled the generation of private sector activity and the extensive accrual of profits to Moreland Developments, as landholders and project managers; to the municipality; and to other investors in the development of the Estate (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). In enabling the productivity and growth of the private sector, the municipality has used its involvement in Riverhorse Valley as leverage to accomplish various aspects of its mandated development agenda which includes local economic development. By facilitating the development of vital infrastructure and the creation of new spaces for economic activity, the state has enrolled itself in the strengthening of the wider urban economy and the production of wealth in the city. In this way, the municipality has advanced its mandate for local economic development and improved competitiveness (eThekwini Municipality, 2009; 2009a). This generation of economic activity, facilitated by the partnership and instigated through the municipality's implementation of infrastructural development, constitutes the state enablement of the market-oriented economic growth which characterises urban neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

Plate 9.1:   Road infrastructure for Riverhorse Valley
             completed by the eThekwini Municipality

Furthermore, the municipality can also be seen as taking on the role of the private sector in its involvement with the development of Riverhorse Valley. The municipality has enrolled itself in the market by investing directly into the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate through the purchase of land on which the Estate has been developed and infrastructural development undertaken (Silal, 7/11/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). As discussed earlier, this investment has generated large profits for the municipality as the land sales in the Estate have occurred (Barnett, 8/11/2006). In this case, the state has moved beyond the enablement of the private

---

[138] See Houghton (2005).

sector and has itself taken on the agenda of the market; a behaviour which is indicative of a strongly neoliberal urban development agenda (Zetter, 2002; McDonald, 2008).

However, in contrast to the strongly neoliberal role of the state in the development, the municipal investment in RHV has facilitated the imposition of BEE requirements for contactors and sub-contractors engaged in the development of the Estate and for the spatial reintegration of a previously divided area within the city (Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006). These aspects of the redress imperative prioritised by the municipality were thus also leveraged through its role in RHV and have therefore occurred much more rapidly and extensively than would have occurred if no partnership existed (Brink, 4/4/2007). In addition, the development of the land in Riverhorse Valley has resulted in the accumulation of rates income for the city. Although the accumulation of income from the larger rates base in the area can be deemed evidence of boosterism (Swyngedouw et al, 2002), it has been used in other large scale developments and is envisaged as providing resources for all manner of social and economic development in other areas of the city (Silal, 7/11/2006; D.Naidoo, 6/12/2006; Brink, 4/4/2007). In this way, the municipal income generated by the PPP project can be argued to have 'trickle down' effects. This economic activity is thus constitutive of the entanglement of development imperatives. The municipality is thus engaged in achieving its own reformist developmental goals through entrepreneurial, boosterist activity, rather than simply assisting the market to create improvements in the city (eThekwini Municipality, 2009).

On the whole, the role of the state in the development of RHV can be viewed as typical of a neoliberalism, in which economic growth focused on the market is a priority of urban development (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). However, the engagement of the state in producing development outcomes in the city and in furthering its own socio-economic agendas by leveraging private investment in the city, shifts the manner in which neoliberalisation occurs. The seemingly boosterist process undertaken in the Riverhorse Valley project is complicated by an infusion of localised development imperatives and the state driven processes for their achievement. To this end, the role of the state in the enablement of the market is indicative of a form of 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is not purely enrolled in profit driven economic growth but instead incorporates the advancement of some of the strands of a reformist agenda of post apartheid redress within the local economy, and potentially within the city at large.

9.3.3   Conclusion

The strong economic focus of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate project reflects a boosterist approach to urban development. This is indicative of the implementation of a neoliberal agenda through the work of the PPPs. However, the project incorporates a degree of redress through its concern for the reintegration of urban space, the adoption of BEE protocols and quotas, the aim to create employment in marginalised communities and the use of project-derived income for socio-economic development in the broader city. These are evidence of the enmeshing of redress imperatives with the economic growth aspects of the project and, as such, are indicative of an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. This localised form of neoliberalism produces boosterist activities which are interwoven with an imperative of redress.

However, as exemplified by the issue of employment and the role of the state in the Riverhorse Valley development, the process of neoliberalisation instituted through this 'actually existing neoliberalism' is nuanced and complex. Here, neoliberalisation is constituted by the both the market orientated tenets of neoliberalism and the shifts in these tenets to incorporate an imperative of redress. However, an imperative for redress is variously and inconsistently manifest in the approach and the processes through which the urban development project is implemented. This results in a development in which an economic growth imperative predominates with a limited degree of the redress imperative materialised.

The following section presents an examination of the Bridge City project which provides further insight into the nature of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the negotiation of development imperatives in Durban's public private partnerships.

9.4   Bridge City[139]

This section begins with a general description of the Bridge City project. The discussion then turns to an examination of the development as a means to understanding the character of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which incorporates the imperative for post apartheid redress within what can initially be viewed as a boosterist project for urban renewal.

---

[139] This development was in its infancy when the project-related data was collected in 2007. The first of four precincts of the development was opened at the end of October 2009.

9.4.1 The nature and purpose of the project

Bridge City is the large scale property development project which forms the third element of the Joint Venture between the eThekwini Municipality and Moreland Developments and was developed after the completion of the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. The development comprises approximately 63ha of mixed use development in order to produce a new economic, residential and civic node in KwaMashu, north of Durban's CBD (see figure 9.3). This node is situated at the junction of the marginalised residential areas of KwaMashu, Phoenix, Inanda, and Ntuzuma[140], and immediately adjacent to the main transport routes which link these areas (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006) (see figure 9.1).
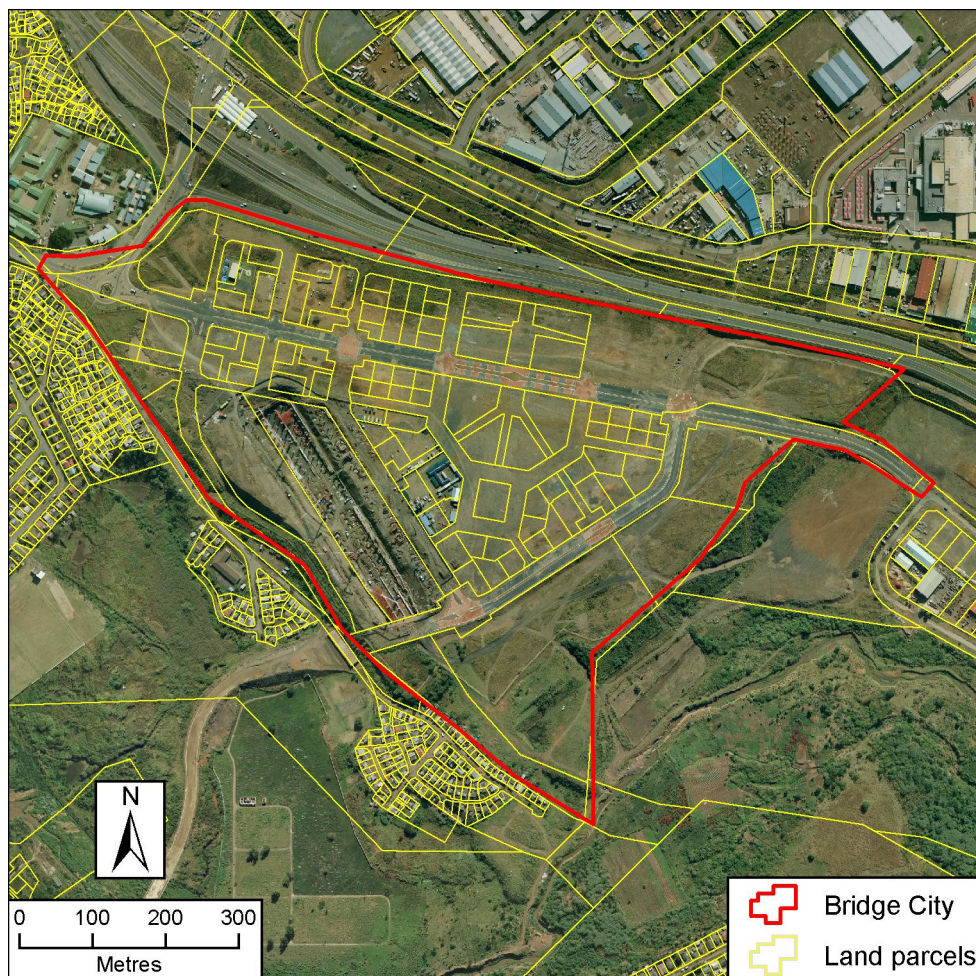
Figure 9.3: Site of the Bridge City multi-use complex.

The main goals of the project are a combination of economic development and social upliftment. The stated economic objectives are listed as local economic development, the provision of greater employment opportunities, the leveraging of local and regional scale economic opportunities and the stimulation of broader economic regeneration across the city

---

[140] These residential areas incorporate formally developed townships and the informal settlements which were located on the urban periphery through the imposition of the apartheid state's urban spatial arrangement (Davies, 1991).

(Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006). The economic achievements are viewed as initiating a number of improvements in the overall wealth and well-being of urban residents as benefits are expected to trickle down to urban residents, particularly those living in marginal areas in the city (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006).

The provision of services for local communities is also an important goal for the project and are much needed to advance redress in the areas immediately surrounding the development, particularly because the availability and quality of services have been severely limited in the past within these township areas (Iyer, 19/3/2007). Furthermore, the goal of integration of the urban fabric is pursued in this project as a means of overcoming the city's history of fragmentation, and to further the economic linkages and productivity between and within these urban spaces (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006). In addition, the project aims to promote social stability and civic pride (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007; Ives, pers comm. 24/2/2007; Iyer, 19/3/2007). This is evident in the comments made by Mbonambi (19/2/2007), the municipal official representing the interests of the INK Area Based Management Programme in the design and implementation of the Bridge City development:

> "[Bridge City] will change the perception of how people see themselves and their areas and it is this civic pride which makes people change the way they do things. One example …is, which is typical in townships…you'll get a person going to the market, buying in town, buying a banana and eating it on the taxi ride, as soon as they arrive in the township, the window opens and the stuff is thrown out and they wouldn't have done it on route before they got to the township. So those are some of the changes that we think Bridge City, KwaMashu town centre will make… because its going to get people to think in a new way, a way of owning a place".

These goals are to be achieved through a large-scale, comprehensively planned intervention in the urban landscape. The framework plan for the site indicates that the development will consist of four precincts. These precincts will encompass 4 000 residential units, usually above ground-level retail spaces or in apartment blocks; approximately 40 000m^2 of formal retail space (see plates 9.2 and 9.3), and extensive street trading and open-air market facilities (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Dardagan, 16/2/2007). Clusters designed to accommodate start-up businesses will cater for small and medium sized enterprises. Civil services, in the form of a 420 bed state hospital; a magistrate's court; police station; and satellite offices of national government departments are incorporated into the mixed use landscape being developed (West, 18/10/2006). Open spaces and pedestrianised walkways are included in the spatial planning to provide meeting spaces, easy access to the various parts of

the development and for social and leisure activities (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Ives, 24/2/2007).

As with RHV, the current Bridge City project was initiated prior to the formation of the public private partnership. The site was originally planned in the late 1980s as a light industrial estate by Moreland Developments, the primary landholders (Barnett, 8/11/2006). However, the property development plans approved by the city were not implemented and, once the Joint Venture was initiated, the space was redesigned in order to accommodate new development goals engendered by the PPP (Barnett, 8/11/2006). It is envisaged that the current development plan will be implemented over a ten year period, from 2005 to 2015, with precincts opened as they are completed (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Ives pers comm. 24/2/2007).

Plate 9.2: Aerial view of retail space and road construction as the first phase of development at the site.

Plate 9.3: Construction of the Bridge City Mall.

The characteristics of the Bridge City project are examined in the following section in order to provide further insight into the 'actually existing neoliberalism' evident in the projects implemented by the public private partnership.

9.4.2 The character of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' evident in the Bridge City urban development project

Bridge City is a project which reflects the entanglement of redress and economic growth imperatives within Durban's PPPs. The project plans promote the kind of development that will infuse new wealth and economic activity into the city. However, there is evidence of a strong focus on the need for redress enmeshed within the boosterist form of the project. These elements of the partnership-based project are examined below in order to provide a further

understanding of the nature of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the entanglement of development imperatives in Durban's PPPs.

a)   *Bridge City as representative of a neoliberal development agenda which prioritises both growth and redress*

Like Riverhorse Valley, Bridge City is a flagship development project which is expected to produce significant profits for the development partners (Iyer, 19/3/2007). It is also expected to contribute to the growth of the urban economy by producing new spaces for economic activity (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Iyer, 19/3/2007; Masson, 12/4/2007). However, this economic growth agenda is entangled with an imperative for redress such that the 'actually existing neoliberalism' manifest in the project is constituted by an economic agenda which is enmeshed with, and therefore partly constituted by, an imperative of redress. As presented below, in the Bridge City project, the presence of an economic growth imperative in its entangled form results in the foregrounding of redress within the localised form of neoliberalism.

As presented in Chapter Seven, the use of a discourse of 'trickle down' and the metaphors of economic growth associated with this discourse are an important means through which the imperatives of growth and redress are interlinked such that they are socially constructed as enmeshed, co-constitutive, and therefore, entangled (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). The 'trickle down' discourse is evident in the objectives and planning for the Bridge City project as they are discussed in the project's framework plan:

> "The development of Bridge City is expected to create new jobs and boost rate incomes to the city. This boost in economic activity and municipal revenue will be beneficial to the area as a whole, allowing for the upgrading of infrastructure and an improved quality of life in general" (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006, 5).

Here, the project is seen to contribute to a larger rates base for the city and increased opportunities for employment. These are typical of an economic growth imperative inherent within the logic of boosterist activities that are undertaken as part of the neoliberalisation of urban development (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). However, the predicted benefits of these economic outcomes are immediately coupled with an argument for their 'trickling down' via the dispersal of benefits into the surrounding areas (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006). This is evident in the above quotation from the Bridge City Framework Plan, since the anticipated improvements in the local economy are directly linked to improved municipal revenues that are envisaged as facilitating investment into activities and infrastructure that

will improve the quality of life in the area (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006). Private sector planners and municipal officials involved in this project also hold the belief that the economic growth generated by the project will result in the improved ability of the municipality to provide services and infrastructure which will ultimately contribute to a general improvement in the quality of life of residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods (Vines, pers comm. 17/2/2007; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

The entangled agenda of the project evident in the promotion of the logic of 'trickle down', is indicative of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' in which the boosterist, entrepreneurial focus of development is shifted. However, although the agenda of growth remains, the 'actually existing neoliberalism' found within the project is characterised by an impetus for redress entwined with the growth agenda. These characteristics are also evident in the employment agenda adopted in Bridge City.

In advancing an economic growth imperative, the prospect of increased employment opportunities is used as a central argument for the social benefits to be gained from undertaking the Bridge City project. The members of the Joint Venture have argued that the project will create approximately 25 000 permanent jobs once it is fully functional (West, 18/10/2006). In the interim, it is expected that nearly 28 000 short-term employment opportunities are being created during the construction phase of the project (West, 18/10/2006). There have also been efforts to ensure that, at least, within the construction phase, labour is acquired from areas surrounding the site (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007). This is apparent in the municipality's establishment of initiatives such the INK Chamber of Business (INKCOB) and the development of a database of potential local employees and subcontractors, through which registered local companies and individuals can be drawn into the development process:

> "our work is to ensure that in terms of how Bridge City develops, the interests of the local population are brought into the work through ensuring that people get employment, ensuring that local contractors are able to get work, or get sub contracted, and we have recently facilitated the formation of the INK Chamber of Business as a way of ensuring that local people have a stake in the pie" (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007). [141]

---

[141] The Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu Chamber of Business (INKCOB) has been instituted as a not-for-profit organisation designed to offer access to economic opportunities presented by government and the private sector to black businesses in the INK area through the establishment of a directory of local businesses and networking with other actors within the local and international economy (West, 18/10/2006). INKCOB provides a platform from which companies can make themselves available as black empowerment partners with larger companies. Furthermore, the INKCOB provides skills development training, advice and support to small local businesses (West, 18/10/2006). Furthermore, the so-called 'INK Job Shop' is an initiative used to support the goals for redress encompassed within the Bridge City project. The Job Shop is comprised of a database of both potential

The promise of increased employment, particularly in local communities, as a central goal and activity of the project is reflective of the entanglement of growth and redress imperatives. The concern for increased employment is not purely associated with the improvement of the broader urban economy but is inter-linked with the recognition that increased employment rates are vital to facilitating an improved quality of life in the marginalised and predominantly poor communities which surround the development.

Mbonambi (19/2/2007), a senior project manager for the INK Area Based Management Programme, listed the facilitation of skills development as central to the goal of localised employment:

> "we are working together with Moreland to facilitate the establishment of a skills training centre that will train a number of people to match the skills that are required by the development itself so we are not just conceptualizing but we are also supporting and becoming connectors."

Skills development and the use of local labour can be interpreted as a means of actively redressing past socio-economic imbalances since this contributes to decreasing the skills and employment inequalities within the urban economy. These considerations and activities exemplify the ways in which the economic growth imperative is reconstituted to incorporate elements of the redress imperative. Therefore, although the Bridge City project is indicative of boosterist entrepreneurial activities encompassed within the neoliberalisation of the city, it must also be viewed as constituted by a localised version of neoliberalism in which the significant inequalities in employment and skills in the city and the need to create employment in previously marginalised spaces are recognised, mandated and acted upon.[142]

The entanglement of development imperatives is further evident within the catalytic role of the Bridge City project. Bridge City is viewed as a catalyst for economic and social development within the city because it will increase the possibilities for, and the rate of, economic and social development in other previously disadvantaged areas within the city (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006). In describing the role of the Bridge City project in the city, eThekwini mayor, stated that "these development catalysts create ripples of economic energy that grow into waves of growth and social development" (Moreland Developments, 25/8/2006). Thus, even beyond the enmeshing of growth and redress within

---

employment opportunities to which individuals can apply and a database of local job-seekers which can be used by the private sector to locate potential employees (DPLG and The Business Trust, no date). Furthermore, the Job Shop, along with the INK Business Support Unit, has initiated skills development activities for local people who are unemployed (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

[142] As stated within the IDP, the second of the eThekwini Municipality's eight focus areas for development is "economic development and job creation" (eThekwini Municipality, 2009, 10).

the project itself, Bridge City can be interpreted as a process of development which furthers the implementation of a neoliberal urban development agenda that enmeshes growth and redress imperatives across the broader urban landscape.

Bridge City is thus considered a development which integrates economic growth needs with the spatial transformation of the city required to address the inequalities created by apartheid. Furthermore, the project is viewed as creating the conditions through which socio-economic inequalities in the city can be addressed. The joining up of these agendas is a result of the entanglement of urban development imperatives within the PPPs. Furthermore, the enactment of this entanglement within the project, although still tantamount to a neoliberalisation of the city, can be understood as a localised reformulation of the characteristics of neoliberalism. Entrepreneurial development activity within the city thus works to address an imperative for redress and redistribution in the post apartheid context as well as focussing on economic growth.

The planning and design approach used for Bridge City provides further evidence of the greater strength of the redress imperative in this project than in Riverhorse Valley. This is indicative of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' in which economic growth and redress are enmeshed but in which the redress imperative is more strongly apparent.

The proponents of Bridge City argue that the development is important to overcome some of the problems inherited from apartheid.[143] These aspects of the project are emphasised in the framework plan:

> "a key focus is on dismantling the inherited *dysfunctional apartheid city* by addressing the imbalances in the distribution of *social and economic opportunity*. Bridge City provides a unique opportunity within the INK initiative to *bridge* the development divide that still plagues our city" (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006, 3, original emphasis).

Furthermore, a senior municipal official and member of the Joint Venture Committee argued that,

> "Bridge City is about re-planning our city, breaking down the barriers of apartheid. Nandi Drive now… links KwaMashu to Ntuzuma back to the city, not cut off. Bridge City is a bridge between KwaMashu, Phoenix industrial park, and Umhlanga, creating a whole new local economy there. So, it's like re-planning and unwinding the apartheid legacy" (L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007).

---

[143] Particularly those of spatial fragmentation, economic marginalisation, poor service provision, an inadequate transportation system and the separation of work and home which resulted from the placement of townships on the urban periphery (Davies, 1991; Lemon, 1991; Swilling et al 1991; Maharaj, 1996; Harrison et al, 2003).

The project is thus seen as contributing to redressing urban inequalities through the provision of new infrastructure and localised services. Furthermore, the spatial re-integration of the city will reduce a number of problems associated with the apartheid system of township planning as well as the low level of economic and social facilities currently available in areas such as KwaMashu. These benefits of the project are elaborated on below.

The intention to overcome the disparities of apartheid are strongly linked to the location of the development site in a space in KwaMashu which adjoins other disadvantaged spaces within the city, namely, Inanda, Ntuzuma, and Phoenix (see figure 9.1). As the name Bridge City indicates, and as is evident in the previous quotation, the development is envisaged as a bridge between the spaces, and their communities, who were separated and marginalised by apartheid planning (Dardagan, 16/2/2007; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). The project thus entails the utilisation of what was previously a buffer zone between these areas, for the provision of much needed urban services, and economic and residential spaces; and the development of new transport routes (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006).

Beyond the physical location of the site, the transport linkages being developed as part of the project are viewed as connecting the township area to the rest of the city. The project incorporates the development of road and rail linkages between KwaMashu and the rest of the city in order to integrate the urban spaces which, although frequently adjacent, were separated from each other by the lack of road linkages (see plate 9.4) (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Vines, pers comm. 17/2/2007).[144] Furthermore, the project includes roadways which allow for additional entry points into the township areas (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007). These serve to overcome the congestion and dangerous conditions for commuters which have resulted from having only one access route into each township.[145]

---

[144] Apartheid urban planning in Durban used a sectoral pattern with transport routes radiating outwards from the city centre into the racial group areas which were created as sectors with no transport linkages (Davies, 1991; Maharaj, 1996).

[145] The design of townships with, typically, only one road as an entry and exit route served the purpose of military and social control of residents and was a product of the apartheid design of townships (Harrison et al, 2008).

Plate 9.4: Construction of the new rail terminus at Bridge City

Apartheid planning provided residential spaces in the townships with minimal standardised housing and no local commercial and service nodes (Davies, 1991; Smith, 1992; Soni, 1992; Maharaj, 1996). People who lived in these spaces had to travel into the city for their services and shopping. The mixed-used character of the urban design and the range of housing and commercial components in the Bridge City development are viewed as a means of overcoming these inadequacies:

> "The apartheid regime wanted sterile labour dormitories. We will not allow people to live like that - they need to have a place where they can play, shop and relax close to where they live" (Mayor Obed Mlaba, cited in Dardagan, 16/2/2007).

> "KwaMashu, Inanda, Ntuzuma have been dormitory areas. Now the Bridge City is going to deliver a much better total living environment where people can be able to access higher order goods at their doorstep, so to speak, so from a point of view of economic regeneration, Bridge City is vital" (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

Bridge City is thus envisaged as a project which will improve the overall living environment of township residents. This will occur particularly through the provision of multifaceted, well designed and constructed spaces in close proximity to communities which were previously disadvantaged by the apartheid system. The mixed use approach to the land use planning found in the four precincts and the use of space for multiple purposes is further seen to provide opportunities for more integrated development. In addition, the innovative urban design attempts to create an 'African urbanism' (Vines, pers comm. 17/2/2007; Ives, pers comm. 24/2/2007). It is intended that the use of this style of urban design will produce a high quality environment which incorporates concern for the ways in which public spaces are commonly used in African cities (Deighton, 22/11/2006; Vines, pers comm. 17/2/2007; Ives, pers comm. 24/2/2007). This design philosophy was commonly expressed by those involved in the project:

> "As befits Bridge City's role as a Presidential Project, it needs to incorporate elements of the urban African Renaissance. The African urban experience is one

where streets and public spaces are treated as social and economic arenas. Typically, planning practice has actively discouraged this communal orientation by forcing such activities indoors behind fences" (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006, 2).

"We need to utilise public spaces in a way that is very people centred and centred on the activities of people and also I mean the model is not necessarily Euro-centric. We know that people in Africa tend to use urban spaces for many other things, for trade, for social interaction and so on and I think those notions and ideas and ways of living have been built into the model so in a sense it is innovative" (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

'African urbanism' is thus viewed as a design approach which incorporates the use of streets and open spaces as places in which business and trade are conducted, and where social gatherings and interaction takes place. Bridge City's open spaces and streetscapes have been designed to cater for these dynamic and intensive uses while still maintaining a largely formalised, high quality built environment (Iyer, 19/3/2007).

The planning, design and envisaged use of the development is important for considerations of the kind of neoliberalism related to this project. The strong focus on 'African urbanism' contributes to the sense that this flagship development is strongly constituted by its role in responding to local development needs and thereby achieving redress within the local urban landscape. This indicates that the version of 'actually existing neoliberalism' underpinning the project is one which addresses urban inequalities along with the goals of economic development and improved competitiveness, which are typical of urban neoliberalism (Begg, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

However, despite the inclusion of considerations for the achievement of redress and redistribution in the project's designs, Bridge City remains at its core a profit driven activity. Good quality housing stock and retail space, such as that being produced in Bridge City, comes at a price and is therefore not available to every willing buyer or investor. The development is also somewhat elitist as it targets the urban middle class, particularly with regard to the residential development within the project. This is evident in the statement below:

"so what BC presents, it presents an opportunity to get a number of your middle income earners to choose to go back to an area that is alive, well managed, performing, safe" (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

This target market, thus largely excludes the residential population of the township neighbourhoods surrounding the development. Instead, Bridge City aims to provide housing in the township which meets the demands of a new black middle class (Mbonambi,

19/2/2007, Ives, pers comm. 24/2/2007). Furthermore, the project is said to follow Moreland Development's design and management policy[146] used in developments such as the Umhlanga Gateway and La Lucia Ridge projects, which were targeted at businesses and communities in much higher economic classes than those typically found within the township areas of the city (Maingard, 6/7/2005; Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Iyer, 19/3/2007).

Given the overall project characteristics, Bridge City is a much more redress focussed urban development project than Riverhorse Valley. Both can be considered projects of neoliberalisation – because they are boosterist, entrepreneurial, profit-seeking developments in which the state, via the PPP and the planning and investment into the projects, has enabled the private sector (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). But this is a localised version of neoliberalism, an 'actually existing neoliberalism', because the neoliberal goals of the projects incorporate redress and are enmeshed with the redress imperative through the entanglement of agendas in the PPPs. In Bridge City, the form of neoliberalism is more strongly concerned with redress than in Riverhorse Valley. The strength of the redress imperative within the Bridge City project is due in large part to the specific spatial and institutional context in which it is located. The implications of the development context of this project for an actually existing neoliberalism are explored below.

b)   The implications of Bridge City's broader developmental context
Although it is one of three projects undertaken through the Joint Venture, Bridge City is more closely linked to a broader agenda of transformative development in the city than the other projects. Bridge City is part of a presidential lead project for urban transformation initiated by former state president Thabo Mbeki and forms an anchor project for the municipality's Area Based Management programme in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) area of the municipality (West, 18/10/2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).[147] This institutional context impacts on the ways in which the project has been envisaged, designed and implemented. These

---

[146] Moreland Development's design and management policy for large scale property developments typically includes the approval of architectural designs for all sites by a Moreland management team, the use of a limited colour palette for all buildings and height and design restrictions in order to create a uniform architectural style within a development (Maingard, 6/7/2005). Open spaces are typically landscaped, using indigenous planting, to further contribute to an overall style for the development (Prendergast, 8/9/2008). Furthermore, once a development is complete, it is frequently managed by an association comprised of property owners, as well as representatives of Moreland Developments and, in the case of Riverhorse Valley, representation of the eThekwini Municipality (Prendergast, 8/9/2008). The owners pay a levy to the association for management and maintenance of the overall development (Fakisandla Consulting, 2007; Prendergast, 8/9/2008). Compliance with stylistic characteristics and acceptance of a role in the owners association is required as part of the conditions of sale for all sites within a development (Maingard, 6/7/2005; Wilkinson, 15/6/2005).
[147] Other urban renewal projects being undertaken in the INK programme are the upgrading of the KwaMashu town centre, construction of the P577 road which integrates the INK area with the rest of the city, an Inanda 'tourism train' and the Safer Cities project (West, 18/10/2006).

linkages to the broader developmental context of Durban, and South Africa, work to strengthen the agenda of redress apparent within the boosterist nature of the development. As such, the imperative of redress is not likely to be diminished when the project is fully implemented; as occurred in Riverhorse Valley.

As a presidential lead project, Bridge City is envisaged as an intervention in the urban landscape which will contribute towards remedying many of the development problems and socio-economic and spatial inequalities produced by apartheid.[148] Furthermore, the project is conceptualised as a mechanism for the generation of urban economic growth, through its own activity and through the initiation of additional activity in the city which is expected to emerge as the local township economy is re-imaged and better supported (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007; Iyer, 19/3/2007). The interconnection between the project and the goals encompassed in the presidential lead project has influenced the negotiations within the Joint Venture as to the overall purpose and design of the spaces within Bridge City. The project thus incorporates a range of redress focussed elements within the logic of a boosterist undertaking. To this end, in the presentation of Bridge City as a presidential lead project, the inter-relationship between development agendas is expressed through a discourse of entanglement,

> "As part of a presidential lead project, Bridge City is one of the urban knots being tied in unison with the eThekwini municipality that will forge a mixed-use district for residents of the surrounding areas after decades of inactivity" (www.moreland.co.za, 25/8/2006).

That the project is envisaged as an 'urban knot being tied' indicates that it is conceptualised as a development which simultaneously draws together many of the various development imperatives within the city. The achievement of these multiple but interconnected 'threads' of development goals are viewed as being secured by their being tied together through the flagship development.

As a central project in the INK programme, the project is also seen to be closely aligned with the development agenda of the eThekwini Municipality IDP (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Moreland Developments, 25/8/2006; Dardagan, 16/2/2007; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007). In particular, Bridge City is aligned with the IDP's focus on economic growth, urban renewal and regeneration (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; eThekwini Municipality, 2009). However, it is also seen to be "very much aligned with the key considerations of the city

---

[148] As mentioned earlier, this includes the remedying of economic marginalisation; spatial fragmentation; lack of basic services; and high rates of unemployment (Lemon, 1991; Swilling et al, 1991; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

vision… about creating a better quality of life for all residents, so you can see it [the IDP] through every facet of the work at Bridge City" (Mbonambi, 19/2/2007). To this end, the spatial integration provided by the project is closely aligned to the goals of spatial compaction and reintegration of the divided, apartheid city that are encompassed in the IDP (eThekwini Municipality, 2009).

According to the Bridge City Framework Plan (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006), the project is also aligned with the IDP goals for the provision of appropriate community infrastructure and the creation of total living environments which are safe and healthy. The use of existing infrastructure and the development of "appropriate community facilities" also advance the agenda of the IDP (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006, 4). Furthermore, the IDP advocates the municipal role in managing transformation, which, in the case of Bridge City, results in the municipality's involvement in the project via the Joint Venture and the encouragement of the use of BEE and affirmative action supporting procurement policies within the construction of the development (Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula, 2006; Silal, 7/11/2006; Mbonambi, 19/2/2007).

Thus the spatial, institutional and policy environments of Bridge City provide a context in which both redress and economic growth are emphasised as imperatives to be addressed within the project. This reinforces the sense that the project's rationale and design are derived from, and represent, a development agenda in which development imperatives are enmeshed. Boosterism, as a 'globalised' neoliberal approach to urban development, is thereby reformulated to incorporate priorities for redistributive development which stem directly from the local post apartheid context.

The linkages between the Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City projects provide further insight into the nature of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced by the public private partnerships.

9.4.3   Linkages between Bridge City and the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

This section briefly describes the linkage between the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and Bridge City. These linkages are significant because they reveal how the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced by the PPPs is characterised by an inter-relationship between the projects through which the entangled urban development agenda is implemented.

Primarily, the Bridge City and Riverhorse Valley projects are linked because they have both been initiated and managed by the Joint Venture PPP. However, the two developments are integrally connected through their processes of financing. Riverhorse Valley was initiated prior to Bridge City. Once RHV began to generate a profit for the Joint Venture partners, the development of Bridge City was initiated through the redirection of R25 million of these funds as seed money into the new project (Silal, 7/11/2006; Barnett, 8/11/2006; Deighton, 22/11/2006; L.Naidoo, 6/3/2007). These financial linkages are described below,

> "Because this is now a JV we are putting money into, some seed capital to put in… to kick start Bridge City… its mainly coming from the cash cow which is Riverhorse Valley. In fact Riverhorse has just loaned Bridge City R25 million to get over their cash flow problems initially… It's all part of the deal, the assets that were put into this entire deal and the split of the profits" (Barnett, 8/11/2006).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the RHV development is strongly constituted by a drive for economic development and growth within the city and has a limited commitment to the imperative for redress and redistribution. This project can thus be interpreted as a localised neoliberalisation process in which economic growth predominates even though it is tempered by its enmeshing with an imperative of redress. The Bridge City development is indicative of a form of neoliberalism in which the enmeshing of an economic growth imperative and an imperative of redress drives a stronger inclusion of activities which accomplish the redress of apartheid inequalities than that found in the Riverhorse Valley project. However, the dispersal of funds from RHV to Bridge City within the PPP indicates how a more strongly boosterist, profit-driven development comes to play an important supportive role in projects which include a significant component of social-upliftment and transformation.

The Riverhorse Valley project is contributing significantly to the implementation of Bridge City through the transfer of financial resources. Therefore, although the Riverhorse Valley project is largely driven by an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which produces little redress in the project outcomes, it is engaged in supporting the implementation of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is more strongly redress oriented. Furthermore, in relying on the funds generated by RHV, Bridge City should be understood as a project dependent on a localised neoliberalism which is less characterised by redress and transformation than the version evident in Bridge City itself. These interlinkages show that what initially appear to be somewhat different forms of neoliberalism in the two projects are enmeshed with each other and co-constitutive. Therefore, they are two varieties of the same 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the entanglement of development imperatives in the PPPs.

9.6   Conclusion

This chapter has examined two of the urban development projects which have been undertaken through the public private partnerships in Durban, namely, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and Bridge City. After briefly describing the projects, the discussion has concentrated on using the projects as an empirical lens with which to bring to light the production of the 'actually existing neoliberalism' through the entanglement of development imperatives within public private partnerships.

Evidence shows that the two projects are similar in the ways in which they present a boosterist urban development agenda. However, the 'actually existing neoliberalism' present in Riverhorse Valley incorporates the imperative of redress such that a concern for redress is apparent in the design of the project but does not carry through into the project implementation in any significant manner. In Bridge City, the form of 'actually existing neoliberalism' more strongly reflects an imperative of redress such that the conceptualisation, design and initial implementation of the project; and its institutional context; entail a concern for redress and an execution of activities which are addressing redress in a marginalised township area.

The differences evident in the treatment of an imperative of redress within these projects make it apparent that the versions of neoliberalism entailed in these projects are similar but not identical. However, the relationship between the two projects implicates each form of 'actually existing neoliberalism' within the constitution of the other. The examination of these two projects thus demonstrates how the entanglement of development imperatives in a PPP can produce an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is manifest in more than one form. Consequently, the empirical analysis provides an explanation of how an 'actually existing neoliberalism', beyond being uniquely formed through its local production, varies even within the city in which it has been produced.

CHAPTER TEN
CONCLUSION

The analysis of urban development presented in this thesis demonstrates that the negotiation of urban development imperatives in Durban's public private partnerships produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). As such, the thesis offers an account of urban development which draws together the global dynamics of urban change and local materialities and discourses. This final chapter sums up the study and, subsequently, reflects on the understandings gained through the research.

The theoretical framework of the study is presented in chapters two and three. Chapter two presents a critical consideration of neoliberalism, the contemporary dynamics of urban development and public private partnerships. Neoliberalism has been defined as by David Harvey (2005, 2) as,

> "a theory of political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade."

As such, neoliberalism affords an approach to development that has become globally entrenched, even to the extent of being described as a new global hegemony (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; 2002a; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Larner, 2003; Harvey, 2005; 2006; Leitner et al, 2007). However, as it has risen into ascendancy, the principles of neoliberalism and the processes and effects of neoliberalisation have been interrogated and contested, both theoretically and practically (Bond, 2005a; Harvey, 2005; Leitner et al, 2007). The most significant of these interrogations address the variability of neoliberal approaches and their outcomes at the local level (Basset, 1996; Brenner and Theodore, 2002b; Miraftab, 2004; 2004a; Arestis and Sawyer, 2005; Bond, 2005; 2005a; Campbell 2005; Saad-Filho, and Johnston, 2005; Shaikh, 2005; Purcell, 2008). To this end, Brenner and Theodore (2002a; 2002b), argue that neoliberalism cannot be understood outside of the contexts in which it 'comes to be'. Thus, they propose the notion of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' which is formed by the inter-relationship between the ideology of neoliberalism and the landscape in which it is actualised (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; 2002b).

Further to these theorisations, the assumption that neoliberalism is a global economic and development approach which produces an inevitable process of local urban change, has received much criticism from geographers seeking a more dynamic conceptualisation of

neoliberalism (Larner, 2000; Barnett, 2005). To this end, geographers have called for conceptualisations of neoliberalism which reject its assumed hegemony and seek a more nuanced and locally contingent understanding of the ways in which neoliberalism itself is produced (Larner, 2000; 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Barnett, 2005; Castree, 2005; 2006).

Further to the consideration of neoliberalism, the theoretical discussion reflects on the urban development agendas in contemporary cities. In a global context dominated by neoliberalism, and a widely accepted argument that cities are positioned within a global urban hierarchy, cities are increasingly adopting an agenda of development which concentrates on growing the urban economy, typically through measures which advance the global competitiveness of a city. In this theoretical approach, cities "actively scan the horizon for investment and promotion opportunities … lest they be left behind in the competitive struggle for the kinds of resources (public and private) that neoliberalism has helped make (more) mobile" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, 47). However, others argue that the urban development agenda of economic growth exists simultaneously with an agenda requiring that development activities address urban problems such as backlogs in the provision of basic needs and urban infrastructure (Pieterse, 2008). The co-existence of the development imperatives of economic growth and social upliftment creates a dilemma for how to go about simultaneously addressing these largely disparate development priorities. As such, actors within cities are greatly challenged by the necessity of juggling available resources in order to provide for improved quality of life and at the same time support the activities which boost the competitiveness of their cities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Stevens et al, 2006; Pieterse, 2008). This is especially true for cities in the developing world with few resources and low levels of quality of life (Pieterse, 2008).

Within this context, shifts in urban governance have occurred, and new mechanisms of development have arisen, in which actors increasingly collaborate to make decisions and to undertake development (Pierre, 1999; Painter, 2000). The public private partnerships (PPPs) which have emerged as a popular mechanism for urban development and regeneration in the contemporary city are of interest to this study (Wiehe, 2006). These partnerships are processes which involve the engagement between important actors within the urban development arena (Bassett, 1996; Mullin, 2002). Furthermore, public private partnerships are considered to be one of a number of "neoliberal urban policy experiments [required] to mobilise city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices"

(Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 21). As such, they are frequently associated with boosterist flagship developments that are considered an archetype of neoliberalisation in cities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

These theoretical considerations frame the study by presenting the need for research which concentrates on the local scale in order to deepen the understanding of how neoliberalism is produced and shaped in particular places. Furthermore, the theoretical argument foregrounds the dual urban development agenda of economic growth and social upliftment, its associated challenges, and the consequent need for the negotiation of competing development imperatives within cities. In addition, the theoretical consideration of PPPs reveals that despite being characterised as neoliberal tools, these partnerships are processes in which public and private sector actors negotiate the competition between the two urban development imperatives. As such, PPPs offer an entry point into examining both the negotiation of urban development imperatives and the production of neoliberalism in cities. In chapter three, the concepts of the 'ordinary city' (Amin and Graham, 1997; Robinson, 2002; 2006) and of 'entanglement' (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009) are advanced to provide a conceptual lens through which to undertake this examination.

Proceeding from the assumption that space and place actively produce the form and outcomes of urban development processes (Massey, 2005), the notion of the ordinary city is presented in chapter three as a platform from which these issues can be interpreted and theorised. The concept of the 'ordinary city' argues that all cities are unique, dynamic and creative places (Robinson, 2006). As such, the ordinary city is deemed to be a powerful theoretical concept as it rejects the dominance of the developed world in determining the 'model' or path for urban development and therefore the existence of a global urban hierarchy (Robinson, 2006).

The application of the notion of 'entanglement' in the thesis stems from the promotion of the agency of cities advanced by the concept of the ordinary city. 'Entanglement' provides a conceptual means through which to examine how cities actively, and innovatively, produce and implement local development processes. The notion of entanglement calls for a relational understanding of socio-economic processes and thereby shows relational connections to be enmeshed, co-constituted and overlapping (Sharp et al, 2000; Nuttall, 2009). Furthermore, entanglement is a spatialised concept which facilitates a spatialised interpretation of the interrelationships between the local and the global (Sharp et al, 2000). An entangled relationship is frequently not a comfortable one but emerges through the unavoidable

engagement between different aspects of socio-economic and political life (Nuttall, 2009). Given these considerations, the concept of entanglement has been adopted in this study to facilitate a relational understanding of the ways in which urban development imperatives engage with neoliberalism.

Within this theoretical framework, the study sets out to examine the relationship between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives in public private partnerships. In order to conduct this examination, the study turns to South Africa, to Durban, and to two contemporary public private partnerships in Durban, namely, the Durban Growth Coalition and the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture. To this end, chapters four and five concentrate on South Africa and Durban as places of transformation in which the need for improved quality of life and for successful reintegration within the global economy are interconnected. As such, these are contexts in which dual development imperatives need to be addressed. From this context, the two partnerships emerge to tackle development in Durban. The Durban Growth Coalition (DGC) is an informal partnership initiated in 1999 which, although it still operates to a degree, was most active and influential in the city until 2003. The main purpose of the DGC was to involve local business and municipal representatives in discussion and negotiation to facilitate urban development within Durban, which, in the late 1990s, was seen as stagnating. The eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture is a partnership which subsequently emerged in 2002. The Joint Venture is constituted by a formal agreement through which three urban development projects would be jointly undertaken by the partners, namely; the Point Waterfront development, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, and the Bridge City mixed use development. This partnership remains active, with the implementation of the Bridge City project still underway and the other two projects completed at the time of writing.

A qualitative methodology has been employed to undertake the empirical research on the public private partnerships (Chapter Six). Underpinned by a social constructivist approach, the research methodology relied heavily on semi-structured interviews with representatives of both public private partnerships and with actors in the development arena in the city. The interview respondents included municipal officials; representatives of the private sector in Durban; academics; and urban development consultants involved in the PPPs. These interviews enabled an examination of the discourses used by actors in the city in order to see what people were saying about the development imperatives, and subsequently led to considerations of their entanglement. In addition, documentary evidence in the form of project

and planning reports, municipal documents and newspaper articles have been an informative source of primary data.

Further to the research on the partnerships themselves, two projects within the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City development, have been examined to interrogate the characteristics of neoliberalism and how the relationship between the entanglement of urban development imperatives and neoliberalism is materialised. A mixture of qualitative and quantitative primary data has been used in researching the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate project. This facilitated the construction of an overall picture of the characteristics of the development. Therefore semi-structured interviews were conducted with managerial representatives of businesses in the Estate and questionnaires were used to gather information from a twenty percent sample of the employees within the Estate. In the case of Bridge City, primary data in the form of documentary evidence, semi-structured interviews and informal discussions has been gathered and interpreted.

Examination of the empirical material brings to light the inter-relationship between the urban development imperatives of economic growth and post apartheid redress and redistribution in public private partnerships in Durban (Chapter Seven). Actors within the PPPs have been found to conceptualise Durban's imperatives for urban development as a need for economic growth and as an imperative for redress and redistribution in order to overcome the inequalities wrought by apartheid. The economic growth imperative is largely boosterist in character and concentrates on economic development. However, the economic growth imperative does incorporate a number of measures which involve redress and economic reform, such as up-skilling the labour force and improving employment opportunities. The imperative for redress and redistribution consists of a prioritisation of development activities such as service, infrastructure and housing provision; poverty alleviation; and black economic empowerment. The simultaneous prioritisation of economic growth and post apartheid redress in the PPPs in Durban is typical of the competition between development approaches which has arisen in many cities, and particularly in the developing world (Pieterse, 2008). The challenges of addressing these priorities, particularly in resource poor contexts, require that actors in cities formulate a development agenda in which these priorities are negotiated.

In Durban, the negotiation of competing development imperatives is strongly evident in the way actors within the PPPs discursively construct these imperatives, such that the imperatives

of economic growth and post apartheid redress are enmeshed and co-constituted in an 'entanglement'. The entangling of these development imperatives is produced through a number of discourses used by actors in the PPPs and the wider city. For instance, the characteristics of the economic growth and redress imperatives are interlaced in the oft-repeated expression of the 'need for balance' in the addressing of urban development needs and the description of economic growth as incorporating the goals of post apartheid redress and redistribution. In addition, actors in the PPPs enmesh the imperative of redress with an economic growth imperative through the discourses and metaphors of urban competitiveness and 'trickle down'. Arguments for economic development articulated as 'fattening the golden goose' and 'growing the pot' are, therefore, used to infer that wealth created by boosterist economic growth activities will 'trickle down' to communities via improved economic opportunities and municipal projects which will attend to redress and transformation. In addition, actors within the PPPs conflate the meanings of the two urban development imperatives by speaking of them as a single development agenda or as a dual agenda which is able to be simultaneously accomplished. This conflation further produces an entanglement of the development imperatives.

The empirical evidence further reveals that the entanglement of the development imperatives of economic growth and redress is characterised by a number of qualities. Within the entanglement, the two imperatives are not wholly subsumed by each other and instead come to adopt and incorporate characteristics of the other imperative. In addition, the economic growth imperative is dominant within the entangled relationship and is regularly fore-grounded by actors in the PPPs, even as they use discourses which present the imperatives as entangled. Furthermore, since these actors recognise both the pressure to undertake both economic growth and redress, and the difficulty in addressing both imperatives simultaneously, the entanglement of these imperatives is characterised by a level of discomfort. This discomfort, and the continuing distinctiveness of the urban development imperatives, results in the entanglement being dynamic and likely to shift its form as actors are required to continuously produce the inter-relationship between the imperatives.

In addition to the abovementioned qualities of the entanglement, the thesis asserts that the entanglement of development imperatives incorporates the tenets of neoliberalism, particularly in the form of a strong imperative for economic growth. This is evident in the presence of a number of the tenets of neoliberalism within the conceptualisation of economic growth provided by actors in the PPPs. For example, the promotion of urban competitiveness

as a vital means through which to improve the urban economy is derived from the neoliberal arguments that competition is the best means through which to achieve market liberalisation and all its benefits (Harvey, 2005). The tenets of neoliberalism incorporated into the economic growth imperative are further evident in the choice of economic development activities undertaken by the PPPs. For example, the decision to undertake boosterist development in order to advance the urban economy and to improve the municipal rates base is reflective of the neoliberalisation of urban development occurring in other cities (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). In addition, the role of neoliberalism in directing the urban development agenda of the PPPs is strengthened by the dominance of the economic growth imperative in the entanglement.

However, the nature of the economic growth imperative is shifted through its entanglement with elements of redress. This is evident in the incorporation of aspects of the redress imperative within the discourses in which economic growth is conceptualised, such as occurs in the inclusion of black economic empowerment in boosterist development projects. Furthermore, the economic development activities which are devised and implemented by the PPPs indicate that the economic growth imperative incorporates a concern for achieving post apartheid redress. For example, the concern for inclusive procurement policies and affirmative action during the implementation of boosterist projects such as Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City. Since the conceptualisation of the economic growth imperative is shifted by its entanglement with redress, the neoliberal elements of the growth imperative are also altered. This shift in the tenets of neoliberalism is evident in the ways in which typically neoliberal agendas, such as the drive for improved competitiveness, come to incorporate a concern for redress. For example, the regular usage of a discourse of 'trickle down' to explain how economic growth achieved via boosterist development facilitates the improvement of the quality of life of urban communities highlights a shifted neoliberal agenda.

The outcomes of these shifts in economic growth and, consequently, in the tenets of neoliberalism, are examined in Chapter Eight. Here, the thesis argues that although the development activities undertaken in the PPPs are reflective of the neoliberalisation occurring in other cities, the local process of neoliberalisation is distinctive. This distinction is evident in the incorporation of an imperative of redress into neoliberal urban development practices, such as boosterism.

These changes to the neoliberalisation process indicate that the shift in neoliberal tenets, caused by their incorporation in the entanglement of economic growth and redress imperatives, leads to a shift in the process of neoliberalisation. Given these shifts, it is argued that the negotiation of the imperatives of economic growth and redress in the public private partnerships in Durban produces a local version of neoliberalism. This version of neoliberalism is interpreted as an 'actually existing neoliberalism' because it is shaped by the activities and local conditions through which it is formed and implemented (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a).

A number of contingent conditions shape the 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced through the entanglement of development imperatives. The networks of affiliation and interest between actors within the partnerships create opportunities for engagement between actors that is instrumental in facilitating the implementation of urban development projects. The influential role of leaders within the urban context, who bring with them their beliefs and discourses, further impacts on the form of entanglement and the ways in which neoliberalism is reshaped in the PPPs. For instance, the municipal manager, as a powerful actor in the city, is a strong advocate for redress and redistribution and therefore works to strengthen this imperative in the work undertaken by the PPPs and, in particular, by the private sector partner. The local embeddedness of capital is a further contingent condition which influences the ways in which development imperatives are negotiated. As such an imperative of redress is more strongly incorporated into boosterist activities than would be the case with capital derived nationally or globally. At a broader scale, the legislative context and the overall political, economic and social shifts in South Africa and the eThekwini Municipality are influential of the entanglement of development imperatives and the reshaping of neoliberalism. These contingent conditions contribute to establishing a context in which more than one development imperative is prioritised such that the need to accommodate the competing development imperatives is unavoidable.

Chapter nine is the final of the three empirical chapters. Here, the discussion turns to an examination of two of the urban development projects undertaken in the eThekwini Municipality-Moreland Developments Joint Venture, namely, the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate and the Bridge City mixed use development. Analysis of the empirical data related to these projects provides further evidence of the emergence of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' in the city's urban development processes. The examination of the goals and outcomes of these projects reveals how this 'actually existing neoliberalism' is complex,

nuanced and variable. This complexity is evident in the nuances between principle and practice found in the unattained desire to improve employment levels in the communities surrounding Riverhorse Valley and in the greater inclusion of elements of redress in Bridge City than in Riverhorse Valley. Ultimately, these nuances demonstrate how an 'actually existing neoliberalism' produced in a PPP is variable even across the projects it undertakes.

Ultimately, the empirical research reveals that a complex and nuanced relationship exists between neoliberalism and the negotiation of urban development imperatives in the PPPs in Durban. This is a relationship in which the discursive enmeshing of urban development imperatives and their inter-relationship with both the global impulse for neoliberal development and the contingent conditions of the local scale, produce a locally specific version of neoliberalism. However, despite its intricacy, it is argued here that this relationship is encapsulated in one central idea - that the entanglement of development imperatives produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

To reflect on the value of this assertion, it is necessary to return to the theoretical framework underpinning the research, and, in particular, to the theorisation of neoliberalism and the concepts of the ordinary city and entanglement.

From the outset, this study has been built on the premise that cities provide a 'spatial fix' for neoliberalism (Jessop, 2002). Furthermore, this research accepts the validity of the concept of an 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). It, thereby, supports the claim that neoliberalism is locally produced through interactions with the regulatory landscapes and the contingencies of local places and is, therefore, variable across and within places (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a). Thus, this study is built on the recognition that, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how neoliberalism is produced in places, interrogations of neoliberalism should move beyond a simple documentation and/or critique of the implementation of neoliberalism in places. Instead,

> "the analysis needs to be grounded in a detailed investigation of the case in order to make visible the messy actualities of new forms of governance; the contradictions, complexities and inconsistencies that inevitably characterise neoliberalism" (Larner, 2000, 16).

As such, the study accepts the limitations to understanding imposed by a characterisation of neoliberalism as a pre-determined and incontrovertible set of principles and processes whose implementation is inevitable (Larner, 2000; 2003; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; Barnett, 2005). To this end, this research has advanced the theorisation of neoliberalism by using a

relational approach. As such this theorisation moves beyond Brenner and Theodore's (2002a) argument that neoliberalism is produced by interactions with the local, to probe the intricacies of *how* these interactions produce an 'actually existing neoliberalism'.

Examining the inter-relationships between neoliberalism and the local scale necessitates that the empirical research undertaken in this study concentrates intensively on urban development at the local scale. The research thus focuses on one development mechanism, public private partnerships, in one city, Durban, and aims to empirically reveal what is at the heart of the two PPPs examined. Furthermore, the study examines discourses of the actors within the PPPs in order to explore what it is that these partnerships do, how they do it and how this inter-relates with neoliberalism.

This study is framed by the concept of the 'ordinary city' in that it concentrates on the detail, nuances and complexities of the local (Amin and Graham, 1997; Robinson, 2002a; 2006; 2008). This theory asserts that all cities are unique (Robinson, 2006). Such cities are conceptualised as places of innovation and creativity in which actors appropriate ideas and practices to serve local agendas and meet local needs (Robinson, 2006; 2008). Thus, in order to fully understand an ordinary city, it is necessary to examine the city in its entirety and complexity (Robinson, 2006). These assertions have created the space for an analysis of urban development and the production of neoliberalism. This study rejects the dominance of the theory of global urban hierarchies, which engenders a binary between the local and the global; which concentrates on the economic aspects of cities; and which limits the possibility for the emergence of theorisations of cities from the developing world (Robinson, 2002; 2006; McDonald, 2008). Consequently, the interpretation of the negotiation of imperatives in Durban's PPPs undertaken here, presupposes the active agency of actors within the city and the influence of local contingencies. This research, therefore offers a conceptualisation of the production of neoliberalism which challenges the assumption that the local is a passive respondent to the global.

Building on the foundation provided by the notions of the ordinary city, this study has used the concept of entanglement to understand how potentially competing development imperatives are negotiated within the PPPs in Durban and, thereby, to determine how this negotiation produces neoliberalism in a locally specific form. The relational interpretation of the negotiation of urban development imperatives advanced through the application of the concept of entanglement has enabled a novel theorisation of how 'competing' urban

development imperatives are negotiated in Durban's PPPs. To this end, the development imperatives of economic growth and post apartheid redress are conceptualised as enmeshed and co-constituted within an entangled relationship. The conceptualisation of these urban development imperatives as entangled is ontologically different from those dualistic approaches which view the economic growth and post apartheid redress imperatives as types of development which are competing, fixed and binary. Instead, the relational approach adopted here produces a characterisation of these imperatives in which their boundaries are unfixed and their forms are continuously being shaped by their relationship with alternative forms of development, which themselves are dynamic and porous.

This relational understanding of the inter-connection between the development imperatives of redress and economic growth has led to the assertion that the entanglement of these imperatives produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. Furthermore, the empirical evidence shows how the form of this 'actually existing neoliberalism' is actively shaped by the contingencies of place in which the PPPs are embedded. This foregrounding of place and the context of the local scale as actively producing an 'actually existing neoliberalism' thus reflects the intimate binding of the local context with discourses and practices from 'outside' i.e. from the global. This facilitates a shift in thinking away from theorisations of urban development in which the local is disempowered, such that development at the local level is a passive and unavoidable response to that which is imposed by the global scale (Hart, 2002; Robinson, 2006). Instead, the application of the notion of entanglement facilitates a conceptualisation of how neoliberalism is produced through the 'messy actualities' of the local scale. In turn, this reveals how what is deemed local and what is deemed global are actually co-constitutive and therefore cannot be uncoupled.

To conclude, this thesis uses the relational approach of entanglement to present a detailed and nuanced explanation of the way in which the discourses derived from, and embedded within, the local context are negotiated within a local urban development mechanism of PPPs to produce an entanglement of imperatives. In turn, this entanglement produces an 'actually existing neoliberalism'. Through this argument, this research demonstrates how the characteristics of place play a central role in breaking down the dualism between the global and the local and between the imperatives of redress and economic growth to (re)produce a local expression of neoliberalism. Thus, this intensely local account of the production of neoliberalism in the ordinary city of Durban, offers an explanation of the ways in which "the cultural politics of urban space matter very much for…city development" (Robinson, 2006, 6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

a) Interviews & Personal Communications

Barnett, K. (8/11/2006). Joint Venture board member, City Engineers, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Barton, J. (6/3/2007). Durban Growth Coalition co-chair. Interview.

Brink, N. (4/4/2007). Businessman, former member of Moreland and Joint Venture. Interview.

Curtis, R. (27/2/2007). Durban Investment Promotion Agency. Interview.

Deighton, M. (22/11/2006). Moreland, manager of industrial development projects; Joint Venture board member. Interview.

Freund, B. (12/10/2006). Researcher, School of Political Science, UKZN. Interview.

Ives, B. (24/2/2007). Moreland, Bridge City project manager. Personal Communication.

Iyer, N. (19/3/2007). Urban design consultant for Bridge City, Interview.

Kiepiela, A. (17/1/2007). Durban Growth Coalition secretary. Interview.

Maingard, J. (6/7/2005). Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, company representative. Interview.

Masson, A. (12/4/2007). Planner, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Mbonambi, L. (19/2/2007). INK Area Based Management Programme, KwaMashu area manager, eThekwini, Municipality. Interview.

McCarthy, J. (30/10/2006). Geographer, urban development consultant. Interview.

McMenamin, V. (8/3/2007). Former head of Economic Development Department, eThekwini Municipality, now Mondi. Interview.

Moonsammy, S. (14/11/2006). Head of Department of Development Planning, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Naidoo, D. (6/12/2006). Deputy City Manager, eThekwini Municipality; Joint Venture board member. Interview.

Naidoo, L. (6/3/2007). Deputy Mayor, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Prendergast, T. (8/9/2008). Manager, Riverhorse Valley Business Estate Management Association. Personal communication.

Redman, T. (6/10/2006). Planner, Department of Development Planning, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Robbins, G. (29/1/2004). School of Development Studies, UKZN; formerly of Economic Development Department, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Robbins, G. (23/11/2006). School of Development Studies, UKZN; formerly of Economic Development Department, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Silal, P. (7/11/2006). Corporate Executive: Departmental Accounting (general), Treasury Cluster, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Sim, V. (29/8/2006). Planner, Department of Development Planning, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Sooklal, A. (10/4/2007). Durban Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Interview.

Sutcliffe, M. (20/2/2007). City Manager, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Tembe, M. (15/5/2007). President, Durban Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Interview.

Todes, A. (19/10/2006). Researcher, Human Sciences Research Council. Interview.

Vines, S. (17/2/2007). Planner for Bridge City, Vines & Associates. Personal communication.

White, D. (17/10/2006). Urban designer, Department of Development Planning, eThekwini Municipality. Interview.

Wilkinson, R. (15/6/2005). Planner for Moreland Developments. Personal communication.

b) Meetings and Conferences

Durban Growth Coalition, Growth Summit, (1/3/2004). International Convention Centre, Durban.

The 6th African Renaissance Festival, (25-26/3/2004). International Convention Centre, Durban.

The 7th African Renaissance Festival, (19-20/5/2005), Elangeni Hotel, Durban.

Public meeting to present the Draft Spatial Framework for the Outer West, (14/2/2004). Hillcrest Library Hall, Durban.

Public meeting as part of the EIA process for the proposed small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach, Durban, (28/10/2006). Durban Club, Durban.

c) Site Visits

Point Waterfront, (28/9/2005). Site Visit.

Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, (22/6/2005). Site Visit.

Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, (30/6/2005). Site Visit.

Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, (8/9/2008). Site Visit.

uShaka Marine World, (6/10/2006). Site Visit.

d) Internet Sources

eThekwini Municipality. (2006). About the Council, eThekwini Municipality online, www.durban.gov.za/eThekwini/Council/about/, accessed 15/7/2006.

eThekwini Municipality. (2006a). List of Councillors Elected in 2006, eThekwini Municipality online, http://www.durban.gov.za/eThekwini/Council/cil2006, accessed 15/7/2006.

Public Private Partnership Unit, National Treasury. (2005). www.ppp.gov.za, accessed 14/11/2005.

Trade and Investment KZN. (2006). The Economy, www.tikzn.co.za/economy.jsp, accessed 6/7/2006.

www.suncoastcasino.tsogosun.co.za, accessed 9/4/2010.

www.moreland.co.za, accessed 15/7/2008 and 10/2/2010.

eThekwini Municipality. Sister Cities Home Page.
    http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/government/igr/idr/sister, accessed 12/12/2009.

e) Legislation

Republic of South Africa. (1993). Local Government Transition Act (Act 209 of 1993)

Republic of South Africa. (14 June 1996). Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy, www.polity.org.za, accessed 12/9/2005.

Republic of South Africa. (1996). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).

Republic of South Africa. (1997). Urban Development Framework, Department of Housing, Cape Town.

Republic of South Africa. (1998). Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (Act 27 of 1998).

Republic of South Africa. (1998). The White Paper on Local Government, http://www.treasury.gov.za/legislation/mfma/guidelines/whitepaper.pdf, accessed 28/10/09.

Republic of South Africa. (1998a). Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998).

Republic of South Africa (1999) Public Finance Management Act (Act 1 of 1999).

Republic of South Africa. (2000). White Paper on Municipal Service Partnerships (Notice 1689 of 2000), Department of Provincial and Local Government, Cape Town.

Republic of South Africa. (2000a). Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000).

Republic of South Africa. (2003). Municipal Financial Management Act (Act 56 of 2003).

Union of South Africa. (1950). Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950).

f) Newspaper Articles and Press Releases

Business Report, Natal Coast thrives as industry and port body pump in billions, 29/7/2003.

Canning, D. Prosperity action plan announced R 2 billion boost for Durban, *The Mercury*, 12/6/2000.

Cole, B. Durban opens up to the world, *The Independent on Saturday*, 20/9/2002.

Cole, B. Durban scores with Leeds business, *Daily News*, 24/9/2002.

Cole, B. Call for township shopping centres, *Daily News*, 29/10/2002.

Dardagan, C. 'Bridge City to cross economic disparities', *The Mercury*, 16/2/2007.

Durban Chamber of Commerce and Industry. 'Durban poised for Growth' *Chamber Digest,* 17/8/2002.

Enslin, S. 'Call for bids for Dube construction', *The Mercury*, 7/2/2006.

Enslin-Payne, S. 'Durban market clash raises a historic echo', *Business Report*, 19/6/2009.

Kearney, L. Development to be fast-tracked, *The Mercury*, 31/10/2000.

Kearney, L. Can do philosophy for Durban, *The Mercury*, 6/6/2001.

le Pere, G. and White, L. 'IBSA is about more than just trade', *Business Report*, 25/10/2005.

Mercury Reporter. 'Wharf gets a face lift', *The Mercury*, 3/9/2002.

Moreland Developments, 'Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City Score for Public Private Partnerships' press release, 25/8/2006, www.moreland.co.za, accessed 25/10/2006.

Naidoo, J. 'Monday File', *The Mercury*, 1/10/2001.

Savides, M. 'DA, eThekwini go head to head on matter, *Tribune*, 23/8/2009.

Sewsunker, K. 'Drive to keep talented individuals at home', *The Daily News*, 2/3/2004.

Shirin, S. (25/9/2005). World Bank, IMF Back Debt Cancellation, Inter Press News Agency, http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=30412, accessed 30/9/2005.

Singh, S. 'Riverhorse helps city development gallop ahead', 31/8/2006, Municipality News, eThekwini Online, accessed 26/10/2006.

South African Press Association (SAPA). 'SA 'will play our part' in reforming UN', *Mail and Guardian online*, 8/6/2005.

Sunday Tribune, 'Sweet prospects developing for Tongaat Hulett', 19/8/2007.

The Daily News, 'This 2010 mall will starve us', 27/5/2009.

The Mercury, 'Partners in shaping Durban's future', 17/2/2004.

West, E. 'Bridge City project 'to create 25 000 permanent jobs'', *Business Day*, 18/10/2006.

Wilhelm, J. Special Report: Durban Growth Coalition, *Financial Mail*, 25 October 2002.

g) Speeches

Brits, L. (25/3/2004). Presentation to the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Mbeki, T. (26/3/2004). Keynote address to the 6th African Renaissance Festival, International Convention Centre, Durban.

Mlaba. O. (25/3/2004). Address to the African Mayoral Conference, International Convention Centre, Durban.

h) Reports

African National Congress. (1994). *The Reconstruction and Development Programme,* Umanyano Publications, Johannesburg.

African Union. (date unknown). The African Peer Review Mechanism, Base Document. http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/documents/49.pdf, accessed 31/10/2005.

African Union. (2001). The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/documents/inbrief.pdf, accessed 1/11/2005.

Department of Traditional and Local Government Affairs. (April 2002). Information Package on Integrated Development Planning, KwaZulu-Natal.

Durban Point Waterfront Management Association. (2009). Annual Report, Durban.

Durban Unicity. (August 2001). Long Term Development Framework.

eThekwini Municipality. (May 2002). eThekwini Municipal Area Spatial Development Framework, Draft report.

eThekwini Municipality. (June 2003). Integrated Development Plan 2003-2007.

eThekwini Municipality. (September 2004). Integrated Development Plan, Review Period 2004/2005.

eThekwini Municipality. (February 2005). Spatial Development Plan: Outer West, Draft report.

eThekwini Municipality. (2006b). Medium Term Budget, 2006/2007 to 2008/2009.

eThekwini Municipality. (2007). Integrated Development Plan, Beyond 2010, 2007-2008 Review.

eThekwini Municipality. (2008). Economic Development Strategy.

eThekwini Municipality. (2009). Integrated Development Plan, 2009/2010 Annual Review, Draft.

eThekwini Municipality. (2009a). Annual Report 2007/2008.

Fakisandla Consulting. (2007). Riverhorse Valley Business Estate: An Updated Baseline Study, report for Tongaat Hulett, Durban.

Fakisandla Consulting. (2007a). Umhlanga Ridge New Town Centre: A Baseline Study, report for Tongaat Hulett, Durban.

Gelb, S. (October 2001). South Africa's Role and Importance in Africa and for the Development of the African Agenda, Report for The Edge Institute, Johannesburg.

Guy Nicholson Consulting. (2001). Environmental Scoping Report on the Proposed Development of the Effingham-Avoca Area within the North and South Central Local Council of Metropolitan Durban, report for Moreland Developments, Durban.

Houghton, J. (2005). Baseline Study: Riverhorse Valley Business Estate, report for Moreland Developments, Durban.

Iyer Rothaug and Vines Mikula. (2006). Bridge City Development Framework, report for Moreland Developments and eThekwini Municipality.

Kamman, E. (2009). eThekwini Quality of Life Household Survey 2008-2009, Development Research Africa, report for eThekwini Municipality, Durban.

Kanjee, K. (2009). Financial Year 2008/2009 Port Statistics, Transnet National Ports Authority of South Africa, www.transetnationalportsauthority.net/NPA_Port_statistics.html, accessed 1/5/2010.

KwaZulu-Natal. (2005). Five Year Strategic and Performance Plans, KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier.

KwaZulu-Natal. (2006). KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, Draft, KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier.

KwaZulu-Natal. (2006a). Towards an Integrated HIV and AIDS Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal and Framework for Implementation, Draft Report, KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier.

Monitor Group & Durban Unicity. (2000). Durban at the Crossroads, The Monitor Report, Durban.

National Treasury. (2004). Code of Good Practice for Black Economic Empowerment in Public Private Partnerships, www.ppp.gov.za/ppp_legis/BEEPPPCode_FINAL_2004.pdf, accessed 14/11/2005.

Public Private Partnership Unit, National Treasury. (December 2004). *PPP Quarterly*, 17.

Public Private Partnership Unit, National Treasury. (June 2005). *PPP Quarterly*, 19.

Public Private Partnership Unit, National Treasury. (September 2005). *PPP Quarterly*, 20.

Robbins, G. (2004). A Water Sector Public-Private Partnership Case Study: Ilembe District Municipality (Formerly Dolphin Coast) – Siza Water Company, Report Commissioned for Palmer Development Group by the National Business Initiative in Partnership with Inwent, South Africa.

Skinner C. (2005). Constraints to Growth and Employment in Durban: Evidence from the Informal Economy, Research Report No. 65, School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

South African Cities Network. (2004). State of Cities Report, SACN, Johannesburg. www.sacities.net, accessed 8/2004.

South African Cities Network. (2006). State of Cities Report, SACN, Johannesburg.

Southern African Marketing Co. (Pty) Ltd & SADC Secretariat. (2005). Official SADC Trade, Industry and Investment Review. http://www.sadcreview.com/sadc/frsadc.htm, accessed 31/10/2005.

Statistics South Africa. (2007). Community Survey, 2007. Basic Results: Municipalities, http://www.statssa.gov.za/Publications/P03011/P030112007.pdf, accessed 12/12/2009.

United Nations. (2005). *The Millennium Development Goals Report*, United Nations, New York.

Urban Econ. (2004). eThekwini Quality of Life Survey, 2003-2004 Report, Produced for the Corporate Quality Unit, eThekwini Municipality.

Urban Econ. (2007). eThekwini Quality of Life Survey, 2007 Report, Produced for the Corporate Quality Unit, eThekwini Municipality.

VARA. (1994). Effingham–Avoca Rezoning Application, produced for Moreland Estates Limited, Durban.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

Acioly Jr., C. (2001). Reviewing urban revitalisation strategies in Rio de Janeiro: From urban project to urban management approaches, *Geoforum*, 32 (4), 509-520.

Adelzadeh, A. and Padayachee, V. (1994). The RDP white paper: Reconstruction of a development vision?, *Transformation*, 25, 1-18.

Aghion, P. and Bolton, P. (1997). A theory of trickle-down growth and development, *Review of Economic Studies*, 64 (2), 151-172.

Akintoye, A., Beck, M. and Hardcastle, C. (Eds.). (2003). *Public-Private Partnerships: Managing Risks and Opportunities*, Wiley-Blackwell, London.

Amin, A. (2000). The economic base of contemporary cities, in Paddison, R. (Ed). *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 115-129.

Amin, A. and Graham, S. (1997). The ordinary city, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*, 22 (4), 411-429.

Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities. Reimagining the Urban*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Amin, S. (2001). Africa: living on the fringe?, *Africa Insight*, 31, 3-7.

Amin, S. (2001a). Capitalism's global strategy, in Houtert, F. and Polet, F. (Eds.). *The Other Davos*, Zed Books, London, 17-24.

Arestis, P. and Sawyer, M. (2005). Neoliberalism and the Third Way, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 177-183.

Awortwi, N. (2004). Getting the fundamentals wrong: Woes of public–private partnerships in solid waste collection in three Ghanaian cities, *Public Administration and Development*, 24, 213–224.

Ball, M. and Maginn, P.J. (2005). Urban change and conflict: Evaluating the role of partnerships in urban regeneration in the UK, *Housing Studies*, 20 (1), 9–28.

Ballard, R. (2002). Desegregating Minds: White Identities and Urban Change in the New South Africa, unpublished PhD thesis, Geography Department, University of Wales, Swansea.

Ballard, R. (2004). The ant and the grasshopper: Rationalising exclusion and inequality in the Post-apartheid City, *Theoria,* 105, 64-87.

Ballard, R. (2004a). Middle class neighbourhoods or "African kraals"? The impact of informal settlements and vagrants on post-apartheid white identity, *Urban Forum,* 15 (1), 48-73.

Ballard, R. (2005). When in Rome: Claiming the right to define neighbourhood character in South Africa's suburbs, *Transformation*, 57, 64-87.

Ballard, R. (2008). Between the community hall and the city hall: Five research questions on participation, *Transformation,* 66/67, 168-188.

Ballard, R., Bonnin, D., Robinson, J. and Xaba, T. (2007). Development and new forms of democracy in eThekwini, *Urban Forum,* 18 (4), 265-287.

Ballard, R., Habib, A. and Valodia, I. (Eds.). (2006). *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Barnett, C. (2005). The consolations of 'neoliberalism', *Geoforum*, 36, 7-12.

Bass, O. (2006). (D)Urban Identity: Stories of an African City, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Bass, O. (2009). Aiming for Africa: Durban, 2010 and notions of African urban identity, in Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R. and Bass, O. (Eds.). *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*, HSRC Press, Cape Town, 246-265.

Basset, K. (1996). Partnerships, business elites and urban politics: New forms of governance in an English city?, *Urban Studies*, 33 (3), 539-555.

Basset, K., Griffiths, R. and Smith, I. (2002). Testing governance: Partnerships, planning and conflict in waterfront regeneration, *Urban Studies*, 39 (10), 1757-1775.

Beall, J. (2006). Cultural weapons: Traditions, inventions and the transition to democratic governance in Metropolitan Durban, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 457-473.

Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. and Parnell, S. (2002). *Uniting a Divided City. Governance and Social Exclusion in Johannesburg*, Earthscan Publications Ltd., London.

Beauregard, R.A. (1998). Public-private partnerships as historical chameleons: The case of the United States, in Pierre, J. (Ed.). *Partnerships in Urban Governance, European and American Experiences*, Palgrave, Basingstoke and New York, 52-70.

Beaverstock, J.V., Taylor, P. and Smith, R.G. (1999). A roster of world cities, *Cities*, 16 (6), 445-458.

Beavon, K. (2004). *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City,* University of South Africa Press, Pretoria.

Begg, I. (Ed.). (2002). *Urban Competitiveness: Policies for Dynamic Cities*, Policy Press, Bristol.

Bekker, S. (1990). The Durban city government in the nineteen nineties: The Joint Services Board and its possible future, *Urban Forum*, 1 (2), 1-14.

Bekker, S. (1991). Cities straddling homeland boundaries, in Swilling, M., Humphries, R. and Shubane, K. (Eds.). *Apartheid City in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 108-118.

Biggs, M. (1997). *Getting into GEAR. Government and the Economy*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Bond, P. (2002). *Unsustainable South Africa: Environment, Development and Social Protest*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Bond, P. (2003). Debates in local economic development policy and practice, *Urban Forum*, 14 (2-3), 147-164.

Bond, P. (2005). Globalisation/commodification or deglobalisation/decommodification in urban South Africa, *Policy Studies*, 26 (3), 337-358.

Bond, P. (2005a). *Elite Transition. From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*, 2nd Edition, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Bond, P. (2009). Realistic postneoliberalism – A view from South Africa, *Development Dialogue*, 51, 193 – 211.

Bongmba, E.K. (2004). Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African renaissance, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (2), 291-316.

Boraine, A., Crankshaw, O., Engelbrecht, C., Gotz, G., Mbanga, S., Narsoo, M. and Parnell, S. (2006). The state of South African cities a decade after democracy, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 259-284.

Bouillon, A. (2002). Citizenship and the city: The Durban center-city in 2000, *Transformation,* 48, 1-37.

Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban.

Boyle, M. and Rogerson, R.J. (2001). Power discourses and city trajectories, in Paddison, R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 402-416.

Bremner, L. (2000). Reinventing the Johannesburg inner city, *Cities,* 17 (3), 185-193.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002). Preface: From the "New Localism" to the spaces of neoliberalism, *Antipode*, 34 (3), 341-347.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002a). Cities and the geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", *Antipode*, 34 (3), 349-379.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (Eds.). (2002b). *Spaces of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe,* Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (Eds.). (2000). *A Companion to the City*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Browett, J. (1986). The evolution of unequal development within South Africa: an overview, in Smith, D.M. (Ed.). *Living Under Apartheid,* George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Herts, UK, 10-23.

Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, Routledge, London.

Buttimer, A. (1974). *Values in Geography.* Commission on College Geography Resource Paper 24, Association of American Geographers, Washington DC.

Caldeira, T. and Holston, J. (2005). State and urban space in Brazil: From modernist planning to democratic interventions, in Keiner, M., Koll-Schretzenmayr, M. and Schmidt, W.A. (Eds.). *Managing Urban Futures: Sustainability and Urban Growth in Developing Countries*, Ashgate, Burlington, 143-164.

Cameron, R. (1996). The demarcation of South African local government, *Local Government Studies*, 22, 19–39.

Cameron, J., Odendaal, N. and Todes, A. (2004). Integrated area development projects: Working towards innovation and sustainability, *Urban Forum*, 15 (4), 311-339.

Campbell, A. (2005). The birth of neoliberalism in the United States: A reorganisation of capitalism, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 187-198.

Carmody, P. (2002). Between globalisation and (post) apartheid: The political economy of restructuring in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 28 (2), 255-275.

Casale, D. (2002). The nature of unemployment and employment in the Durban Metropolitan Area, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 285-295.

Castells, M. (1997). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume III, End of the Millenium,* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Castree, N. (2005). Editorial: The epistemology of particulars: Human geography, case studies and 'context', *Geoforum*, 36, 541-544.

Castree, N. (2006). Commentary, *Environment and Planning A*, 38, 1-6.

Cheru, F. (2001). Overcoming apartheid's legacy: The ascendancy of neoliberalism in South Africa's anti-poverty strategy, *Third World Quarterly,* 22 (4), 505–527.

Chipkin, I. (2002). A developmental role for local government, in Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, M. (Eds.). *Democratising Local Government, the South African Experiment*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 57-78.

Christopher, A.J. (2001). Monitoring segregation levels in South African Cities 1911-1996, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 83 (3), 249-257.

Christopher, A.J. (2005). Does South Africa have ghettos?, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 96 (3), 241–252.

Cleobury, J. (2006). Questioning the Effectiveness of Public-Private Partnerships in Urban Development, Paper Presented at the Planning Africa Conference, 22-24 March, Cape Town.

Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (Eds.). (2004). *Envisioning Human Geographies*, Edward Arnold Publishers, New York.

Cloke, P., Cook, I., Crang, P., Goodwin, M., Painter, J. and Philo, C. (2004a). *Practising Human Geography*, Sage Publications Ltd., London.

Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (2001). Millennial capitalism: First thoughts on a second coming, in Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (Eds.). *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism*, Duke University Press, USA, 1-56.

Cook, I. and Crang, P. (1996). The world on a plate: Culinary culture, displacement and geographical knowledges, *Journal of Material Culture*, 1 (2), 131-153.

Cooke, P. (1990). *Back to the Future: Modernity, Postmodernity and Locality*, Unwin Hyman, London.

Coronil, F. (2001). Toward a critique of globalcentrism: Speculations on capitalism's nature, in Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (Eds.). *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism*, Duke University Press, USA, 63-87.

Cox, K. (1995). Globalisation, competition and the politics of local economic development, *Urban Studies*, 32 (2), 213-224.

Cox, K. and Mair, A. (1989). Urban growth machines and the politics of local economic development, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 13, 137-146.

Crang, M. (2002). Qualitative methods: The new orthodoxy?, *Progress in Human Geography*, 26 (5), 647-655.

Crang, P. and Dwyer, C. (2002). Fashioning ethnicities: The commercial spaces of multiculture, *Ethnicities*, 2 (3), 410-430.

Crang, P., Dwyer, C. and Jackson, P. (2003) Transnationalism and the spaces of commodity culture, *Progress in Human Geography,* 27 (4), 438–456.

Cresswell, T. (1999). Place, in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (Eds.). *Introducing Human Geographies*, Arnold, London, 226-234.

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place. A Short Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Cumbers, A., Routledge, P. and Nativel, C. (2008). The entangled geographies of global justice networks, *Progress in Human Geography,* 32 (2), 183–201.

Dansereau, S. (2005). Win-win or new imperialism? Public-private partnerships in Africa mining, *Review of African Political Economy*, 32 (103), 47-62.

Darian-Smith, K., Gunner, L. and Nuttall, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Text, Theory, Space*, Routledge, London.

Davies, J.S. (2000). Urban regime theory: A normative-empirical critique, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24 (1), 1-17.

Davies, R.J. (1991). Durban, in Lemon, A. (Ed.). *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities,* Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., London, 71-89.

Davis, M. (2007). *Planet of Slums*, Verso, London.

Dear, M.J. and Flusty, S. (Eds.). (2002). *The Spaces of Postmodernity*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford.

De Kock, L. (2004). Introduction: South Africa in the global imaginary, De Kock, L., and Bethlehem, L. and Laden, S. (Eds.). *South Africa in the Global Imaginary*, Unisa Press, Pretoria.

Dierwechter, Y. (2003). Lessons for Puget Sound? The City Region and the Politics of Scale in Cape Town, Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, 5-9 March, New Orleans.

Dierwechter, Y. (2006). Geographical limitations of neo-liberalism: Urban planning and the occluded territoriality of informal survival in African Cape Town, *Space and Polity*, 10 (3), 243-262.

Dobson, R. and Skinner, C. (2009). *Working in Warwick: Including street traders in urban plans*, School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Dowding, K. (2001). Explaining urban regimes, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25 (1), 7-19.

Dumenil, G. and Levy, D. (2005). The neoliberal (counter-) revolution, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 9-19.

Dwyer, C. (2004). Tracing transnationalaties through commodity culture. A case study of British-South Asian fashion, in Jackson, P., Crang, P. and Dwyer, C. (Eds.). *Transnational Spaces*, Routledge, London, 60-77.

Elkin, S.L. (1986). Regulation and regime: A comparative analysis, *Journal of Public Policy*, 6 (1), 49-72.

Elkin, S.L. (1987). *City and Regime in the American Republic*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Elwood, S.A. and Martin, D. (2000). 'Placing' interviews: Locations and scales of power in qualitative research, *Professional Geographer*, 52 (4), 649-657.

Fainstein, S.S. (1996). The changing world economy and urban restructuring, in Fainstein, S.S. and Campbell, S. (Eds.). *Readings in Urban Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts, 170-186.

Flinders, M. (2005). The politics of public-private partnerships, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 7, 215-239.

Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (Eds.). (1997). *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide For Students Doing a Research Project,* Addison Wesley Longman Limited, England.

Flusty, S. (2001). Adventures of a barong; a worm's eye view of global formation, in Minca, C. (Ed.). *Postmodern Geography: Theory and Praxis,* Blackwell, Oxford, 129-146.

Freund, B. (2002). City hall and the directions of development: The changing role of the local state as a factor in economic planning and development in Durban, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). (*D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 171-193.

Freund, B. (2007). *The African City: A History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (2002). Durban: Structures from the past, pressures in the present, prospects in the future, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1-8.

Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). (2002a). *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Gelb, S. (2006) Macroeconomic policy in South Africa. From RDP through GEAR to ASGISA, in Gunnarsen, G., Mac Manus, P., Nielsen, N. and Stolten H.E. (Eds.). *At the end of the rainbow? Social identity and welfare state in the new South Africa*, Southern Africa Contact, 15-26.

Gergen, K.J. (1999). *An Invitation to Social Construction*, Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Gibb, R.A. (1998). Flexible integration in the 'new' southern Africa, *The South African Geographical Journal,* 80 (1), 43-51.

Giraut, F. and Maharaj, B. (2002). Contested terrains: Cities and hinterlands in post-apartheid boundary delimitations, *GeoJournal*, 57 (1-2), 39-51.

Goldsmith, M. (2001). Urban governance, in Paddison, R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Sage Publications Ltd., London, 325-335.

Goodman, M. (2008). Towards Visceral Entanglements: Knowing and Growing Economic Geographies of Food Environment, Politics and Development Working Paper Series, Department of Geography, King's College London, Paper 5., 1-27.

Goodwin, M. (1999). Citizenship and governance, in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (Eds.). *Introducing Human Geographies*, Arnold Publishers, London, 189-198.

Goodwin, M. (2004). Recovering the future: a post-disciplinary perspective on geography and political economy, in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (Eds.). *Envisioning Human Geographies*, Edward Arnold Publishers, New York, 65-80.

Gough, J. (2002). Neoliberalism and socialisation in the contemporary city: Opposites, complements and instabilities, in Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (Eds.). *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe,* Blackwell Publishing, Massachusetts, 58-79.

Graham, S. (1995). The city economy, in Healey, P., Cameron, S., Davoudi, S., Graham, S. and Madani-Pour, A. (Eds.). *Managing Cities, The New Urban Context*, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Chichester, 83-89.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering Urbanism. Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition,* Routledge, London.

Grant, L. and Scott, D. (1996). Waterfront developments as tools for urban reconstruction and regeneration in South Africa, *Urban Forum*, 7 (2), 125-138.

Grest, J. (2002). Urban citizenship: Governance, regulation, development and participation. Some thoughts on the Warwick Junction, Durban, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 169-182.

Grest, J. (2002a). Urban citizenship and legitimate governance: The case of the Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street Urban Renewal Project, Durban, *Transformation*, 48, 38-57.

Griffiths, R. (1998). Making sameness: Place marketing and the new urban entrepreneurialism, in Oatley, N. (Ed.). *Cities, Economic Competition and Urban Policy*, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., London, 41-57.

Guthman, J. (2008). Thinking inside the neoliberal box: The micro-politics of agro-food philanthropy, *Geoforum,* 39, 1241-1253.

Hacking, I. (2000). *The Social Construction of What?*, Harvard University Press, USA.

Hajer, M. (1995). *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernisation and the Policy Process,* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Hajer, M. (2004). Three Dimensions of Deliberative Policy Analysis. Analysing Governance Networks in Rebuilding Ground Zero, Paper Presented at International Conference on Democratic Network Governance, 21-22 October 2004, Roskilde University, Copenhagen, Denmark, http://www.ruc.dk/upload/application/pdf/2faadcbf/MaartenHajer_paper.pdf, accessed 28/10/09.

Hajer, M. and Wagenaar, H. (Eds.). (2003). *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hall, P.V. and Robbins, G. (2002). Economic Development for a new era: An examination of the adoption of explicit economic development strategies by Durban local government following the April 1994 elections, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). (*D)urban Vortex: A South African City in Transition,* University of Natal Press, Durban, 43-64.

Hall, P.V. and Robbins, G. (2006). Which link, in which chain? Inserting Durban into global automotive supply chains, Working Paper No 46, School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, http://sods.ukzn.ac.za/files/WP46-WEB.pdf, accessed, 12/12/2009.

Harding, A. (1998). Public-private partnerships in the UK, in Pierre, J. (Ed.). (1998). *Partnerships in Urban Governance, European and American Experiences*, Palgrave, Basingstoke and New York, 71-92.

Harding, A., Wilks-Heeg, S. and Hutchins, M. (2000). Business, government and the business of urban governance, *Urban Studies*, 37 (5-6), 975-994.

Hardoy, J.E. and Satterthwaite, D. (1989). *Squatter Citizen*, Earthscan Publications Ltd., London.

Harrison, P. (2001).The genealogy of South Africa's Integrated Development Plan, *Third World Planning Review*, 23 (2), 175-193.

Harrison, P. (2006). On the edge of reason: Planning and urban futures in Africa, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 319-335.

Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M., and Mayekiso, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society,* University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Harrison, P., Todes, A. and Watson, V. (2008). *Planning and Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*, Routledge, London and New York.

Hart, G. (2002). *Disabling Globalisation: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa,* University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Hart, G. (2006). Denaturalizing dispossession: Critical ethnography in the age of resurgent imperialism, *Antipode*, 38 (5), 976-1004.

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism, *Geografiska Annaler*, 71B, 3-17.

Harvey, D. (2003). *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (2006). Neo-liberalism as creative destruction, *Geografiska Annaler*, 88B (2), 145–158.

Healey, P., de Magalhaes, C., Madanipour, A. and Pendlebury, J. (2003). Place, identity and local politics: analysing initiatives in deliberative governance, in Hajer, M and Wagenaar, H. (Eds.). *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 60-87.

Herod, A. and Aguiar, LLM. (2006). Introduction: Geographies of neoliberalism, *Antipode,* 38 (3), 435-439.

Hertzberg, B. and Wright, A. (2005). Competitive partnerships: Building and maintaining public-private dialogue to improve the investment climate, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), World Bank.

Hindson, D. and Ngqulunga, B. (2002). The reconstruction of local government and the evolution of development policy in Durban, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 195-214.

Hirsch, A. (2005). *Season of Hope: Economic Reform under Mandela and Mbeki*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press and the IDRC, Pietermaritzburg.

Hodge, G. and Greve, C. (2007). Public-private partnerships: An international performance review, *Public Administration Review*, May/June, 545-558.

Hofmeyr, I. (2004). *The Portable Bunyan – A Transnational History of the Pilgrim's Progress*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

Hood, J. and McGarvey, N. (2002). Managing the risks of public-private partnerships in Scottish local government, *Policy Studies*, 23 (1), 21-35.

Houghton, J. (2003). Place and the implications of 'the local' for sustainability: An investigation of the Ugu District Municipality in South Africa, *Geoforum,* 36, 418-428.

Hubbard, P., Kitchen, R., Bartley, B. and Fuller, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography,* Continuum, London.

Innes, J.E. and Booher, D.E. (2003). Collaborative policy-making: Governance through dialogue, in Hajer, M. and Wagenaar, H. (Eds.). *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 33-59.

Jacobs, K. (1999). Key Themes and Future Prospects: Conclusion to the Special Issue, *Urban Studies*, 36 (1), 203-213.

Jackson, P. (2006). Thinking geographically, *Geography*, 91 (3), 199-204.

Jarvis, H. (2003). Dispelling the myth that preference makes practice in residential location and transport behaviour, *Housing Studies*, 18 (4), 587-606.

Jenkins, P. and Wilkinson, P. (2002). Assessing the growing impact of the global economy on urban development in southern African cities: Case studies in Maputo and Cape Town, *Cities*, 19 (1-3), 33-47.

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective, *Antipode*, 34 (3), 452-472.

Johnston, R.J. (1991). *A Question of Place: Exploring the Practice of Human Geography*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. and Watts, M. (Eds.). (2000). *The Dictionary of Human Geography,* 4th Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

Jones, T. (2002). The port of Durban, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 69-106.

Khan, S. and Lootvoet, B. (2002). Infrastructure, service delivery and local development: A few considerations from Durban, South Africa, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 297-310.

Katz, C. (2005). Partners in Crime? Neoliberalism and the production of new political subjectivities, *Antipode*, 34 (3), 624-631.

Khan, F., and Thring, P. (Eds.). (2003). *Housing Policy and Practice in Post-apartheid South Africa*, Heinemann, Sandown.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. (1999). *Conducting Research in Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice*, Longman, United Kingdom.

Knox, P.L. (2002). World cities and the organization of global space, in Taylor, P.J. and Watts, M.J. (Eds.). *Geographies of Global Change*, 2nd edition, Blackwell, Oxford, 328-338.

Kohl, B. (2002). Stabilising neoliberalism in Bolivia: Popular participation and privatisation, *Political Geography*, 21, 449-472.

Koppenjan, J.F.M. (2005). The formation of public-private partnerships: Lessons from nine transport infrastructure projects in the Netherlands, *Public Administration*, 83 (1), 135-157.

Kramer, M. (2006). *Dispossessed: Life in Our World's Urban Slums*, Orbis Books, New York.

Kumar, A. (2004). Partnerships for urban infrastructure development in India, *Global Business Review,* 5 (1), 73-96.

Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality, *Studies in Political Economy,* 63, 5-26.

Larner, W. (2003). Neoliberalism? (guest editorial), *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, 509-512.

Larner, N. and Craig, D. (2005). After neoliberalism? Community activism and local partnerships in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Antipode*, 37 (3), 402-424.

Latour B. (1997). On Actor-Network Theory: A few clarifications, *Soziale Welt,* 47, 369-81.

Laurie, N., Andolina, R. and Radcliffe, S. (2005). Ethnodevelopment: Social movements, creating experts and professionalising indigenous knowledge in Ecuador, *Antipode*, 37 (3), 470-496.

Law, J. (2004). *After Method: Mess in social science research*, Routledge, Oxon.

Lee, R. (2006). The ordinary economy: Tangled up in values and geography, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31(4), 413-432.

Lees, L. (2000). A reappraisal of gentrification: Towards a 'geography of gentrification', *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (3), 389-408.

Lefebvre, H. (1989). *The Production of Space*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

LeGates, R.T. and Stout, F. (Eds.). (2003). *The City Reader*, Routledge, London.

Leitner, H., Peck, J. and Sheppard, E.S. (Eds.). (2007). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, The Guilford Press, New York.

Lemanski, C. (2006). Spaces of exclusivity or connection? Linkages between a gated community and its poorer neighbour in a Cape Town master plan development, *Urban Studies,* 43 (2), 397-420.

Lemanski, C. (2006a). Desegregation and integration as linked or distinct? Evidence from a previously 'white' suburb in post-apartheid Cape Town, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (3), 564-586.

Lemanski, C. (2007). Global cities in the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town, *Cities*, 24 (6), 448-461.

Lemon A. (1991). The apartheid city, in Lemon, A. (Ed.). *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities,* Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., London, 1-25.

Lemon, A. (2004). Apartheid and capitalism revisited, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 86 (2), 58-67.

Lester, A. (2000). Historical geography, in Fox, R. and Rowntree, K. (Eds.). *The Geography of South Africa in a Changing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 60-86.

Lester, A., Nel, E. and Binns, T. (2000). *South Africa. Past, Present and Future*, Pearson Educated Limited, Harlow.

Linscott, G. (September 2003). A medley of investment in South Africa, *The Quarterly Journal for Trade Partners and Investors*, 42-47.

Logan, J.R. and Molotch, H.L. (1996). The city as a growth machine, in Fainstein, S.S. and Campbell, S. (Eds.). *Readings in Urban Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Inc, Massachusetts, 291-337.

Lohnert, B., Oldfield, S. and Parnell, S. (1998). Post-apartheid social polarizations: the creation of sub-urban identities in Cape Town, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 80 (1), 86-92.

Lovering, J. (1995). Creating discourses rather than jobs: The crisis in the cities and the transition fantasies of intellectuals and policy makers, in Healey, P., Cameron, S., Davoudi, S., Graham, S. and Madani-Pour, A. (Eds.). *Managing Cities, The New Urban Context*, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Chichester, 109-126.

Low, M., Ballard, R. and Maharaj, B. (2007). Dilemmas of representation in post-apartheid Durban, *Urban Forum,* 18 (4), 247-264.

MacLaran, A. (2003). Masters of space: The property development sector, in MacLaran, A. (Ed.). *Making Space: Property Development and Urban Planning*, Arnold, London, 7-62.

Maennig, W. and du Plessis, S. (2009). Sport Stadia, Sporting Events and Urban Development: International Experience and the Ambitions of Durban, *Urban Forum*, 20 (1), 61–76.

Magi, L., Maharaj, B. and Fairhurst, J. (2002). Guest editorial: In transition-geography and South Africa at the dawn of the new millennium, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 84 (1), 1-3.

Maharaj, B. (1992). The 'spatial impress' of the central and local states: the Group Areas Act in Durban, in Smith, D. (Ed.). *The Apartheid City and Beyond*, Routledge, London, 74-86.

Maharaj, B. (1995). The local state and residential segregation: Durban and the prelude to the Group Areas Act, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 77 (1), 33-41.

Maharaj, B. (1996). The historical development of the apartheid local state in South Africa: The case of Durban, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 20 (4), 557-600.

Maharaj, B. (1996a). Urban struggles and the transformation of the apartheid local state: The case of community and civic organisations in Durban, *Political Geography*, 15, 61-74.

Maharaj, B. (2002). Urban Governance and Management of Cities in Post Apartheid South Africa, French-South African Scientific Conference on Territorial Innovation, January 2002, France.

Maharaj, B. (2003). 'Co-operation…consultation and consent': The failure of voluntary residential segregation in Durban (1920-1945), *The South African Geographical Journal*, 85 (2), 134-143.

Maharaj, B. (2005). Geography, human rights and development: Reflections from South Africa, (editorial), *Geoforum,* 36, 133-135.

Maharaj, B. and Low, M. (2008). Who governs the democratic post-apartheid city? Political contestations in Durban, *Critical Dialogue*, l4 (1), 11-16.

Maharaj, B., Pillay, V. and Sucheran, R. (2008). Durban - A subtropical coastal paradise? Tourism dynamics in a post-apartheid city, *Etudes Caribeennes*, 8-10, no pp., http://etudescaribeennes.revues.org/document1192.html, accessed, 5/1/2010.

Maharaj, B. and Mpungose, J. (1994). The erosion of residential segregation in South Africa: The 'greying' of Albert Park in Durban, *Geoforum*, 25 (1), 19-32.

Maharaj, B. and Narsiah, S. (2002). From apartheid apologism to post-apartheid neoliberalism: Paradigm shifts in South African urban geography, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 84 (1), 88-97.

Maharaj, B. and Ramballi, K. (1998). Local economic development strategies in an emerging democracy: The case of Durban in South Africa, *Urban Studies*, 35 (1), 131-148.

Martindale, A. (2009). Entanglement and tinkering: Structural history in the archaeology of the Northern Tsimshian, *Journal of Social Archaeology,* 9, 59-92.

Massey, D. (1993). Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place, in Bird, J., Curtis, B., Putnam, T., Robertson, G. and Tickner, L. (Eds.). *Mapping the Future, Local Cultures, Global Change*, London, Routledge, 59-69.

Massey, D. (1999). Spaces of politics, in Massey, D., Allen, J., and Sarre, P. (Eds.). *Human Geography Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 279-294.

Massey, D. (2000). Entanglements of power: Reflections, in Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (Eds.). *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, Routledge, London, 279-286.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*, Sage Publications Ltd., London.

Massey, D. (2007). *World City*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Massey, D., Allen, J. and Pile, S. (Eds.). (1999). *City Worlds*, Routledge, London.

Massey, D. and Jess, P. (Eds.). (1995). *A Place in the World?,* The Open University, Oxford.

Mather, C. (2007). Writing for the wider audience, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 89 (2), 97-103.

Mather, C. and Ramutsindela, M. (2007). South African geographers and the spatial division of labour, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 89 (2), 95-96.

Maylam, P. (1996). The changing political economy of the region 1920-1950, in Morrell, R. (Ed.). *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal. Historical and Social Perspectives,* Indicator Press, Durban, 97-118.

Mayo, M. (2005). *Global Citizens: Social Movements and the Challenge of Globalisation*, Zed Books, London.

Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the Postcolony*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

McCann, J. (2001). Collaborative visioning or urban planning as therapy? The politics of public-private policy making, *Professional Geographer*, 53 (2), 207-218.

McCarthy, J. (1991). Planning issues and the political economy of the local state: An historical case study of Durban, *Urban Forum*, 2 (2), 25-44.

McCarthy, J. (1992). Local and regional government: from rigidity to crisis to flux, in Smith, D.M. (Ed.). *The Apartheid City and Beyond*, Routledge, London, 25-36.

McCarthy, J. (2002). The restructuring of business in Durban, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (Eds.). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 311-318.

McCarthy, J. (2007). *Partnership, Collaborative Planning and Urban Regeneration,* Ashgate Publishing Ltd., England.

McCaul, C. (1991). The commuting conundrum, in Swilling, M., Humphries, R. and Shubane, K. (Eds.). *The Apartheid City in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 218-230.

McDonald, D. and Smith, L. (2004). Privatizing Cape Town: From apartheid to neoliberalism in the mother city, *Urban Studies,* 41 (8), 1461–1484.

McDonald, D. (2008). *World City Syndrome. Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town*, Routledge, New York.

McGregor, A. (2005). Negotiating nature: exploring discourse through small group research, *Area*, 37 (4), 423-432.

McGuirk, P.M. (2000). Power and policy networks in urban governance: Local government and property–led regeneration in Dublin, *Urban Studies*, 37 (4), 651-672.

McNeill, D. (2005). Narrating neoliberalism, *Geographical Research*, 43 (1), 133-115.

Melbar, H. (2003). South Africa and NePAD – Quo Vadis?, Paper Presented at NePAD Seminar, 9 October 2003, Stockholm, Sweden.

Michel, D.P. and Scott, D. (2005). The La Lucia-Umhlanga Ridge as an emerging "edge city", *The South African Geographical Journal*, 87 (2), 104-114.

Miles, M. and Hall, T. (Eds.). (2003). *Urban Futures: Critical Commentaries on Shaping the City*, Routledge, London.

Miraftab, F. (2004). Neoliberalism and casualization of public sector services: The case of waste collection services in Cape Town, South Africa, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 28 (4), 874-892.

Miraftab, F. (2004a). Public-private partnerships. The Trojan horse of neoliberal development?, *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* 24 (1), 89-101.

Miraftab, F. (2005). Making neoliberal governance: The disempowering work of empowerment, *International Planning Studies,* 9 (4), 239-259.

Miraftab, F. (2007). Governing post apartheid spatiality: Implementing city improvement districts in Cape Town, *Antipode*, 39 (4), 602-626.

Moffett, S. and Freund, B. (2002). Elite Formation and Elite Bonding: Social Structure and Development in Durban, Paper Presented at the African Studies Seminar, 13 November 2002, University of Natal, Durban.

Moffett, S. and Freund, B. (2004). Elite formation and elite bonding: Social structure and development in Durban, *Urban Forum*, 15 (2), 134-161.

Montanheiro, L. and Spiering, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Public and Private Sector Partnerships: The Enterprise Governance*, Sheffield Hallam University, Sheffield.

Morris, M., Barnes, J. and Dunne, N. (2002). From import substituting industrialization to globalised international competitiveness, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.).

(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg,107-133.

Morris, M., Patel, Z. and Byerley, M. (1996). Violence and sustainable development in the Durban Metropolitan Area, *Urban Forum*, 7 (2), 183-202.

Mottier, V. (2005). The interpretive turn: History, memory and storage in qualitative research, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, [On-line Journal], 6 (2), Art 33, Available at http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/456/973, accessed 27/10/09.

Muller, M. (2003). Public–private partnerships in water: A South African perspective on the global debate, *Journal of International Development*, 15, 1115–1125.

Mullin, S.P. (2002). Public-private partnerships and state and local economic development: leveraging private investment, *Reviews of Economic Development Literature and Practice no 16*, Econsult, www.eda.gov/pdf/econsult_final.pdf, accessed 11/12/2004.

Naidoo, P. (2007). Struggles around the commodification of daily life in South Africa, *Review of African Political Economy*, 34 (111), 57 – 66.

Nattrass, N. (1999). "Globalisation and Social Accords: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden, Australia and South Africa", *Labour, Capital and Society*, 32 (2), 158-190.

Naude, W.A. and Krugell, W.F. (2003). An enquiry into cities and their role in subnational economic growth in South Africa, *Journal of African Economies*, 12 (4), 476-499.

Nel, E. (2000). Economies and economic development, in Fox, R. and Rowntree, K. (Eds.). *The Geography of South Africa in a Changing World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 114-137.

Nel, E. (2001). Local economic development: A review and assessment of its current status in South Africa, *Urban Studies*, 38 (7), 1003-1024.

Nel, E. and Binns, T. (2003). Putting 'developmental local government' into practice: The experience of South Africa's towns and cities, *Urban Forum*, 14 (2-3), 165-184.

Nel, E., Hill, T. and Maharaj, B. (2003). Durban's pursuit of economic development in the post-apartheid era, *Urban Forum*, 14 (2-3), 223-243.

Newman, P. (1995). The politics of urban redevelopment in London and Paris, *Planning Practice and Research,* 10 (1), 15-23.

Newman, P. and Verpraet, G. (1999). The impacts of partnership on urban governance: Conclusions from recent European research, *Regional Studies*, 33, 487-491.

Nuttall, S. (2004). City forms and writing the 'now' in South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (4), 731-748.

Nuttall, S. (2009). *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-Apartheid*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

Nzimakwe, T.I. (2006). Public private partnerships: Implications for development, *Africanus*, 36 (1), 48-57.

Oatley, N. (Ed.). (1998). Cities, economic competition and urban policy, in Oatley, N. (Ed.). *Cities, Economic Competition and Urban Policy*, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., London, 3-20.

Oelofse, C. (1994). The Surrounding Community's Perceptions of the Development of an Informal Settlement in their Area. A Case Study of Hout Bay, Cape, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Oldfield, S. (2002). Local state restructuring and urban transformation in post-apartheid Cape Town, *GeoJournal,* 57 (1-2), 29-37.

Oldfield, S., Parnell, S. and Mabin, A. (2004). Engagement and reconstruction in critical research: negotiating urban practice, policy and theory in South Africa, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5 (2), 285-299.

Oldfield, S. and Stokke, K. (2007). Political polemics and local practices of community organizing and neoliberal politics in South Africa, in Leitner, H., Peck, J. and Sheppard, E.S. (Eds.). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, Guilford Press, New York, 139-156.

Pacione, M. (2005). *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*, 2nd Edition, Routledge, London.

Padayachee, V. (2002). Financing Durban's development: 1970-1999, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (Eds.). *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg,135-166.

Paddison, R. (Ed.) (2001). *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Sage Publications, London.

Painter, J. (2000). State and governance, in Sheppard, E. and Barnes, T.J. (Eds.). *A Companion to Economic Geography*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, 359-376.

Palley, T.I. (2005). From keynesianism to neoliberalism: Shifting paradigms in economics, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 20-29.

Parker, S. (2004). *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience, Encountering the City*. Routledge, London.

Parnell, S. (1997). South African cities: Perspectives from the ivory tower of urban studies, *Urban Studies*, 34 (5- 6), 891-906.

Parnell, S. (2007). The academic-policy interface in post-apartheid urban research: Personal reflections, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 89 (2), 111-20.

Parnell, S. and Mabin, A. (1995). Rethinking urban South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1), 39-61.

Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, D. (Eds.). (2000). *Democratising Local Government: The South African Experiment,* University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town.

Parnell, S. and Robinson, J. (2006). Development and urban policy: Johannesburg's city development strategy, *Urban Studies,* 43 (2), 337-357.

Peck, J. (1999). Editorial: grey geographies?, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24 (2), 131-135.

Peck, J. (2001). Neoliberalising states: Thin policies/hard outcomes, *Progress in Human Geography,* 25 (3), 445-455.

Peck, J. (2004). Geography and public policy: constructions of neoliberalism, *Progress in Human Geography,* 28 (3), 392-405.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (1995). Business goes local: Dissecting the business agenda in Manchester, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 19, 55-78.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalising space, *Antipode*, 34 (3), 381-404.

Pendras, M. (2002). From local consciousness to global change: asserting power at the local scale, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26 (4), 823-833.

Perlman, J.E. (2005). The chronic poor in Rio de Janeiro: What has changed in 30 years?, in Keiner, M., Koll-Schretzenmayr, M. and Schmidt, W.A. (Eds.). *Managing Urban Futures: Sustainability and Urban Growth in Developing Countries*, Ashgate, Burlington VT, 165-186.

Pieck, S.K. and Moog, S.A. (2009). Competing entanglements in the struggle to save the Amazon: The shifting terrain of transnational civil society, *Political Geography*, 28, 416–425.

Pierre, J. (1999). Models of urban governance, the institutional dimension of urban politics, *Urban Affairs Review*, 34 (3), 372-396.

Pieterse, E. (2002). Participatory local governance in the making, in Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, M. (Eds.). *Democratising Local Government, the South African Experiment*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 1-17.

Pieterse, E. (2002a). From divided to integrated city? Critical overview of the emerging metropolitan governance system in Cape Town, *Urban Forum*, 13 (1), 3-37.

Pieterse, E. (2003). Unravelling the different meanings of integration: The urban development framework of the South African government, in Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. and Mayekiso, M. (Eds.). *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 122-139.

Pieterse, E. (2004). Untangling 'integration' in urban development policy debates, *Urban Forum*, 15(1), 1-35.

Pieterse, E. (2004a). Recasting urban integration and fragmentation in post-apartheid South Africa, *Development Update*, 5 (1), 1-21.

Pieterse, E. (2006). Building with ruins and dreams: Some thoughts on realising integrated urban development in South Africa through crisis, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 285–304.

Pieterse, E. (2008). *City Futures. Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development*. UCT Press, South Africa.

Pieterse, E. and Meintjies, F. (Eds.). (2004). *Voices of the Transition: The Politics, Poetics and Practices of Social Change in South Africa*, Heinemann, Cape Town.

Pile, S., Brook, C. and Mooney, C. (Eds.). (1999). *Unruly Cities?,* Routledge, London.

Pillay, U. (1994). Local government restructuring, growth coalitions, and the development process in the Durban Functional Region, c.1984-1994, *Urban Forum*, 5 (2), 69-86.

Pillay, U. (1996). The uniqueness of locality. The case of the Durban functional region, *Urban Forum*, 7 (1), 32-52.

Pillay, U. (1996a). Local Economic Development Initiatives in South Africa: The Case of Durban, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota, Duluth.

Pillay, U. (2004). Towards alternative conceptions of local economic reform in the developing world: The case of South Africa, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 86 (1), 39-49.

Pillay, U. (2004a). Are globally competitive 'city regions' developing in South Africa? Formulaic aspirations or new imaginations, *Urban Forum*, 15 (4), 340–364.

Pillay, U. (2008). Urban policy in post-apartheid South Africa: Context, evolution and future directions, *Urban Forum*, 19, 109-132.

Pillay, U. and Bass, O. (2008). Mega-events as a response to poverty reduction: The 2010 FIFA World Cup and its urban development implications, *Urban Forum,* 19 (3), 329-346.

Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R., and du Toit, J. (Eds.). (2006). *Democracy and delivery: Urban policy in South Africa,* HSRC Press, Cape Town.

Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R. and Bass, O. (Eds.). (2009). *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*, HSRC Press, Cape Town.

Pirie, G. (2004). *Cape Town Bibliography, 1990-2004*, ISANDLA, Cape Town.

Pirie, G. (2005). Researching Cape Town, 1999-2004, *Urban Forum*, 16 (4), 336-351.

Post, J. (1997). Urban management in an unruly setting, *Third World Planning Review*, 19 (4), 347-366.

Potter, R. and Lloyd-Evans, S. (1998). *The City in the Developing World*, Longman, Harlow.

Power, M. (2005). Working the spaces of neoliberalism, in Laurie, N. and Bondi, L. (Eds.). *Working the Spaces of Neoliberalism*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 209-215.

Preston-Whyte, R.A. and Scott, D. (2007). Urban tourism in Durban, in Rogerson, C. and Visser, G. (Eds.). *Urban Tourism in the Developing World: The South African Experience*, Transaction Books, New Jersey.

Pryke, M. (1999). City rhythms: neoliberalism and the developing world, in Allen, J., Massey, D. and Pryke, M. (Eds.). *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement,* Open University, Routledge, London, 229-270.

Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalisation and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, New York and London.

Pycroft, C. (2000). Integrated development planning and rural local government in South Africa, *Third World Planning Review*, 22 (1), 87-102.

Rakodi, C. (1997). *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities*, United Nations University Press, New York.

Rakodi, C. and Lloyd-Jones, T. (Eds.). (2002). *Urban Livelihoods. A People Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty,* Earthscan Publications Ltd., London.

Ramutsindela, M. (2002). 'Second time around': Squatter removals in a democratic South Africa, *GeoJournal*, 57 (1-2), 53-60.

Ramutsindela, M. (2002a). The philosophy of progress and South African geography, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 84 (1), 4-11.

Ramutsindela, M. (2007). Geographical knowledge, case studies and the division of labour, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 89 (2), 121-127.

Richardson, D. (2005). Desiring sameness? The rise of a neoliberal politics of normalisation, in Laurie, N. and Bondi, L. (Eds.). *Working the Spaces of Neoliberalism*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 122-142.

Rigg, J. (2007). *An Everyday Geography of the Global South*, Routledge, Oxon.

Robbins, G. (2004). Beyond the Pro-Growth Pro-Poor Dichotomy of City Economic Development Programmes in South Africa, Paper Presented at the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, October 2004.

Robbins, G. (2005). Improving the Prospects of the Urban Poor or Fuelling Inequality? An Examination of the Policy Objectives Underpinning the eThekwini Municipality's Economic Development-Related Capital Projects and Some Preliminary Comment on Impacts, unpublished draft paper, courtesy of the author.

Roberts, S., Secor, A. and Sparke, M. (2003). Neoliberal geopolitics, *Antipode*, 886-897.

Robinson, J. (1998). Spaces of democracy: Remapping the apartheid city, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 16, 533-548.

Robinson, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Development and Displacement*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Robinson, J. (2002a). Global and world cities: A view from off the map, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 26 (3), 531-554.

Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities, Between Modernity and Development*, Routledge, Oxon.

Robinson, J. (2006a). Inventions and interventions: Transforming cities – An introduction, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 251-258.

Robinson, J. (2008). Developing ordinary cities: City visioning processes in Durban and Johannesburg, *Environment and Planning A,* 40 (1), 74-87.

Robinson, J. (2008a). Continuities and discontinuities in South African local government, in van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse, E., and Parnell, S. (Eds.). *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience,* UCT Press, Cape Town, 27-50.

Rogerson, C.M. (1986). Apartheid decentralization and spatial industrial change, in Smith D.M. (Ed.). *Living Under Apartheid*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Herts, UK, 47-63.

Rogerson, C.M. (1999). Local economic development and urban poverty: the experience of post-apartheid South Africa, *Habitat International*, 23, 511-534.

Rogerson, C.M. (2000). Local economic development in an era of globalisation: The case of South African cities, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 91 (4), 397-411.

Rogerson, C.M. (2002). The economic geography of South Africa: International parallels and local difference, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 84 (1), 58-66.

Rogerson, C.M. (2003). Towards pro-poor local economic development: The case for sectoral targeting in South Africa, *Urban Forum*, 14, 53–79.

Rogerson, C.M. (2004). Towards the world-class African city: Planning local economic development in Johannesburg, *Africa Insight*, 34 (4), 12-21.

Rubin, J.S. and Stankiewicz, G.M. (2001). The Los Angeles community development bank: The possible pitfalls of public private partnerships, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 23 (2), 133-153.

Rydin, Y. (1998). The enabling local state and urban development: Resources, rhetoric and planning in East London, *Urban Studies*, 35 (2), 175-191.

Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (2005). Introduction, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 1-6.

Saff, G. (1999). *Changing Cape Town: Urban Dynamics, Policy and Planning During the Political Transition in South Africa*, University Press of America, Oxford.

Sagalyn, L. (2007). Public/private development: Lessons from history, research and practice, *Journal of the American Planning Association,* 73 (1), 7-22.

Sanders, M. (2002). *Complicities: The Intellectual and Apartheid*, Duke University Press, Durham.

Sassen, S. (1994). *Cities in a World Economy*, Pine Forge Press, California.

Sassen, S. (1998). *Globalisation and its Discontents*, New Press, New York.

Savage, M. (2008). Key themes and trends in municipal finance in South Africa, in van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse, E., and Parnell, S. (Eds.). *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience,* UCT Press, Cape Town, 285-316.

Sayer, A. (1984). *Method in Social Science*, Hutchinson, London.

Schoeman, M. (2003). South Africa as an emerging middle power: 1994-2003, in Daniel, J., Habib, A. and Southall, R. (Eds.). *State of the Nation, South Africa 2003-2004*, HSRC Press, Cape Town, 349-367.

Scott, D. (1994). Communal Space Construction: The Rise and Fall of Clairwood and District, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

Scott, D. (2003). 'Creative destruction': Early modernist planning in the South Durban Industrial Zone, South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 (1), 235-259.

Scott, D. and Rycroft, A. (1998). Environmental Mediation: A Case Study in Participative Problem Solving, *South African Journal of Environmental Law*, 5, 87-97.

Scott, K. (2006). The Environmental Politics of the Proposed Small Craft Harbour, Durban: A Discourse Analysis Approach, unpublished Masters thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Seekings, J. (2000). Introduction: Urban studies in South Africa after apartheid, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24, 832-840.

Sellers, J.M. (2002). *Governing from Below. Urban Regions and the Global Economy,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Selsky, J.W and Parker, B. (2005). Cross-sector partnerships to address social issues: Challenges to theory and practice, *Journal of Management,* 31 (6), 849-873.

Shaikh, A. (2005). The economic mythology of neoliberalism, in Saad-Filho, A. and Johnston, D. (Eds.). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, Pluto Press, London, 41-49.

Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (Eds.). (2000). *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, Routledge, London.

Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (2000a). Preface and acknowledgements, in Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (Eds.). *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, Routledge, London.

Sheppard, E. (2000). Competition in space and between places, in Sheppard, E. and Barnes, T.J. (Eds.). *A Companion to Economic Geography*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, 169-186.

Simon, D. (2003). Contextualising South African local economic development within current development debates: The international setting, *Urban Forum*, 14 (2-3), 127-146.

Simon, D. and Ramutsindela, M. (2000). Political geographies of change in southern Africa, in Fox, R. and Rowntree, K. (Eds.). *Geography of South Africa in a Changing World*. Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 89-113.

Simone, A. (2006). Pirate towns: Reworking social and symbolic infrastructures in Johannesburg and Douala, *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), 357-370.

Sin, C.H. (2003). Interviewing in 'place': The socio-spatial construction of interview data, *Area*, 35 (3), 305-312.

Smith, D.M. (Ed.). (1992). *The Apartheid City and Beyond*, Routledge, London.

Smith, D.M. (1995a). Geography, social justice and the new South Africa, *The South African Geographical Journal*, 77, 1-5.

Smith, D.M. (2004). Morality, ethics and social justice, in Cloke, P., Crang, P., and Goodwin, M. (Eds.). *Envisioning Human Geographies*, Edward Arnold Publishers, New York, 195-209.

Smith, L. and Morris, N. (2008). Municipal entities: A panacea for service delivery constraints?, in van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse, E., and Parnell, S. (Eds.). *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience,* UCT Press, Cape Town, 423-444.

Smith, N. (1996). Gentrification, the frontier, and the restructuring of urban space, in Fainstein, S.S. and Campbell, S. (Eds.). *Readings in Urban Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Inc, Massachusetts, 338-358.

Soni, D.V. (1992). The apartheid state and black housing struggles, in Smith, D.M (Ed.). *The Apartheid City and Beyond*, Routledge, London, 39-52.

Squires, G.D. (1996). Partnership and the pursuit of the private city, in Fainstein, S.S. and Campbell, S. (Eds.). *Readings in Urban Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Inc, Massachusetts, 266-290.

Stevens, L., Coupe, S. and Mitlin, D. (Eds.). (2006). *Confronting the Crisis in Urban Poverty: Making Integrated Approaches Work*, Intermediate Technology Publications, United Kingdom.

Stoker, G. (1998). Public private partnerships in urban governance, in Pierre, J. (Ed.). *Partnerships in Urban Governance: European and American Experience*. St Martin's Press, New York, 34-51.

Stoker, G. (1999). Regime theory and urban policies, Reading 7D, in Cochrane, A. Administered cities, in Pile, S., Brook, C., and Mooney, G. (Eds.). *Unruly Cities: Order/Disorder*, Routledge, New York, 305-307.

Stone, C.N. (1989). *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946-1988*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.

Stone, C.N. (1993). Urban regimes and the capacity to govern: a political economy approach, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 15 (11), 1-28.

Storper, M. (2001). Lived effects of the contemporary economy: Globalisation, inequality, and consumer society, in Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (Eds.). *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism*, Duke University Press, USA, 88-124.

Stren, R and Halfani, M. (2001). The cities of sub-Saharan Africa: From dependency to marginality, in Paddison, R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Sage Publications Ltd., London, 466-485.

Sutcliffe, M. (1996). The fragmented city: Durban, South Africa, *International Social Science Journal*, 147, 67-72.

Swilling, M., Humphries, R. and Shubane, K. (Eds.). (1991). *The Apartheid City in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Swyngedouw, E. (2000). Elite power, global forces, and the political economy of 'glocal' development, in Clark, G.L., Feldman, M.P. and Gertler, M.S. (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 541-558.

Swyngedouw, E., Moulaert, F. and Rodriguez, A. (2002). Neoliberal urbanisation in Europe: Large-scale urban development projects and the new urban policy, in Brenner, N. and

Theodore, N. (Eds.). *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, Blackwell Publishing, USA, 195-229.

Taylor, I. and Williams, P. (2001). South African foreign policy and the Great Lakes crisis: African renaissance meets Vagabondage Politique?, *African Affairs,* 100, 265-286.

Taylor, P.J., Hoyler, M., Walker, D.R.F. and Szegner, M.J. (2001). A new mapping of the world for the new millennium, *The Geographical Journal*, 167 (3), 213-222.

Thornley, A., Rydin, Y., Scanlon, K. and West, K. (2005). Business privilege and the strategic planning agenda of the Greater London Authority, *Urban Studies*, 42 (11), 1947–1968.

Thorns, D.C. (2002). *The Transformation of Cities, Urban Theory and Urban Life,* Palgrave MacMillan, Hampshire.

Thrift, N. (1996). *Spatial Formations*, Sage, London.

Thrift, N. (1999). Cities and economic change: global governance?, in Allen, J., Massey, D. and Pryke, M. (Eds.). *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement*, Open University, Routledge, London, 271-320.

Thrift, N. (1999a). Steps to an ecology of place, in Massey, D., Allen, J., and Sarre, P. (Eds.). *Human Geography Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 295-322.

Thrift, N. (2000). Entanglements of power: Shadows?, in Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (Eds.). *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, Routledge, London, 269-278.

Thurlow, J. (2001). An Investigation into the Nature and Extent of Poverty, Inequality and Human Development in the Durban Metropolitan Area, unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Natal, Durban.

Tickell, A. and Peck, J. (1996). The return of the Manchester men: Men's words and men's deeds in the remaking of the local state, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21, 595-616.

Todes, A. (2000). Reintegrating the apartheid city? Urban policy and urban restructuring in Durban, in Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (Eds.). *A Companion to the City*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, 616-630.

Todes, A. (2002). Spatial change and Durban's spatial framework, in Bouillon, A., Freund, B., Hindson, D. and Lootvoet, B. (2002). *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles,* Plumbline Publishing, Durban, 89-101.

Todes, A. (2003). Housing, integrated urban development and the compact city debate, in Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. and Mayekiso, M. (Eds.). *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democraticising Society,* UCT Press, Cape Town, 109-121.

Tomlinson, R. (1994). *Urban Development Planning: Lessons for the Economic Reconstruction of South Africa's Cities*, Wits University Press and Zed Publishers, Johannesburg and London.

Tomlinson, R. (1999). Ten years in the making: A history of the evolution of metropolitan government in Johannesburg, *Urban Forum*, 10 (1), 1-40.

Tomlinson, R. (2001). Housing policy in a context of HIV/AIDS and globalisation: A South African case study. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 25 (3), 649-657.

Tomlinson, R. (2003). The local economic development mirage in South Africa, *Geoforum*, 34, 113-122.

Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L., and Mangcu, X. (Eds.). (2003). *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Post-apartheid City*. Routledge, New York.

Tsheola, J. (2002). South Africa's form of globalisation: a continental posture paradox for insertion and dependence, *Political Geography*, 21, 789-811.

Turok, I. (2001). Persistent polarization post-apartheid? Progress towards urban integration in Cape Town, *Urban Studies,* 38 (13), 2349–2377.

Van den Berg, L. and Braun, E. (1999). Urban competitiveness, marketing and the need for organising capacity, *Urban Studies*, 36 (5-6), 987-999.

Van den Berg, L., Braun, E. and Otgaar, A.H.J. (2004). Corporate community involvement in European and US cities, *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 22, 475-494.

Van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse, E., and Parnell, S. (2008). *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience,* UCT Press, Cape Town.

Van Ham, H. and Koppenjan, J. (2001). Building public-private partnerships: Assessing and managing risk in port development, *Public Management Review,* 3 (4), 593-616.

Versfeld, J. (2003). *NEPAD: Africa's Friend of Foe? A Handbook for Trainers*, Umtapo Centre, Durban.

Visser, G. (2001). On the politics of time and place in a transforming South African research environment: New challenges for research students, *The South African Geographical Journal,* 83 (3), 233-239.

Visser, G. (2002). Gentrification and South African cities: Towards a research agenda, *Cities*, 19 (6), 419-423.

Visser, G. (2003). Spatialities of social justice and local government transition: Notes on and for a South African social justice discourse, *The South African Geographical Journal,* 85 (2), 99-111.

Watson, S. (1996). Spaces of the 'Other': planning for cultural diversity in Western Sydney, in Darian-Smith, K., Gunner, L., and Nuttall, S. (Eds.), *Text, Theory, Space*, Routledge, London, 203-218.

Watson, S. (1999). City politics, in Pile, S., Brook, C. and Mooney, G. (Eds.). *Unruly Cities?* Open University, Routledge, New York, 183-221.

Watson, V. (1998). Planning under political transition: lessons from Cape Town's Metropolitan Planning Forum*, International Planning Studies*, 3, 357-366.

Watson, V. (2002). *Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning; Metropolitan Planning in Cape Town Under Political Transition*, Routledge, London and New York.

Weihe, G. (2006). Public-Private Partnerships: Addressing a Nebulous Concept, Working Paper No. 16, Paper Presented at the 10th International Research Symposium on Public Management (IRSPM X), 10-12 April, Glasgow Caledonian University, Scotland.

Wenzel, J. (2009). *Bulletproof: Afterlives of Anticolonial Prophecy in South Africa and Beyond*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Werna, E. (2000). *Combating Urban Inequalities: Challenges for Managing Cities in the Developing World,* Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Western, J. (2002). A divided city: Cape Town, *Political Geography*, 21, 711-716.

Wiggins, S. (2004). A Postmodern Space: uShaka Marine World - A Fantasy World Within a City. Unpublished honours dissertation, School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.

Wilkinson, P. (2000). City profile: Cape Town, *Cities,* 17 (3), 195-205.

Wilkinson, P. (2004). Renegotiating local governance in a post-apartheid city: The case of Cape Town. *Urban Forum* 15 (3), 213–230.

Williams, J.J. (2000). South Africa. Urban transformation, *Cities*, 17 (1-3), 167-183.

Wooldridge, D. (2002). Introducing metropolitan local government in South Africa, in Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, M. (Eds.). *Democratising Local Government: The South African Experiment*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 127-140.

Zeleza, P.T. (2003). *Rethinking Africa's Globalisation. Vol I: The Intellectual Challenges,* Africa World Press Inc., Eritrea.

Zetter, R. (2002). Market enablement or sustainable development: The conflicting paradigms of urbanization, in Zetter, R. and White, R. (Eds.). *Planning in Cities: Sustainability and Growth in the Developing World*, ITDG Publishing, London, 31-42.

Summary of the Key Concerns of Durban Growth Coalition Summit Meetings
2000 - 2008

Date	Event	Key Concerns
2000	First Growth Summit	Shared interests of partners are identified Meeting paves the way for long term work to be done by the partnership
February 2001	Interim 'closed' workshop	The use of a PPP approach is validated Need for a global perspective on growth in the city Aim for city to be competitive in terms of exports, foreign investment and tourism market growth Strong focus on action rather than prolonged discussion
June 2001	Second Growth Summit	Issues highlighted by members and guest speakers include: • the need for integration of development with broader policy concerns • improving the image of Durban • the need for extensive yet targeted development in the city Business orientation of development is prominent in discussions Black economic empowerment & code of conduct formulated Update on key flagship projects is provided
2002	Third Growth Summit	Discussions highlight the need for integration of urban development with broader policy concerns Progress of urban development projects is outlined Proposals for future developments are made, Concerns for BEE raised
2003	Restructuring of DGC	Coalition secretariat re-arranged
2004	Fourth Growth Summit	Discussions highlight the need for integration of development with broader policy concerns Greater public sector involvement called for Economic growth activities supportive of urban development are prioritised Programmes for corporate citizenship and BEE called for Building of greater trust between the public and private sectors called for The need to extend co-operative partnerships raised
2006	Fifth Growth Summit	Show-casing of ongoing urban development programmes and successful urban regeneration projects in the eThekwini Municipality
2007	Sixth Growth Summit	Show-casing of ongoing urban development programmes and successful urban regeneration projects Calls to address crime in relation to the preparations for hosting the 2010 soccer World Cup
2008	Seventh Growth Summit	Discussion of the progress of eThekwini-based developments Attention shifted from local to provincial economic growth concerns through the establishment of a provincial growth coalition.

Ask the interviewee to give examples of specific projects/cases wherever possible.

A. Imperatives for development
(What are the overarching imperatives for development in Durban?)
1. In your view what are the priorities for development in Durban?
2. What are the primary mechanisms being used to achieve these development goals? Give examples.
3. Can the welfare of Durban residents be improved in any other way than the city becoming more globally competitive?
4. Are these imperatives currently influenced by the need to provide facilities for the 2010 World Cup?
5. Does the development happening on the ground reflect the city's policies (IDP etc)?

B. Public private partnerships as a mechanism for development
(Do public private partnerships as a mechanism for development necessarily adopt the global, neoliberal economic growth model of development?)
6. What are the main goals of the DGC?
7. In its work, which of these goals has the DGC been most productive in achieving and in what way?
8. What role does the DGC play in influencing urban development decisions within the city?
9. Where do you think the greatest success of the partnership lies?
10. What is the partnership's greatest weakness in terms of meeting the development needs of Durban
11. What are the roles of the city and the private sector in the partnership?
12. What are the city and the private sector's incentives for involvement in the DGC?
13. To what extent is it advantageous to use public private partnerships (such as the DGC) to facilitate urban development in the city? Why?

C. The global, neoliberal economic growth model of development in the public private partnership
(What is the nature of reliance global, neoliberal economic growth model of development in the public private partnership?)
14. To what extent is the DGC the source/origin of PPPs for development in Durban?
15. Where do the ideas for development projects/programmes which are supported and facilitated by the DGC originate?
16. To what extent do DGC urban development projects simply follow/mimic what other cities in the world are doing? (e.g. waterfronts)
17. To what extent is the DGC innovative in generating urban development projects? Give examples?
18. How are you and your organization involved in the DGC?

D. The role of the broader transitional context
(How does the local institutional context shape the public private partnership?)
19. Currently, how does the DGC operate? How does it work to meet those goals? (Practical, how often does it meet etc, are key actions taken in formal meetings or does the DGC do its work through small meetings, through networking etc.)
20. Has the way the DGC functions changed over time? How?

21. Why do you think these changes have occurred?
22. How have changes in local government policy (since 1994) affected the DGC since its establishment? Are there any other trends in government that have affected the partnership?
23. How influential is local government policy such as the IDP in the work of the DGC?
24. To what extent, and how are the demands of local development policy to achieve redistributional goals (such as the IDP) explicitly accommodated in the projects of the DGC?
25. In the last few years it appears that the city has become more involved in the DGC. How has this affected the partnership and its projects?
26. To what extent do local (party) political agendas influence the DGC?
27. Is the partnership impacted by the (increasing) pressure for the local state to meet its redistributive development targets?
28. How does the DGC as a public private partnership accommodate the national frameworks for development e.g. GEAR, BEE, developmental local government?

E. The role of scalar patterns of interest, affiliation and articulation within the partnership
(Do the public private partners use scalar patterns of interest, affiliation and articulation to achieve development goals and in what ways?)
29. Who are the most influential role players in the DGC? Why?
30. In the decision-making regarding the role and work of the DGC, are there specific actors who are highly influential in decision-making and the creation of development agendas?
31. What prior networks, relationships and partnerships existed in the city that were influential in the establishment of the DGC?
32. In what way has this influenced the work of the DGC? (Especially in terms of function and effectiveness.)
33. Could the partnership be as effective without these relationships?
34. Other than the local scale, what other important relationships and partnerships nationally and globally have influenced the work and outcomes of the DGC and what has been their influence?

F. Projects of public private partnership
(How does the global, neoliberal economic growth model/paradigm/philosophy of development to achieve urban change manifest in the projects of public private partnership?)
35. What has been the overall contribution of the DGC in meeting the development needs of the city?
36. The DGC has been involved in facilitating a number of flagship developments in Durban. How do these developments meet the broad needs of the city? Give examples.
37. Have there been changes over time in the way these flagship projects have sought to meet the broad development needs of the city?

Background questions for some specific interviews
38. How was the DGC formed?
39. Are you involved in development in Durban in any other ways?
40. How are decisions to support various projects and programmes made in the DGC?
41. The growth summits have been a key aspect of the DGC's activity. What role do they play in the work of the DGC?
42. How is the DGC involved in the world cup soccer preparations?

Riverhorse Valley Related Interview Schedule:
Business Profile for Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

These questions form part of the essential data required by Moreland Developments (in conjunction with the University of KwaZulu-Natal) as they conduct a study on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. This research is needed in order to build a business profile of companies establishing themselves in Riverhorse valley and to ascertain how the new business estate is contributing to a growing economy in Durban and enabling people in the many residential areas of Durban to gain employment.

- Regarding confidentiality of the information you give me. Would the company prefer to be anonymous?

Company name:
Interviewee name and position:

A. Business Background
1. How large is the company (by employee numbers)?
2. How old is the company?
3. How long has the company been in Riverhorse Valley?
4. Was the company started in Riverhorse Valley?

if no to Q4,
5. Where did it begin and how large was it to begin with?
6. a) Is the company an independent company or a branch/subsidiary of a parent company/holding group?
   6b) Could you explain this relationship?
7. What is the history of the business? (E.g. Has the company ever changed ownership? Been bought by a larger group etc?)
8. Describe the core business of the company (what does the company do?)
9. In your company, are there any services which are outsourced?

If yes to outsourcing:
10. What are they?
11. Why do you choose to outsource these services?
12. Who do you outsource to? (Name of two-three examples and where they are located?)
13. On what basis would you decide to outsource an activity to a particular company (access, convenience, service quality, cost effectiveness, labour issues)?

14. Of the current employees, can you estimate:
a) What percentage is permanent?
b) What percentage is permanent & full time?
c) What percentage is contract?
d) What percentage is contract and full time?
e) What percentage is casual labour?

Thinking of equity and job redistribution:
15. Could you tell me the gender breakdown of employees? (estimate if necessary)
16. Could you tell me the racial breakdown of employees? (estimate if necessary)

17. Does your company have an HIV/AIDS policy?
18. Does your company have an environmental policy?
19. Does your company contribute in any way to Black Economic Empowerment? (Is there a policy?)

20. Does the company participate in skills development of its employees?
21. Have you used the national skills levy?

B. Situation in Riverhorse Valley
22. <u>If company has relocated</u>, what are the reasons for choosing RVH as a site for a branch? (general and more specific)
23. a)<u> If it is a branch</u> of an existing company, why open the new branch in RHV?
28b) Where are your other branches in Durban? And where are the headquarters of your firm?
24. What are the benefits to being located in RHV?
25. What are the challenges to being in RHV?
26. Can you access resources needed for your business easily?
27. Do you have any traffic congestion problems in the course of business?

28. On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is very poor and 5 is excellent, how satisfied are you with the business estate? Why?

	1	2	3	4	5
Overall satisfaction					

29. Again, on a scale of 1-5 how would you rate the following in RHV in comparison to other business estates/industrial parks? Why?

	1	2	3	4	5
Service provision by the city					
Access to labour					
Access to markets					
Transport					
Access to Banking/financial services					
Access to related businesses					
Linkages with business in the area					
Safety and security					

C. Participation in the Joint Venture
30. a) Have you had any dealings with Moreland Developments or the eThekwini Municipality in regard to your location here?
30 b) What is the nature of these encounters?
31. a) Riverhorse Valley is a development programme (joint venture) of the city and Moreland developments. Are there any conditions in your sale/lease contract regarding improving local social conditions?
b) Has the city stipulated with regard to labour policies for the areas surrounding RHV?
c) Does the fact that the business estate is developed as a joint venture affect your businesses activities in any other way? (e.g. site management, this research)
32. Are there any benefits to the city developing and managing its business estate in this new way?

D. Nature and Volume of Interconnections with Surrounding Commercial Areas (local)
33. a) Do you have any business relations with companies outside the business estate?
b) Could you give examples of a few key companies and their locations?
c) What is the nature of these relationships? Including formal or informal (contracted), ongoing, which are your clients, suppliers, service providers etc
34. a) What proportion of the products/services from your company goes to companies outside of RHV (compared to inside RHV)?
b) What proportion of the supplies and services your firm receives come from outside RVH? which services is it beneficial for you to be close too in terms of your location here e.g. banking

35. Do you have ties to companies throughout the rest of South Africa? Could you describe these relationships? (provincial & national)

36. Any linkages to companies outside of SA? Could you describe these relationships? (international linkages)

E. Nature and Volume of Interconnections with Businesses IN the Estate (local)
37. a) Do you have any business relations with companies within the business estate?
b) With which companies?
c) What is the nature of these relationships? Including formal or informal (contracted), ongoing, which are your clients, from who do you get services and products/supplies etc
d) Did these exist prior to your establishment in RHV?
e) How are these relationships effecting your business?
f) Would you like to strengthen or increase the number of relationships with businesses in the estate?

38. a) Do you have any informal relationships with businesses in the estate? Can you describe these to me?
b) Is there a forum for social networking in the estate – for business people to meet each other, perhaps regarding safety and security, development, environmental issues etc? Would this be useful?

F. Nature and volume of interconnections with surrounding residential areas
39. Is your company involved in an 'outreach'/corporate social responsibility activities such as relationships with local residential areas surrounding the RHV estate? Links to individuals, NGOs, charities, schools, churches, conservancies, environmental organizations, local government reps etc? Please describe these and where they are taking place.
40. If so, what is the nature of these relationships? Formal, ongoing, financial donations, adopt a spot, irregular.
41. Why do you choose to be involved in this way?
42. Do you intend to be involved in social responsibility activities if you are not currently involved?
43. Did you have connections to surrounding communities in your previous location/through parent companies?
44. Will these connections been maintained?

Final questions
45. Would you mind telling me, confidentially, what the company's (branch's) turnover is? Or a category of turnover:
>500 000, bwtn 500 000 and 1 mill, <1 mill, >5 mill, over 5 mill per month

46. Is there any sense of pride in being located in RHV, something special about being in this estate?

Project Related Questionnaire: Employee Profile of Riverhorse Valley Business Estate

(English)

EMPLOYEES QUESTIONNAIRE	Q. No ……..

This questionnaire forms part of the essential data required by Moreland Developments (in conjunction with the University of KwaZulu-Natal) as they conduct a study on the Riverhorse Valley Business Estate. This research is needed in order to assess whether the new business estate is contributing to a growing economy in Durban and enabling people in the many residential areas of Durban to gain employment.

Please could you participate in the study by filling out the questionnaire? Nowhere on the questionnaire will you be asked your name, therefore the information you provide is totally anonymous and will be used with the strictest confidentiality.

Please tick the boxes below and provide written answers where needed.

A. Background

1a.   Please give the name of company in which you are employed.

1 b. What is your current position in the company?

1c.   How long have you worked for your current employer?

0-3 months	4-6 months	7-12 months	13-18 months	18 months – 2 years	2-4 years	5-7 years	8-10 years	+ 10 years

2.   Please tick your race group. (This question has been included to assess the distribution of jobs across race groups.)

Black	White	Indian	Coloured	Other

3.   Please tick your gender.

Male	Female

4.   Please tick your age category.

Below 18	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	Above 65

5.   Please tick your highest level of education.

Completed primary school	Completed standard 6-9 (grades 8-11)	Completed matric	Completed tertiary education	In service training	Other

If other, please describe

B. Residential Profile

6.   Please name the residential area in which you currently live.

_____

7.   How long have you lived there?

0-3 months	4-12 months	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	more than 5 years

8a.   Did you move to this area because of this job?

Yes	No

8b.   Did your family move with you?

Yes	Yes	Partially

9.   Where does your family live now?

With you in the city	
Elsewhere in Durban	
Outside of Durban but in KwaZulu-Natal	
Outside of KwaZulu-Natal but within South Africa	
Outside of South Africa	

10.   Where did you live prior to your current residence? (Please name the neighbourhood/suburb and the city/region.)

_____

_____

11.   Do you think of Durban as your permanent residence?

Yes	No	Sometimes	Unsure

12.   Do you have a home away from Durban?

Yes	No	Unsure

C.   Employment Profile

13a.   On what conditions are you employed?

a.	As casual labour	
b.	On a permanent, full time basis	
c.	On a permanent, part time basis	
d.	On a long term contract basis	
e.	On a short term contract basis	
f.	Freelance	
g.	Other	

If other, please describe

13b. If you are employed through a <u>contract</u> basis, on what basis are you employed?

full time	part time

14a. Did you work prior to acquiring this job?

Yes	No, I was a student/scholar	No, I was unemployed

14b. If you did work, where did you work prior to acquiring this job?
Company name:
Address:

14c. Do you have any previous experience which equipped you for your current position?

Much experience	Moderate experience	Very little experience	No experience

D.   Working in Riverhorse Valley

15. How did you find out about the job you currently have?

a.	Newspaper	
b.	Employment agency	
c.	Friends/relatives	
d.	Education institution	
e.	Company transfer	
f.	Other	

If other, please describe

---

16. Was your position a newly created post in the company?

Yes	No	I'm not sure

17. Do you know if the following policies exist in your company?

		Yes	No	Unsure
a.	Black economic empowerment			
b.	Employee skills development			
c.	Environmental policy			
d.	Social responsibility/Community outreach			
e.	HIV/AIDS outreach			
f.	Occupational health and safety			

18. Have you received any skills development in the last 18 months?

Yes	No	I'm not sure

19. From a personal point of view, how would you rate the following characteristics of the Riverhorse Valley Estate?

		Excellent	Good	Moderate	Bad	Terrible
a.	Access to your home					
b.	Access to open space					
c.	Access to shopping and services (during lunch hour/after work)					
d.	Access to services (in the course of your work)					
e.	Access to related businesses					
f.	Safety					
g.	Access to main transport routes					
h.	Access to emergency services					

20. From a business point of view, how would you rate the following characteristics of the Riverhorse Valley Estate?

		Excellent	Good	Moderate	Bad	Terrible
a.	Access to your home					
b.	Access to open space					
c.	Access to shopping and services (during lunch hour/after work)					
d.	Access to services (in the course of your work)					
e.	Access to related businesses					
f.	Safety					
g.	Access to main transport routes					
h.	Access to emergency services					

21. What kind of transportation do you most often use to travel to and from work? (Tick two if necessary)

a.	Private car	
b.	Someone gives you a lift	
c.	You share in a lift club	
d.	Minibus Taxi	
e.	Bus	
f.	Train	
g.	Walking	
h.	Other	

22. What is your response to the following statement?

'The Riverhorse Valley Business Estate is isolated.'

Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

23a. Would you prefer to work elsewhere in the city rather than in this business estate?

Definitely	Possibly	Unsure	Probably not	Definitely not

23b. If yes, where would you rather work?

_____

24. Please rate Riverhorse Valley in comparison with other working locations that you may have encountered.

Excellent	Good	Fair	Bad	Very poor

25. Please list 3 things you would like to change in Riverhorse Valley.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

26. Please list 3 things you like best about Riverhorse Valley.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

27. Do you have any further comments?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for your time in responding to this questionnaire.

If you would like to know anything further about this project or you would like to make further comments, please contact:

Jennifer Houghton
School of Life and Environmental Sciences
3rd Floor Memorial Tower Building
Howard College
University of KwaZulu-Natal

houghtonja@ukzn.ac.za

Project Related Questionnaire: Employee Profile of Riverhorse Valley Business Estate (Zulu)

RIVER HORSE VALLEY BUSINESS ESTATE PROFILE
Lemibuzo imayelana nolwazi olufunwa I company iMoreland, ngokuthuthuka kwamabhizimisi kulendawo. iMoreland isebenzisana ne Uvesi yaKwa- Zulu Natal ukuthola lolulwazi. Inhloso yalolucwaningo lumayalana nokthi ingabe lamabhizimisi/company ayawuthuthukisa yini umnotho wala EThekwini, nokuthi abasebenzi abasebenza khona kungaba abantu abahlala EThekwini yini noma abantu abaqhamuka kwezinye indawo.

| Q. No …….. |

Ngicela sisebenzisane uphendule lemibuzo, akukho lapho okuzofuna khona igama lakho.

A. <u>Isigaba sokuqala</u>

1a. Igama lecompany osebenza kuyona?

1b. Isiphi isiphi isikhundla onaso kule company?

1c. Usunesikhathi esingakanani esebenza kule compani?

0-3 months	4-6 months	7-12 months	13-18 months	18months 2 years	2-4 years	5-7 years	8-10 years	+10 years

2. Khetha kulokhu okulandelayo okuwubuhlanga bakho

Onsundu	Omhlophe	Indiya	Ikhaladi	Okunye

3.Khetha ubulili bakho

Abesilisa	Abesifazane

4. Khetha iminyaka yakho

Ungaphansi ka 18	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	Above65

5. Khetha ibanga lemfundo oliqedile

Uqede ibanga laseprimaty	Uqede ibanga 6-9	Uqede utheni	Uqede ebangeni lemfundo ephakeme	Usaqeqeshwa	Kukhona okunye

B. <u>Kumayelana nokuhlala</u>

6.Igama lendawo ohlala kuyo?

---

7. Singakanani isikhathi uhlala khona?

0-3 months	4-12 months	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	More than 5 years

8a. Wasuka lapho uhlala khona ngenxa yomsebenzi?

Yebo	Qha

8b. Umndeni wakho wasuka nawo yini?

Yebo	Qha	Ayi bonke

9. Uhlala kuphi umndeni wakho manje?

Bahlala nawe eThekwini	
Bahlala eThekwini kodwa ayi nawe	
Bahlala ngaphandle kwe Theku kodwa kuso lesifundazwe saKwaZulu Natali	
Bahlala kwesinye isifundazwe	
Bahlala phesheya kwezilwandle	

10. Ubuhla kuphi ngaphambi kokuba uhlale lawukhona manje? Igama lendawo noma idolobha

_____

11. Ucabanga ukuthi iTheku indawo ozohlala kuyo unomphela?

Yebo	Qha	Kungenzeka	Anginaqiniso

12. Unalo yini ikhaya ngaphandle kweTheku

Yebo	Qha	Anginaqiniso

C.Kumayelana nokuqashwa

13a. Usebenza ngaphansi kwaluphi uhla

a	Usebenza ubuye umiswe	
b	Uqashwe ngokuphelele sonke isikhathi	
c	Uqashwe ngokuphelele kodwa awusebenzi njalo	
d	Uqashwe ngokungaphelele kodwa isikhathi eside	
e	Uqashwe ngokungaphelele kodwa isihkathi esifushane	
f	Usebenza kubaqashi abahlukene	
g	Okunye	

Uma kukhona okunye ungachaza

_____

13b. Uma uqashwe okwesikhashana ngaphansi kwaluphi kulolu

Usebenza sonke isikhathi	Usebenza ubuye umiswe

14a. Ubusebenza ngaphambi kokuthi uthole lomsebenzi?

Yebo	Qha kade ngifunda	Qha bengingaqashiwe ndawo

14b.Uma ubusebenza ubusebenza kuphi? Igama le compani nekheli lakhona

_____

14c. Kungabe ulwazi onalo luyahambisana yini nalomsebenzi owenza manje?

kakhulu	Phakathi nendawo	kancane	Qha

C. **Kumayelana nokusebenza eRiver Horese Valley**

15. Wawuthola kanjani lomsebenzi?khetha

a	Ngokufunda iphepha	
b	Ngabaqashi abayinhlangano abafunelana umsebenzi	
c	Ngabangani/ izihlobo	
d	Isikhungo semfundo	
e	Icompani iyona ekulethe kulomsebenzi	
f	Okunye	

Uma kukhona okunye ungakusho okwakutholisa umsebenzi

_____

16. Kungabe isikhundla sakho sisha yini kwicopmani?

Yebo	Qha	Awunaqiniso

17. Kungabe lemithetho elandelayo ikhona yini kule compani?

a	Ukufakwa kwabantu abansundu babe nengxenye kwi campani	Yebo	Qha	Awazi kahle
b	Lukhona uqeqesho olukholwa abasebenzi			
c	Imvelo iyanakekelwa yini			
d	Ukuxhumana nomphakathi kukhona			
e	Ukhona umthetho omayelana nesifo i HIV/AIDS ukuthi basizwa kanjani abasebenzi			
f	Indawo okusetshenzelwa kuyo ivikelekile yini			

18. Uke waluthola uqeqesho ezinyangeni eziwu 18 ezidlule ?

Yebo	No	Awazi kahle

19.Ngokwakho i- Riverhorse Valley ungayifaka ngaphansi kwaluphi uhla? Kulokhu okulandelayo

a	Kulula yini ukufinyelela ekhaya	Kulula kakhulu	kulula	maphakathi	Kubi	Kubi kakhulu
b	Ikhona indawo evulelekile					
c	Kulula ukuya esitolo ngedina					
d	Kulula ukuthola enikudingayo					
e	Ukuxhumana namanye amabhizimisi					
f	Nivikelekile					
g	Kulula ukuthola izinto zokuhamba					
h	Kulula ukuthola usizo oluphuthumayo					

20. Ngokwebhizimisi i Riverhorse Valley ungayifaka ngaphansi kwaluphi uhla? kulokhu okulandelayo

		Kulula kakhulu	kulula	maphakathi	Kubi	Kubi kakhulu
a	Kulula yini ukufinyelela ekhaya					
b	Ikhona indawo evulelekile					
c	Kulula ukuya esitolo ngedina					
d	Kulula ukuthola enikudingayo					
e	Ukuxhumana namanye amabhizimisi					
f	Nivikelekile					
g	Kulula ukuthola izinto zokuhamba					
h	Kulula ukuthola usizo oluphuthumayo					

21. Usebenzisa uhlobo luni lwezokuthutha uma uya noma ubuya emsebenzini?

a	Usebenzisa imoto yakho encane	
b	Omunye ukunika ulifthi	
c	Imoto eniyikhokhelayo ukuphela kwenyanga nabanye abantu	
d	Itekisi	
e	Ibhasi	
f	Isitimela	
g	Uhamba ngezinyawo	
h	Okunye	

22. Ngokwakho i Riverhorse Valley iyibona iqhelile yini

Kunjalo ngempela	Kunjalo	Phakathi nendawo	Akunjalo	Akunjalo ngampela

23a. Ukhetha ukusebenza edolobheni kuna R.H. V?

Ngempela kungcono	Kulula	Anginaqiniso	Akulula	Ngempela akungcono

23b. Uma kunjalo ukhetha kuphi?

24. Uma uqhathanisa i R.H.V. nendawo oke wasebenza kuyo iyibona injani?

Inhle kakhulu	inhle	Ingcono	Imbi	Ibheda kakhulu

25. Yisho izinto ezintathu ongathanda zishitshe e R.H.V.
1.
2.
3.

26. Yisho izinto ezintathu ozithandayo e R.H.V.
1.
2.
3.

27. Kukhona ongathanda ukukusho nge Riverhorse Valley?

_____
_____
_____316
_____
_____
_____
_____

Siyabonga ngokuzimisela kwakho ekuphenduleni lemibuzo

Uma ufuna ukwazi okuningi ngalolucwaningo ungaxhumana no
Houghtonja@ukzn.ac.za
031 260 1444

Letter of Confidentiality

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

Faculty of Science

School of Environmental Sciences

Memorial Tower Building
Durban 4041 South Africa
☎ **+27 (031) 260 2416**
Fax: +27 (031) 260 1391

DATE

Dear NAME

**Study: The negotiation of urban development imperatives in Durban through public
private partnerships**

This letter confirms that the information collected from you during our interview on DATE
will be used in a strictly confidential manner.

The data contributes to the building of primary data to be used within a doctoral study of
public private partnerships within Durban. The research is being conducted through the
School of Environmental Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and is regulated
through the ethical research requirements of the university.

If you have any queries regarding the use of the data, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Houghton
(Researcher)

houghtonja@ukzn.ac.za
083 436 9815

Written Consent to Participate in Research Project

<u>Consent to Participate in Research Project</u>

Jennifer Houghton is currently conducting her doctoral research through the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The research aims to investigate how a neoliberal paradigm influences the ways in which public private partnerships for urban development negotiate the competing imperatives for development evident with cities such as Durban.

Participation in the study is undertaken with the understanding that:
• Participation is voluntary and a participant may withdraw from the study at any time
• Any data acquired from participants will be treated in a confidential manner and any limits imposed on confidentiality of materials will be complied with
• The name and organizational association of respondents will be used only with their permission

I, …………………………………….., hereby consent to participate in the abovementioned research project conducted by Jennifer Houghton.

Signed: ……………………………..   Date: …………………………..

Please direct any queries regarding the study or participation in the study to the researcher or the supervisor of the project:

Jennifer Houghton
School of Life and Environmental Sciences
3rd Floor Memorial Tower Building
Howard College
University of KwaZulu-Natal
4001
houghtonja@ukzn.ac.za
031 2602416

Prof Dianne Scott
School of Life and Environmental Sciences
3rd Floor Memorial Tower Building
Howard College
University of KwaZulu-Natal
4001
scottd@ukzn.ac.za
031 260 2417

Employee Residential Profile for Riverhorse Valley Business Estate[149]

As evidenced in the figure below, the employees from Riverhorse Valley live in varied residential areas of the eThekwini Municipal Area and beyond. Residents live as far north as Ballito and as far south as Scottburgh while no residents live in the furthest westerly reaches of the municipal area – extending only as far as Kloof, Gilletts and Inanda.

Phoenix and Newlands East and West are areas most commonly populated by employees with relatively high numbers of employees resident in KwaMashu (16-20 residents), Inanda and Chatsworth, Avoca Hills and Quarry Heights (each with 11-15 residents). Umlazi, Clermont, Ntuzuma, Morningside and Musgrave each have 6-10 Riverhorse Valley employees resident.

It is important to recognise that with the evident scattering of residential areas across the city that many people do travel long distances to get to work. Furthermore, people do not necessarily live spatially compact lives (Jarvis, 2003) as the choice of residential area is not solely determined by proximity to work. Since many companies have recently relocated to Riverhorse Valley, many people would simply have altered their route to work when the company relocated. In the future, greater number of employees may be concentrated in close proximity to Riverhorse Valley if companies prefer to hire new employees from local areas.

The characteristics of predominant residential areas are noteworthy as there is evidence of spatial clustering of employees within previously disadvantaged areas. High numbers of employees live in areas such as KwaMashu, Phoenix, Inanda, Umlazi and Newlands, all of which are areas with histories of poor infrastructural development and low household income and employment levels (especially in the case of KwaMashu) (Houghton, 2005). These are thus areas, where increased numbers of working people are likely to have a significant impact on quality of life.

The figure further illustrates that there is a strong cluster of employee residential areas immediately surrounding Riverhorse Valley with 24% of employees living immediately adjacent to the Estate in KwaMashu, Avoca, Avoca Hills, Quarry Heights and Newlands East and West. This proportion is raised even higher to 52.2% of employees if Phoenix, Inanda, Ntuzuma and Clermont are taken into account as areas with medium proximity to Riverhorse

---

[149] The source of this data is the questionnaire survey conducted in Riverhorse Valley Business Estate in 2005.

Valley. Even with evidence of clustering around the Estate, none of the employees surveyed lived in Kenville or Briardene which are areas immediately adjacent to Riverhorse Valley.

When considering the employees of the two new companies in Riverhorse Valley (companies J and K), it is evident that these staff members generally reside in the areas immediately surrounding Riverhorse Valley. Of the employees sampled from Company J, five live in the Quarry Heights Avoca Hills areas and a further two employees live in KwaMashu and Newlands West respectively. Two members of staff live in KwaMashu. Thus nine out of the thirteen staff in the sample live close to Riverhorse Valley, with the other staff in the sample travelling various distances to work - from Chatsworth, Austerville, Merebank and Stanger respectively. Company K presents a similar picture with the majority of staff living in nearby residential areas. Nine staff members live in KwaMashu, six in Quarry Heights, two in Newlands, seven in Inanda, and four in Ntuzuma. Other members of staff are scattered across Umlazi, Bester, and Phoenix. These figures illustrate that the majority of employees sampled from the new companies in Riverhorse Valley are drawn from areas surrounding Riverhorse Valley, thus new employment opportunities created in Riverhorse Valley are being taken up by residents from areas with high levels of unemployment and many development requirements.

Ballito

Tongaat

Seatides

Verulam

Inanda　Phoenix

Ntuzuma　Kwa-Mashu

Newlands West　　　　　　　　　Avoca Hills
Reservoir Hills　　　　　　　　　Quarry Heights
Kloof　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Avoca
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Newlands East
Gillits　New Germany　Clermont
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Umgeni Park
Pinetown　　　　　Westville　　　Morningside
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Sydenham
Mariannhill　　　　　　　　　　　Overport
　　　　　　　　　Sparks　　　　　Musgrave
Queensburgh　　　　　　　　　　Point
　　　　　　　　Bellair　Glenwood
Chatsworth　　　　　　　Umbilo
　　　　　　　　　　　Sea View
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ocean View
Umlazi　　　　　　　　　　　Wentworth
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Austerville
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Merebank East

Amanzimtoti

Umgababa

Umzinto NU

Scottburgh

Riverhorse Valley

No. of Residents per Area

0

1 - 5

6 - 10

11 - 15

16 - 20

21 - 25

N

Kilometers
0　2.5　5　　10　　15　　20

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

Produced by: Cartographic Unit (UKZN, 2005)

321