

A critical analysis of the effectiveness of public participation in planning in democratic South Africa

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Abstract

Humanist thinking on development embraces a people-centred view in which people are considered active agents for change in society. However, the nature and success of public participation in development is a contentious and widely debated issue in international planning and development literature. Simultaneously, realities in planning practice such as the effectiveness and influence of public participation on decision making seems to be daunting.

In South Africa public participation is a constitutional right and enforced by planning legislation. Although post-apartheid South African legislation devised strategies to increase the participation of the public on all spheres of government, the nature of participation seems to be contradictive and regarded by numerous authors to be ad hoc, incremental, unstructured, unbalanced and uncoordinated. While good intentions were laid by the Constitution and development legislation and policies, these documents do not necessarily ensure effectiveness of participation, nor create a culture of participation. The aims of the research were thus twofold: firstly, to determine the outcome of public participation in planning applications and secondly, to evaluate the effectiveness of public participation against the background of the current legislative framework in order to enable a greater inclusion of participation in planning.

The research followed a quantitative approach and included an in-depth study of statutory town planning applications in Tlokwe Local Municipality completed over a period of sixteen years. The inclusion of both periods before and after democratisation in South Africa shed some light on whether the effectiveness of public participation increased or declined during this period. A database was compiled on the detail of applications and included the type of application, location, legislation involved, public participation involved, objections (if any), rebuttals on objections and the outcome of the application. To organise and summarize the raw data gathered, a descriptive statistical analysis was undertaken.

Although participation of the public is needed in town planning applications and enforced by legislation in South Africa, the public's view that their contribution through objections is not effective was negated by the research. For example, objections (as one indication of the effectiveness of public participation) did not feature prominently (only 6, 3% of applications had objections), but these showed efficacy to influence the outcome of the applications. Overall this research provided a first step towards a better understanding of the effectiveness of public participation towards improved and more inclusive decision making.

Key terms: Public participation, town planning, town planning applications

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Chapter 1 – Contextualisation of the study

1.1 Introduction

Numerous authors like Healey (1997, p. 42), Sewell and Coppock (1976, p. 260), and Fagence (1975, p. 60) refer to the role and importance of public participation in planning decision-making. Public participation is important because it results in shared responsibility (Sanoff, 2000) and is likely to produce better decisions when included in programs (Habino & Nadler, 1990). The role of public participation is to establish dignity and self-esteem (Bryant & White, 1982: 205-228), forms part of the process of human growth (Burkey, 1993: 50), and is an integral part of human development (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2009: 122).

Public participation processes result in a shared responsibility in decision-making (Sanoff, 2000). Planning professionals focus on techniques, rather than the people, participation ties programs to people and is likely to produce better decisions (Habino & Nadler, 1990) (Pateman, 1970) (Spiegel, 1968). According to a study of the Baltic Sea Region, Lehtonen (2005) found that the human and social capital of city inhabitants have important potential for revitalisation especially in restructuring situations. For the last ten years the World Bank and related international development organisations have moved away from the more elitist 'external expert stance' in development planning, and towards a 'participatory stance' (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007; World Bank, 1996). In the context of Africa, public participation is seen in a similar 'capacity building' role in the developmental model captured in the *New Partnership for Africa's Development* (NEPAD) (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007; NEPAD, 2010). Notably, the significance of public participation in the dominant development model has become consolidated over the last ten years, as experience has proven it works better than the 'external expert stance' approach. Hence, whether one is talking about budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil or the Kerala state of India, or health delivery in rural Bangladesh or urban Britain, public participation is seen as a central component necessary to meet the end of human development (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007; NEPAD, 2010).

There are also various authors who are critical of public participation like Broady (1969) and Bahm (1972). Broady (1969) said that the planners' current nostrum is citizen participation, but within a very short time it will be shown to be what it truly is: a mere palliative for the ills of the planning profession. The real dilemma that frustrates the rational consideration for public participation is that not everyone is equally qualified to decide intelligently upon all issues (Bahm, 1972; Chambers, 1993; Williams, 2004).

In South Africa public participation is a constitutional right and enforced by planning legislation, according to Houston and Liebenberg (2001) this is evident in the increasing participation of a variety of interest groups in various processes, as well as the establishment of numerous consultative bodies and other mechanisms for public participation at all levels of the political structure. These include mechanisms like the integrated development processes, petitions, public hearings, policy-making discussion conferences (Houston & Liebenberg, 2001). Public participation is receiving increasing attention, especially at local government level. This is because public participation can help to (i) enhance development and service delivery, (ii) make governance more effective, and (iii) deepen democracy. In South Africa, the basis for public participation in local government is outlined in key legislation such as the *Municipal Systems Act* of 2000, and key policies such as the *National Framework for Public Participation* of 2007 and *Draft KZN Community Participation Framework* of 2007. In terms of planning legislation, the *Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, Act 16 of 2013* only refers to public participation and stakeholder engagement in certain instances; informing the public of planning elements such as the Land Use Schemes and Spatial Development Frameworks and granting intervener status for town planning applications.

However, the effectiveness of public participation is questioned; Reitzes' study (2009: 28) on the impact of democracy on development in South Africa revealed feelings of suspicion towards government as one of the main challenges with regard to public participation.

Up until now, research on the extent whether public participation really influences planning is limited. Continued study on public participation is propagated in South Africa, as emphasised by The Public Service Commission (2008: ii). Several years ago, Williams (2004: 566) argued for processes of examining particular ways in which practices of participation in development play out in concrete situations. Furthermore, scholars such as Maphunye & Mafunisa (2008: 469), Burton (2009: 263) and Mzimakwe (2010: 502) recently expressed the need to measure the impact of public input in participation processes. The rationale for this study is, therefore, embedded in a need to research public participation in terms of the influence people exercise over development in South Africa.

1.2 Justification of the study

Public participation is historically and currently supported internationally as indicated by various social movements like the housing movements in Brazil, civil society organisations like

the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, (PRIA), which plays a mediating role in development planning initiatives in India (Pioneers of Participation, 2008).

Public Participation is also supported by the South African Constitution (Buccus *et al*, 2007) while in Urban and Regional planning policy and legislation, all government levels are required to facilitate public involvement in development processes. In South Africa, the basis for public participation in local government is outlined in key legislation such as the *Municipal Systems Act* of 2000 and key policies such as the *National Framework for Public Participation* of 2007.

Although promoted and enforced internationally and locally, the perception of its effectiveness seems to be contradictory. The last survey conducted in the North-West Province (in 2000) by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) stated that The North West Province is the province with the second largest percentage (55,8%) of people who perceive that it is not possible to influence provincial government decisions. Other studies questioned the legitimacy of public participation, describing it as “rubber stamps” to decisions already made (Reitzes, 2009: 26-28; Aregbeshola et al., 2011: 1285; Cash & Swatuk, 2011: 65). Public participation in urban and regional planning is seen as extraneous, because people do not believe that their participation has any sway on government decisions. The statistics clearly indicate that public participation, if done at all, is perceived to have little, if any influence in political decision-making. This perception seems to confirm the international view on the nature of planning by various authors, such as Sturzaker (2011), Chambers (2005), Bahm (1979) and Broady (1969), as an oppressive, top-down and bureaucratic exercise.

Public participation in the discipline of Urban and Regional planning is vigorously promoted by various authors (Jacobs, 1961; Healey, 1992; Friedmann, 1987 and Alexander, 2008) due to the value of the input received and the sense of ownership it can develop.

South Africa has recently transformed its political governance to the ideal of a democratic society. Up until now very little research, if any has been conducted in planning to evaluate whether decision-making in urban development is influenced by the voice of the public; although perceptions of this phenomena have been investigated (such as the HSRC survey).

This study aims to contribute to this theoretical debate on public participation in planning and seeks to clarify some perceptions about the characteristics of planning as executed through a bureaucratic and top-down system.

1.3 Research aims

The primary aim of the study is to do a critical analysis of the effectiveness of public participation in town planning. Secondary aims include the following:

- to locate public participation within planning theory by documenting an overview of the historical development of public participation in urban and regional planning by means of a literature review;
- to investigate the nature and scope of support for public participation within the South African legislative context in terms of its conduciveness for effective public participation;
- To investigate town planning applications over a sixteen year period (1992-2008) in a medium sized municipality in North-West Province (Tlokwe Local Municipality) in terms of the influence of public participation on development applications

1.4 Method of investigation

A quantitative research approach is deemed to be the most appropriate for this study as it should answer the question whether or not participation is effective, as this type of research is more objective, deductive and generalisable. A descriptive design will be used; according to Ross (1999) a descriptive study may be used to, develop theory, justify current practice, make judgements, identify what others in similar situations may be doing and identify problems with current practice.

Data was gathered by obtaining permission to gain access to all archival records of existing town planning applications at the Provincial Department of Developmental Local Government and Housing as well as the Tlokwe Local Municipality. From these records a full data basis in table format was compiled with relevant detail pertaining to the application and the process with special reference to public participation detail for the specific case. A sample technique, identifying periods of two years with increments of four years, was used to select appropriate years that were included in the database. The years identified were 1992-1993, 1997-1998, 2002-2003 and 2007-2008. Data was collected during the periods of February 2011 to May 2011 and August 2011 to October 2011. At this time some of the applications that were submitted from 2009 onwards were not yet finished. This is the reason why the periods from 2009 onwards were not used in this study.

Data analysis was done by means of statistical techniques approved by Statistical Consultation Services at the North West University. The data captured in the data basis table is inserted into a database, according to various variables, for example: the type of application, the property description, the type of legislation, type of public participation, amount of appeals, reasons for the appeals, the outcome of the appeal etc.

The data was processed and interpreted to determine to what extent the public participates in planning processes and whether their interest in the application had any added value for the application or against the application. The outcome of the application determined whether their opinions had any influence in decision-making processes in spatial planning.

Results are only on the first level of decision-making and do not take appeals into consideration as this falls outside the scope of this particular research. The scope of research is also limited to the Tlokwe Local Municipality and limited to the predetermined years of applications.

1.5 Chapter division

Chapter 1 – Contextualisation of the study: The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the topic and scope of the study in order to give a background on the importance of the study as well as the aims and methodology used to conduct the research.

Chapter 2 – The evolution of planning theory: towards a participatory approach: A historical overview of planning theory is given, to determine where public participation fits within the theoretical paradigms. This chapter illustrates the relevance of participation in planning.

Chapter 3 – Public participation: a human development perspective: The nature of participation and the various perspectives on public participation will be discussed critically to determine how participation falls within the development perspective.

Chapter 4 – The South African Planning context: Conducive or injurious for public participation: The status quo of participation in South Africa will be discussed. This will be done by assessing the historical influences as well as the policies and legislation incorporating public participation in planning.

Chapter 5 – Public participation in planning: An empirical investigation: An empirical investigation will be done on the effectiveness of participation by analysing and interpreting data obtained from town planning applications.

Chapter 6 – Critical analysis of public participation in town planning applications as instrument for democracy: Participation in town planning applications is discussed by investigating the theoretical framework for public participation within planning, the legislative environment of planning and public participation and the empirical study of the effectiveness of public participation in town planning applications.

Chapter 7 – Synthesis of public participation in planning applications and recommendations: A conclusion to the study will be discussed with recommendations.

Chapter 2 – The evolution of planning theory: Toward a participatory approach

2.1 Introduction

In the world of planning practice today, planners are more likely to rely on their intuition or their own practical wisdom or *phronesis*, than relying on planning theory alone (Sanyal, 2000). According to Campbell and Fainstein (2003), this intuition may actually be theory that is assimilated or cumulatively acquired. One of the most important roles of planning theory, therefore, is to stimulate critical reflection and constructive reflexivity in academics and planning practitioners. The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the evolution of planning theory with specific reference to public participation; the focus of this research. By looking at the evolution of participation in planning theory, reflection is stimulated in terms of what worked while a theoretical frame of reference is provided (Abukhater, 2009; Faludi, 1973). In order to illustrate the relevance of participation in planning, it will be determined where public participation fits within the theoretical paradigm of planning theory.

2.2 Planning theory as point of departure

2.2.1 Defining theory

The word theory is derived from the Greek word *theōria*. Someone who practised *theōria* was referred to as a *theōros* or spectator (Hardegree, 2012). According to the Etymology Dictionary (Douglas Harper, 2012) theory can be defined as conception, mental scheme, contemplation, speculation or a “looking at”. If theory entails looking at something and proposing or conceiving a mental scheme about it which reveals it (Gadamer, 1999), it involves speculation. To speculate is defined as ‘to use the powers of the mind, as in conceiving ideas, drawing inference and making judgements’ (Hillier, 2007), which are incorporated in theorising planning.

2.2.2 Planning theory and practice

A theory was typically not regarded as a theory until it has been tested in practice over a considerable period of time (Reade, 1987). In more recent years practice has led to inspire theory through the recognition of the innovative, experimental practices engaged by some planners (Hillier & Healey, 2008). Practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another. No theory can develop without

eventually encountering a wall, and practice is necessary for piercing this wall (Foucault & Deleuze, 1972). In this regard planning theory and practice seem to be related and reciprocal.

With no apparent pay-off, practitioners of planning have become baffled or bored with the increasingly scholastic character of planning, they lapsed into an untheoretical style of planning (Hall, 2001; Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002). Although many academics still try to teach real-life planning through simulation of real world problems, professional education of any kind still becomes immersed into the academy. By depending on academic peer judgement, the theoretical norms and values will become ever more pervasive, which in turn will widen the gap between theory and practice (Hall, 2001; Taylor, 1998).

Theory provides explanations and a sound body of theory is an essential component of the planning profession (Brooks, 2002; Faludi, 1973). Theory guides practitioners through a continuous self-examination of what it are they are doing, how they are doing it, why, for whom and with what results (Brooks, 2002).

2.2.3 Defining planning

John Friedmann (1987) emphasises the wide range of conceptual definitions of planning practice; from operational definitions, identifying what lies at the core of planning practice, to formal conceptualisations involving action, processes of societal guidance and/or societal transformation.

The definition of planning has changed over time and interpretations have varied as illustrated by different author's definitions of planning over time in the following section:

Town and country planning might be described as the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and siting of buildings and communicative routes (Keeble, 1952:26).

Planning is a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices (Davidoff & Reiner, 1962:331)

Strategic planning is that which requires discrimination or selection among tasks to which the intellect is to be assigned, as well as a calculated interplay between thought and social interaction (Lindblom, 1975:41)

Regional planning is a sequence of actions designed to solve problems in the future for a specified region (Glasson, 1983:21)

A forward-looking activity that selects from the past those elements that are useful in analysing existing conditions from a vantage point of the future- the changes that are thought to be desirable and how they might be brought about (Friedmann, 1987:11).

The exercise of deliberate forethought (Alexander, 1992: 13).

The specification of a proposed future coupled with systematic intervention and/or regulation in order to achieve that future (Byrne, 2003:174).

A form of persuasive storytelling about the future (Eckstein & Throgmorton, 2003: 146).

Self-conscious collective efforts to re-imagine a city, urban region or wider territory and to translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, strategic infrastructure investments and principles of land use regulation. The term 'spatial' brings into focus the 'where of things', whether static or in movement; the protection of special 'places' and sites; the interrelations between different activities and networks in an area; and significant intersections and nodes in an area which are physically co-located (Healey, 2004:46).

The investigation of 'virtualities' unseen in the present; the speculation about what may yet happen; the temporary inquiry into what at a given time and place we might yet think or do and how this might influence socially and environmentally just spatial form (Hillier, 2007: 225).

Spatial planning is one of the few disciplines within social sciences that is preoccupied by not just understanding possible urban futures, but also finding ways of changing them in the pursuit of collectively agreed preferable futures (Davoudi & Winkle, 2008: 230).

Collective place-shaping efforts aimed to improve the qualities and connectivities of places into the future for the benefit of present and future publics and their potential values (Healey, 2008:3).

The objective of cultivating particular place qualities and encouraging the emergence of particular development trajectories (Healey, 2008: 8).

From the above it is clear that the definition for planning was neither constant nor universal. All embrace an orientation towards the future although the definitions range from those who regard planning practice as having power to achieve a specific future state to those who are more uncertain. By considering these definitions, it is clear that planning is not an exact science anymore, planning has become more flexible, incorporating a more socio-political stance. Planning's definition has evolved from a more technical scientific view of planning towards a more social interpretation of planning. A paradigm shift has occurred in planning and as theoretical influences are never isolated from practicalities (Hillier & Healey, 2010), it may prove rewarding to investigate the context in which planning was defined to contextualise contemporary planning in terms of participatory trends.

2.3 Historical overview of planning theory

Contemporary planning issues – like the level of public participation – emerged from various interest groups such as public agencies throughout the centuries. There are various movements like the Garden City Movement and social movements in planning theory and great debates on effectiveness thereof (Lane, 2005).

The following section provides an overview of how planning theory evolved over time. The theoretical context forms an important background for how planning was defined and the extent to which public participation, the focus of this study, is included. It does not perceive to explain all the elements of the theories, as this falls outside the scope of this study, but rather to illustrate broad paradigmatic shifts in planning thought.

Historically planning theory can be divided into three main themes (Lane, 2005). These categories include blueprint planning, synoptic planning and pluralism. Each of these are further refined as illustrated in Table 1 - Three themes of planning theory (Source: Adapted from Hall (1992) and Lane (2005)). This will serve as the overall structure of the discussion to follow.

Table 1 - Three themes of planning theory (Source: Adapted from Hall (1992) and Lane (2005))

THEME	THEORY
Blueprint Planning	Garden City
	The Contemporary City
	Broadacre City
	Physical Planning
Synoptic Planning	Rational Planning
	Mixed-Scanning
	Incrementalism
Pluralism	Trans-active planning
	Advocacy planning
	Critical theory
	Planning as bargaining
	Communicative planning

2.3.1 The blueprint phase: planning as physical design

Town planning was initially viewed as an exercise in physical design. Town planning was aligned with the architectural models of design. The Town planner's prime task at this stage was the production of plans – town plans, regional plans, plans for village extensions etc. These plans were very detailed to guide future development and defined sites for particular uses, as they seen feasible (Taylor, 1998).

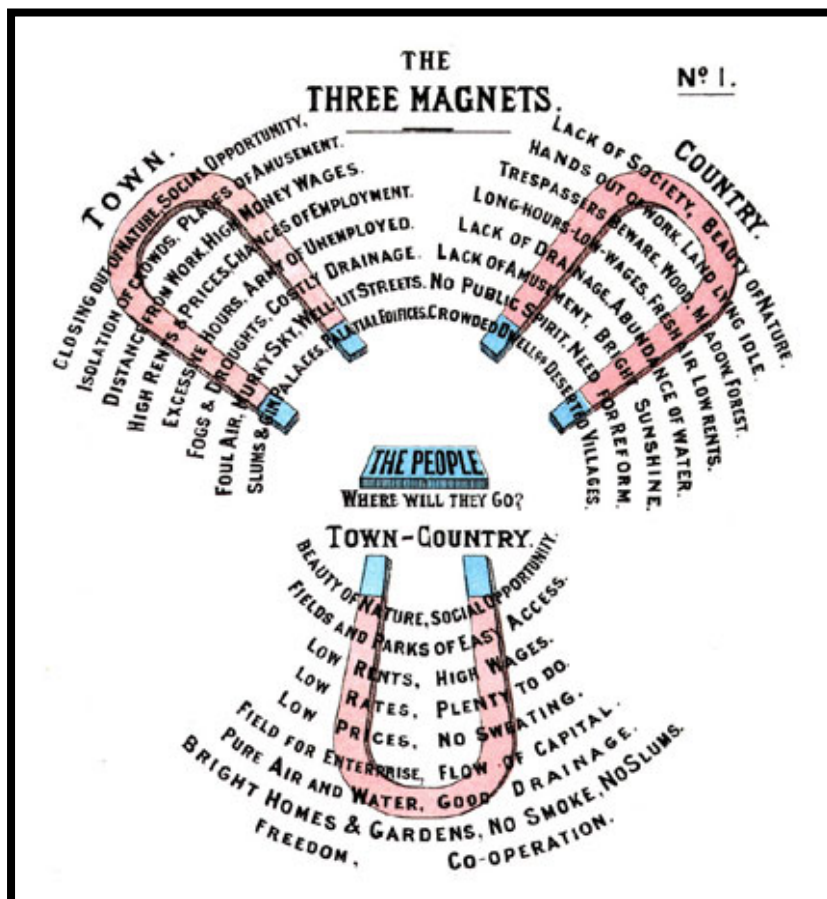
Town planning theories during this paradigm were preoccupied with visionary plans or designs that showed how the ideal city should be organised spatially. The blueprint character is well illustrated by the plans of Howard's Garden City (1902), Le Corbusier's contemporary city(1929), Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre city (1932) and the five different town forms by Keeble (1952), (Taylor, 1998).

2.3.1.1 The garden city (Ebenezer Howard)

The Garden City Movement began with Ebenezer Howard's classic work, "*Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*", published in 1898, later republished in 1902 as "*Garden Cities of Tomorrow*". A reaction to industrialisation and poor living conditions in cities, this movement was predicated on the inherent immorality of the city, a return to the country village, and the sacredness of nature (Adams, 2007)(Arizona Department of Commerce, 2004). Town planning was viewed as an exercise in planning and designing the physical forms of towns, master plans like the garden city were a natural expression of theories at that time (Taylor, 1998).

The design of the garden city was influenced by the concept of three magnets: (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), (1) the town as the first magnet (with characteristics such as high wages, opportunity and amusement), (2) the country side as the second magnet (with characteristics such as natural beauty, low rents, fresh air) and (3) a combined town-country magnet that combined the advantages of both (Adams, 2007). The movement was an anti-urban agrarian, romantic approach to the city that viewed nature as sacred, cities as immoral and wanted to return to the pre-industrial village (American Planning Association, 2011).

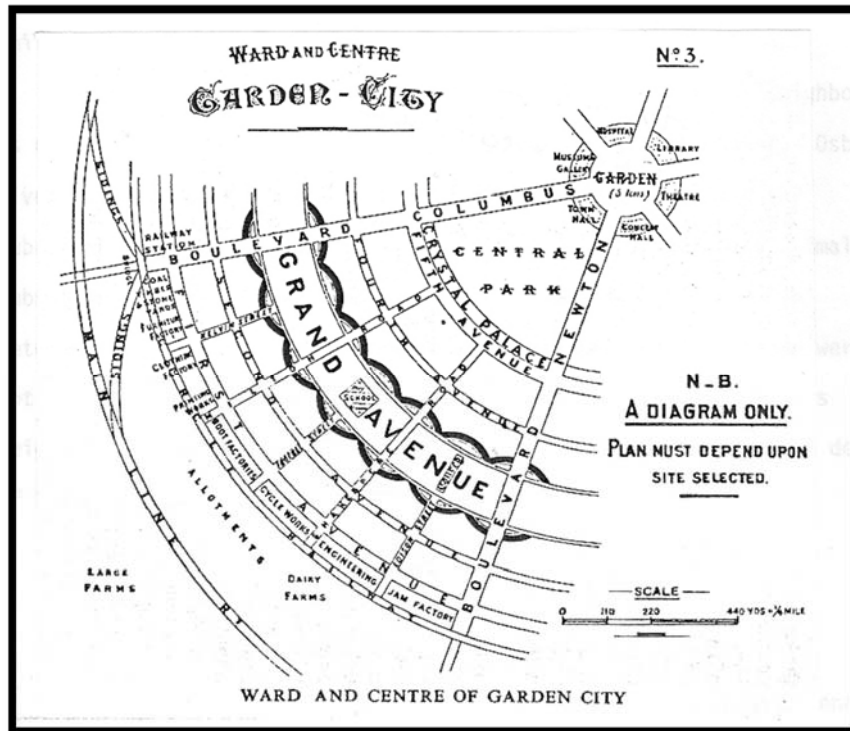
Figure 1 - The Three Magnets (Source: Howard, 1902)



The Garden City Movement proposed public greenbelts and agricultural areas surrounding self-supporting, satellite communities ringing a central garden city with maximum populations to prevent sprawl(Adams, 2007; Arizona Department of Commerce, 2004), as can be seen from Figure 2 and 3. The impact of the Garden City Movement was seen in the 1920s with the first comprehensive suburban neighborhood designs made up of residential areas with open space, parks, shopping facilities, and schools.

The Garden City model attempted to remove the low social and health standards of the industrial city that began to take over. Howard attempted to do this through a new physical model that he wanted to impose (Adams, 2007).

Figure 2 - Ward of Garden City (Source: Howard, 1902)



food preparation and laundering were communal activities (Le Corbusier, 1929; Tungare, 2001).

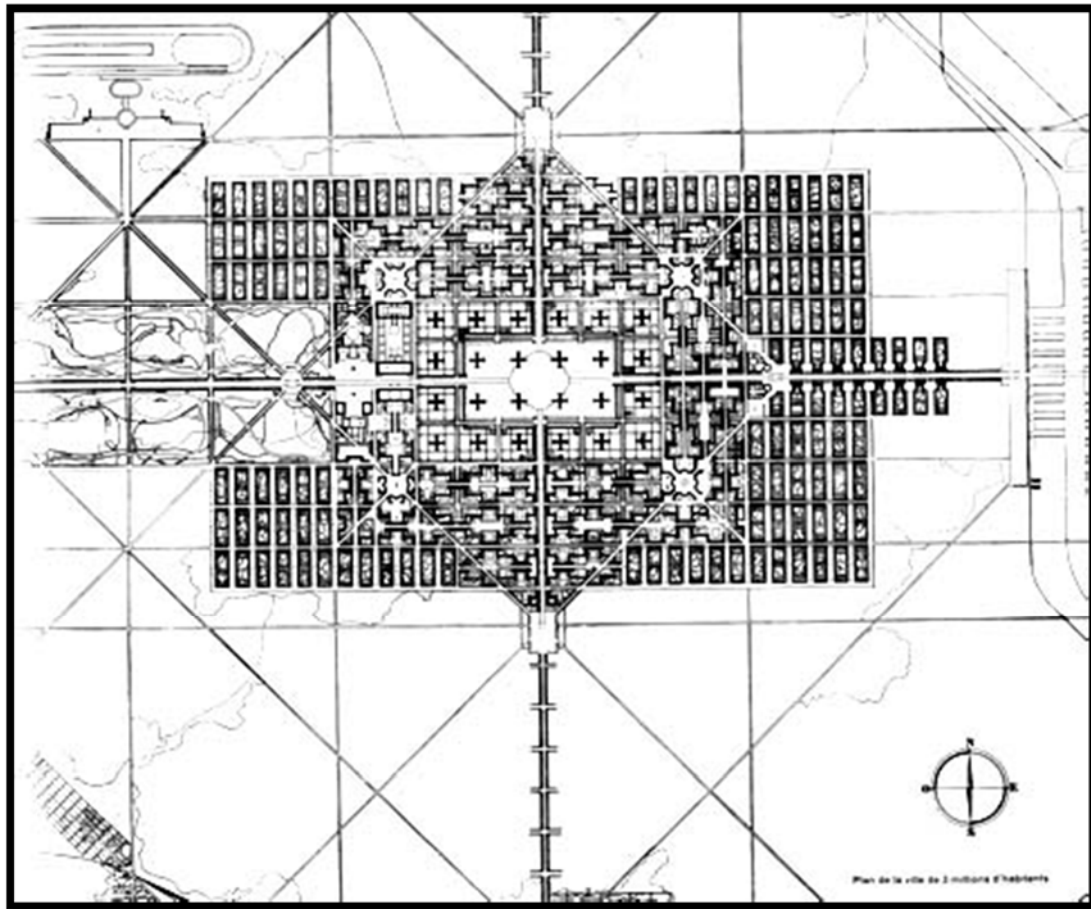
A centrally located core performed the higher functions and formed the brain of the city (Scott, 1998; Le Corbusier, 1929). The lines of influence and command are exclusively from the centre to the periphery of the city (Le Corbusier, 1929). The contemporary city, also known as the City of Three Million, is defined as a vast landscape of identical skyscraper monoliths that appealed to the aggressive urban futurism of the twenties, as can be seen from Figure 4. The city was a perfectly geometrically ordered metropolis; transportation was clean, organised and partially invisible. Subways would run beneath the vast city towers and planes would land in the centre. The design was predicated on the idea that great modern cities could only function if order and efficiency were at the heart of the city. Le Corbusier believed that social unrest was tied to the lack of buildings suited to the needs of workers; to build open (to have a uniform geometric layout with repetition and standards, as seen in Figure 5) would fix this social unrest (Le Corbusier, 1929; Tungare, 2001).

The Contemporary City was a generic attempt to eradicate social problems through imposing a physical layout that could be placed anywhere regardless of the community that would inhabit it (Tungare, 2001).

Figure 4 - The Contemporary City Concept (Source: Le Corbusier, 1929)



Figure 5 - The Contemporary City Layout (Source: Le Corbusier, 1929)



2.3.1.3 Broadacre city (Frank Lloyd Wright)

The broadacre plan has often been contrasted to the contemporary city, with the focus being on decentralisation and not centralisation as was the case in Le Corbusier's contemporary city plan. Wright viewed centralisation as overbuilding and demoralising (Wright, 1995; Tungare, 2001).

Wright was a product of an agrarian society, with an early interest in geometry (Brown, 2007). He felt that the individual is forced to conform to the speed and business of the city, eventually leading to the deterioration of his individuality (Wright, *The Living City*, 1995). He believed that true success lies in a greater freedom of movement, which would be possible with improvements in technology. True democracy would be reclaiming one's individuality and engaging in natural architecture. He shunned the idea of a concrete jungle and believed that with better mobilization technology, there is no difference between a few blocks and a few miles (Wright, *The Living City*, 1995; Brown, 2007)

Broadacres was to accommodate at least 4047 square meters per individual, at that time there was 230 671 square metres available per person in the United States (Brown, 2007). Zygas noted that this would eventually lead to a density of approximately 500 persons per square mile, which is scandalously low (Zygas, 1995). Entities included factories, skyscrapers, schools, churches and recreational facilities, each entity enveloped with some kind of green space. The area was fed by super highways of at least six lanes, which leads to progressively smaller roadways with its size dependent on the entity which it is associated with. Aesthetic contributions to the plan included railways and truck right of ways that were out of sight of main thoroughfares, utility lines underground, no open drainage along roadways, large scale landscaping and all terminal buildings and warehouses were restricted to ports of entry or under tracks. Fueling and service stations, administrative seats and public functions would be located at important intersections, with financial, public and commercial services, with professional offices located closer to home (Brown, 2007), as can be seen from Figure 6 and 7.

According to Stephen Grabow (1977), Wright ignored the dynamic complexity of life and grossly over simplified the belief that a physical relocation of the population could solve functional problems of democracy in a rapidly industrialising society.

Figure 6 - Broadacre City Sketches (Source: Wright, 1932)

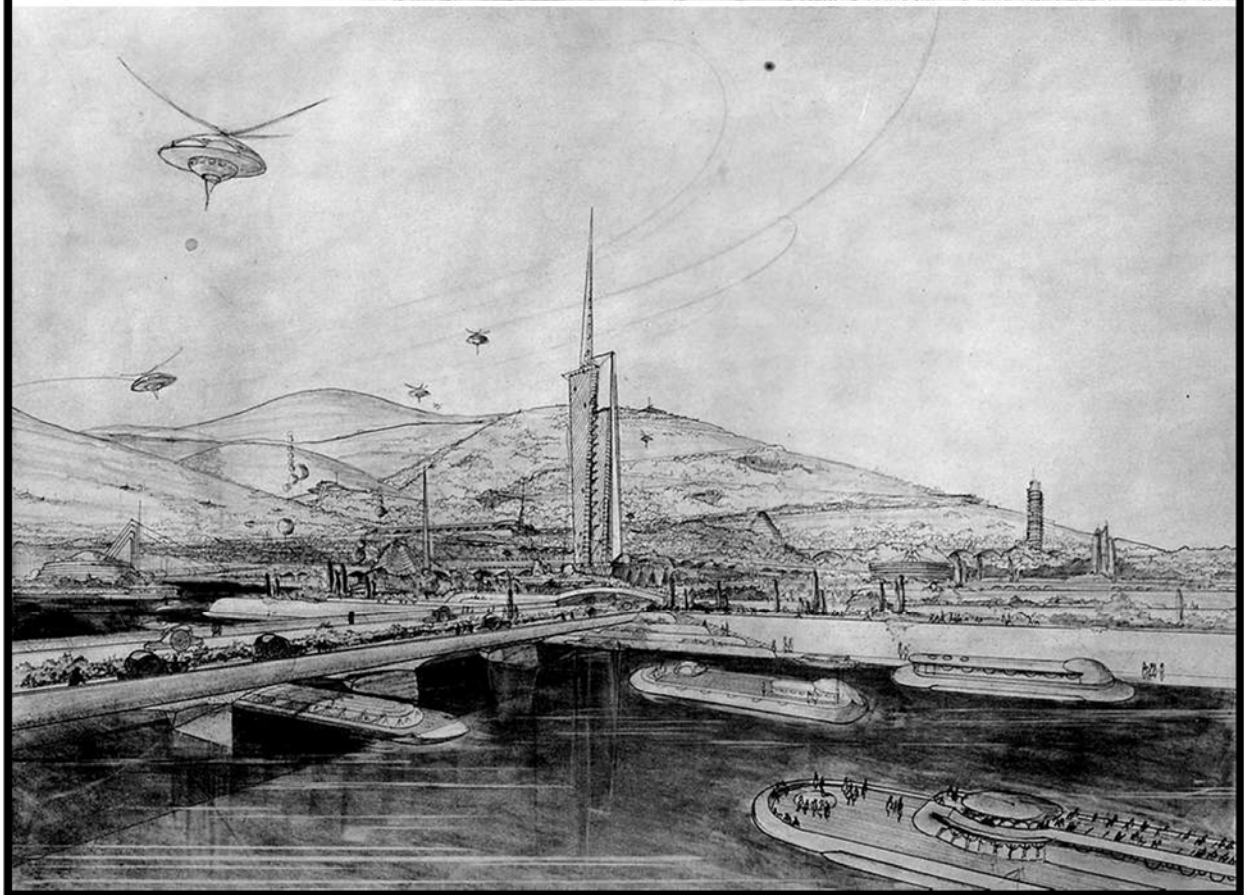
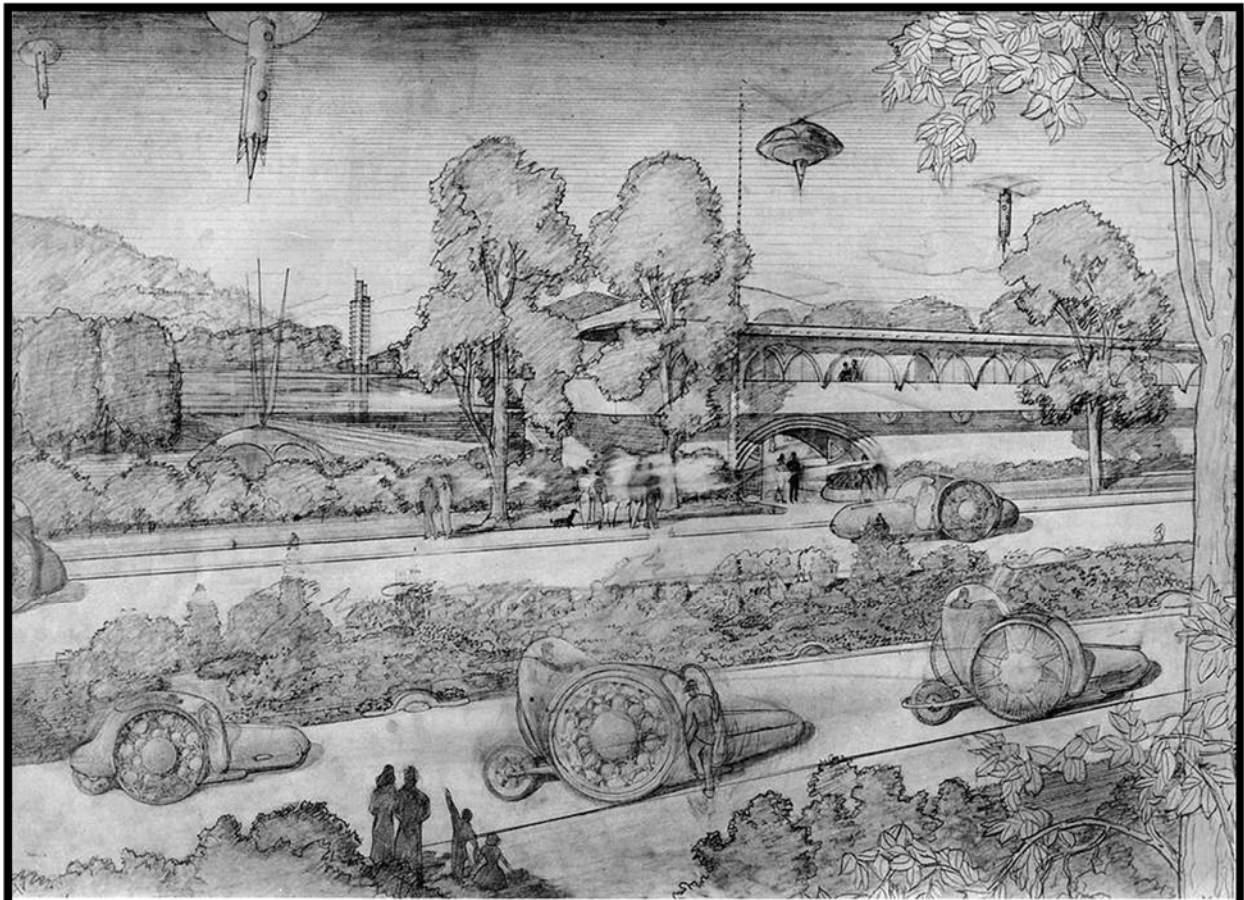
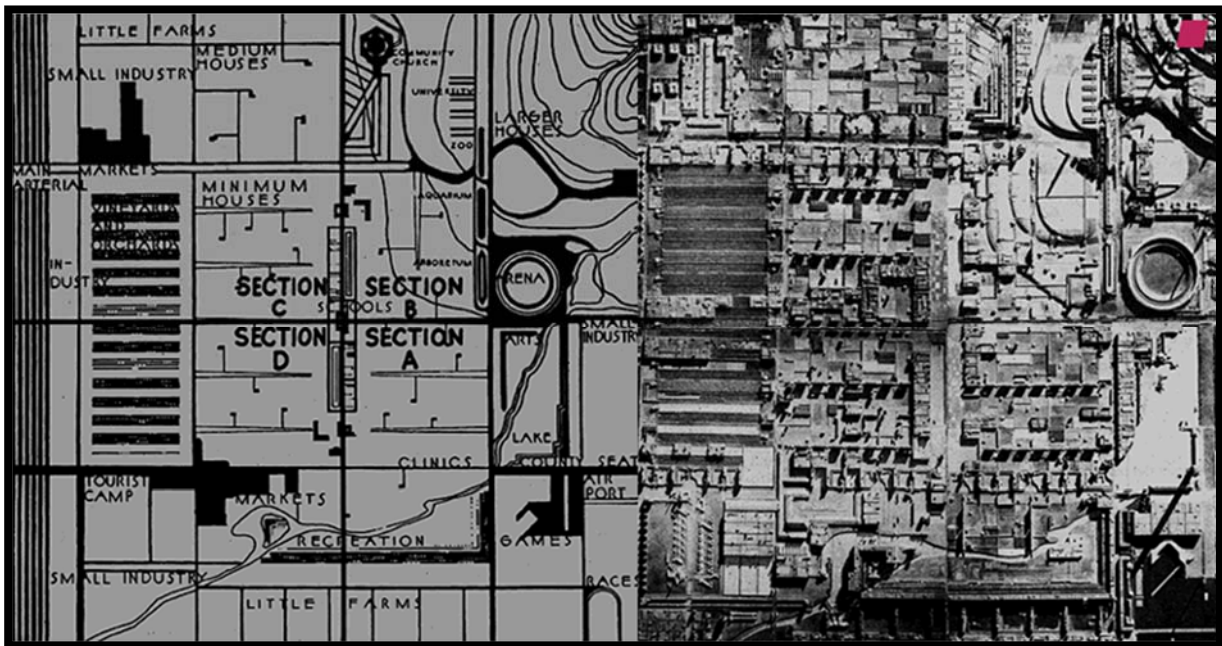


Figure 7 - Broadacre City Layout and Model (Source: Zevi, 1979)



Broadacre city brought a physical layout, which would be imposed on the country and a physical relocation of people to the layout, would according to Wright (1932) help solve the functional problems of democracy. The idea of Broadacres was thus to let go of traditional form of a city as a whole and of individual pieces and to organise and formalise decentralisation (Brown, 2007).

2.3.1.4 Town forms (Keeble)

Keeble said that urban planning deals with land and is not economic, social or political planning, though it may greatly assist in the realisation of the aims of these other kinds of planning (Taylor, 1998).

Keeble detested what he referred to as planning by gimmick and wanted planners to use rational principles that were connected to each other as the basis for town and regional planning (Keeble, 1952). Designing needed to be done according to predefined planning principles, and according to Keeble(1952)there was two methods to approach the problem of designing a plan, depending entirely upon the planner's temperament; the first method in intuitive which involves a great deal of sketching without much conscious effort until something promising springs to life. The second method is the analytical approach that involves a conscious effort by the planner to evaluate the potential qualities of the site and to postpone

the subconscious leap from thinking about the design and actually making it until he has amassed all the information he wants.

Figure 8 - Theoretical new town (Source: Keeble, 1952)

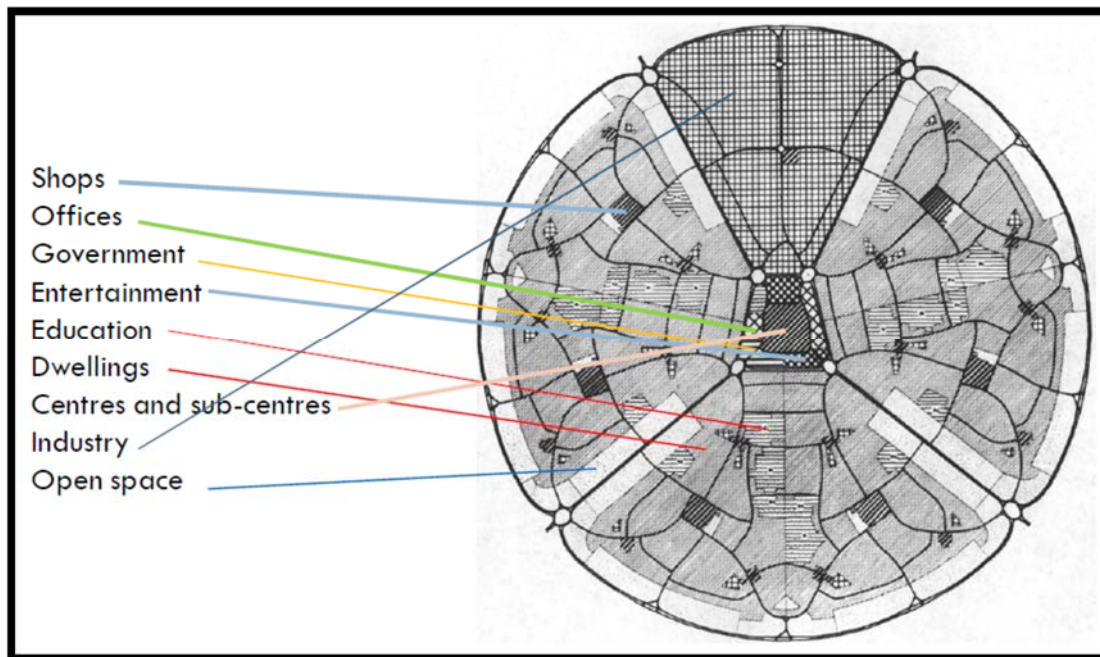
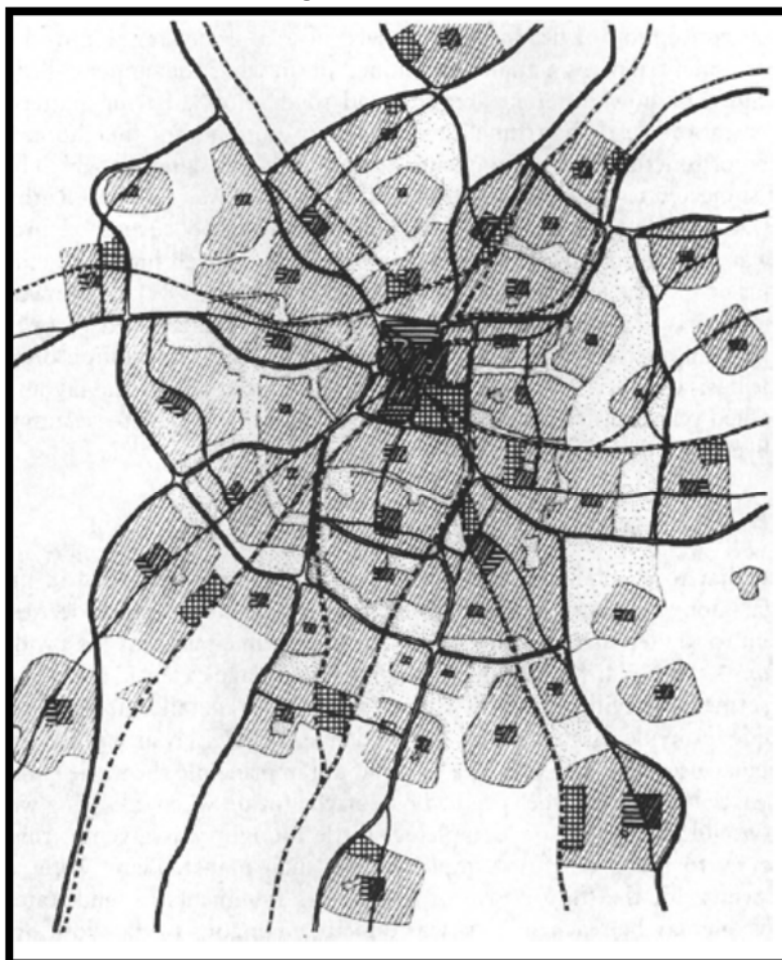


Figure 9 - A plan for an urban region (Source: Keeble, 1952)



Keeble's designs were very focused on urban design; he created detailed plans for town centres, residential neighbourhoods and an imaginary urban region (as seen from Figure 8 and 9) as a large scale design exercise (Taylor, 1998; Keeble, 1952).

Except perhaps for the Garden City model (implemented in Letchworth and Welwyn in England), little thought was given to the implementation of most of these plans. They were seen as end states of towns that will someday be reached. The work of architects (most town planners were architects by training) and civil engineers influenced planning, because of the manner in which a building plan can ultimately become a constructed building, so too could a town be developed in accordance to a master plan in terms of the outlines of development (Taylor, 1998; Hall, Thomas, Gracey, & Drewett, 1973).

In the above models, town planning was focused on the physical planning of the environment and closely connected to an exercise of physical design. Planning was seen as an extension of architecture and to a lesser extent civil engineering. Town planners had to make masterplans for towns which delineate precisely the future pattern of land use and development for the urban area being planned (Faludi, 1973; Greed, 1999). Town plans were therefore conceived as blueprint plans for future urban land use and form

2.3.1.5 The Blueprint planning phase and public participation

In the twentieth century city human needs were scientifically derived at and there was no need to involve the public (Tungare, 2001). The public was seen to have no value to contribute; Le Corbusier said that a planner should dictate the planning process, regardless of context, culture or need (Tungare, 2001). Planning in the models discussed above, was a top-down approach, and because of the expertise needed to make plans, planners excluded the public from the decision of how plans should be prepared; the public was seen as unknowledgeable in the area of physical design.

2.3.2 The synoptic phase: planning as rational scientific model

According to Hudson (1979), the most dominant planning tradition is synoptic planning and it is the point of departure for most other planning approaches, which represents either modifications of synoptic rationality or reactions against it.

Synoptic planning looks through a systems viewpoint at problems and by using conceptual and mathematical models, it relates the objective to the resources and constraints. It has a

heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis. Synoptic planning consists of four elements typically:

1. Goal Setting
2. Identification of policy alternatives
3. Evaluation of means against ends
4. Implementation of decisions (Dhakal, 2010)

Synoptic planning is divided into three models, the Rational planning model, incrementalist model and mixed-scanning model (Lane, 2005; Hall, 2001).

2.3.2.1 The Rational planning model

The rational planning model has its origins in the scientific and philosophic revolutions, of the 16th and 17th centuries, and in the social revolutions of the Enlightenment. This origin gave way to public form to urban planning fundamentals and rational worldviews. The profession of modern urban planning is not based on the rational planning model; it identifies what planners have come to identify as rational and have come to an understanding of how the rational planning model affects an urban planner's decisions. The modern style of urban planning is essentially the rational planning model in its ideological framework (Friedmann, 1987; Faludi, 1973).

The rational model is perhaps the most widely accepted model among planning practitioners and scholars, and is considered by many to be the orthodox view of planning (Taylor, 1998). The goal of the model is to make planning as rational and systematic as possible. Proponents of this paradigm would generally come up with a list of steps that the planning process can be at least relatively neatly sorted out into and that planning practitioners should go through in order when setting out to plan in virtually any area (Brooks, 2002). Rational decision-making or planning follows the following fixed steps:

1. Verify, define, and detail the problem
2. Generate all possible solutions
3. Generate objective assessment criteria
4. Choose the best solution generated
5. Implement the preferred alternative
6. Monitor and evaluate outcomes and results
7. Feedback (Robbins & Judge, 2007; Taylor, 1998)

The rational planning model is the process of realising a problem, establishing and evaluating planning criteria, creating alternatives, implementing alternatives, and monitoring progress of the alternatives. It is used in designing neighbourhoods, cities, and regions. The rational planning model is central in the development of modern urban planning and transportation planning. The very similar rational decision-making model, as it is called in organisational behaviour is a process for making logically sound decisions (Robbins & Judge, 2007).

Planning is carried out in a centralistic way. The planning process consists of six successive steps connected by feedback loops, which forms the seventh step. They create the possibility to incorporate changes into planning as a result of new information or experiences (Mitchell, 2002). Several modelling and analysing techniques are used, especially quantitative analyses (Mitchell, 2002; Larson, Sulkin, & Jones, 2003).

Thus, planning is considered as a scientific-technical process without any involvement of the public (Kinyashi, 2006). Rational planning places public knowledge below technical expertise and ignore the social context; it emphasises a group of decision makers making decisions that are based on qualitative analysis (Brunn, 2003, p. 367).

2.3.2.2 The Incrementalist model

Most people use incrementalism without ever needing a name for it because it is the natural and intuitive way to tackle everyday problems. These actions normally do not require extensive planning and problems can be dealt with one at a time as they arise (Quinn, 1978). Even in processes that involve more extensive planning, incrementalism is often an important tactic for dealing reactively with small details. For example, one might plan a route for a driving trip on a map, but one would not typically plan in advance where to change lanes or how long to stop at each streetlight (Quinn, 1978). Incrementalism is therefore a method of working by adding to a project using many small (often unplanned), incremental changes instead of a few (extensively planned) large jumps. Logical incrementalism implies that the steps in the process are sensible (Quinn, 1978).

In public policy, incrementalism refers to the method of change by which many small policy changes are enacted over time in order to create a larger broad based policy change. This was the theoretical policy of rationality developed by Lindblom, referred to as 'mixed scanning'. It was viewed as a middle way between the rational actor model and bounded rationality, as both long term goal driven policy rationality and satisficing were not seen as adequate (Lindblom, 1959).

2.3.2.3 The Mixed scanning model

The mixed scanning approach to planning tries to incorporate the positive aspects of the rational and the incremental planning model (Mitchell, 2002). According to Larsen (2003) it is based on bounded instrumental rationality. Many incremental decisions lead to fundamental changes, which has a cumulative effect that is influenced by fundamental decisions (Mitchell, 2002). The planner has to reduce the complexity of the world to an easier model, without over doing it, by being a bounded rational being; mixed-scanning is much less detailed and demanding than rationalism, but broader and more comprehensive than incrementalism (Larsen, 2003; Mitchell, 2002; Etzioni, 1989).

Mixed scanning provides a particular procedure for the collection of information, a strategy about the allocation of resources and guidelines for the relations between the two (Etzioni, 1967). It uses both fundamental decisions and incremental decisions; fundamental decisions are made by exploring the main alternatives, unlike rationalism details and specifications are omitted, to indicate a feasible overview; Incremental decisions are made, but within contexts set by fundamental decisions (Etzioni, 1967; Etzioni, 1989).

Strategic and functional participation takes place during a consensus-building process, in which the civil society is active (Kinyashi, 2006). Planning is carried out more decentralised than in the rational planning process. The population as well as agencies are involved in planning; objectives are set under consultations with the public, incremental decisions are made under public consultation and not many fundamental decisions are made that mark a huge departure from the existing situation (Kinyashi, 2006; Mitchell, 2002). By recognising the role of and involvement of other role-players besides planners, a platform was created for incorporating public participation as propagated in the Synoptic model.

2.3.2.4 The Synoptic planning model

Public participation was first introduced into this model and it was generally integrated into the system process described above. However, the problem was that the idea of a single public interest still dominated attitudes, effectively devaluing the importance of participation because it suggests the idea that the public interest is relatively easy to find and only requires the most minimal form of participation (Lane, 2005; Wilson, 1989).

Synoptic planning required minimal participation, and with the increase in democratic governance, came the theme of pluralism, which focused primarily on the inclusion of the public (Hillier & Healey, 2008).

2.3.3 The pluralist phase: planning as communicative model

Lindblom (1959), Davidoff (1965) and other critics of planning suggested that government actions should not be guided by long-range planning or attempts at comprehensive coordination, but by increased reliance on existing political bargaining processes (Becker, 1958; Wolf, 1979). Davidoff's (1965) encouragement of tension and contentious discussion was critical for pluralism; he listed the benefits of utilising pluralist planning as opposed to unitary planning which included:

- It better informs the public of their choices,
- It forces competition between agencies and organisations, thereby increasing the quality of the work,
- It gives outside organisations a chance to create their own alternatives to government' plans (Davidoff, 1965).

Pluralism is divided into five models of planning theory, including advocacy planning, transactive, critical theory, bargaining and collaborative planning (Hall, 2001; Lane, 2005).

2.3.3.1 The Advocacy planning model

The term advocacy planning was coined by the American planner Paul Davidoff in 1965, meaning architectural design and planning for powerless, inarticulate inner-city groups, notably when resisting destructive schemes by planning authorities, government agencies, or similar bodies. Among its early practitioners were ARCH (Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem), a group formed by the architect C. Richard Hatch in 1964 (Curl, 2006).

The argument of advocacy planning is based on three ideas that Davidoff considered ineffective aspects of planning: (i) the first being unitary planning, where a single agency prepares a plan with little or no input from the public; (ii) second is the traditional planning commission, the planner's role is to be an advocate and three groups should be part of the planning process. These include political parties, special interest groups and ad-hoc protest organisations. (iii) Lastly there was too much focus on the physical aspects of urban areas, the true meaning of structures and space comes into effect when it is examined in relation to social and economic conditions (Davidoff P. , 1965; Peattie, 1968).

In advocacy planning there is no set sequence of events. An advocacy planner's main activities are informing ordinary citizens about planning issues, working out suggestions together with ordinary citizens, representing the latter before official bodies such as the city administration, promoting and chairing discussion processes. Advocacy planning is mostly employed at local or regional level. Usually the advocacy planners are available throughout; examples of this are the local advice bureaus and the youth and environmental ombudsmen in Vienna (ÖGUT, 2011).

Advocacy planning should not lead to ordinary citizens being pushed into passive roles or treated like children; instead, it should help them to stand up for their own interests and should make it easier to compensate for possible discrimination (ÖGUT, 2011). Advocacy planning introduced the element of public involvement into planning, focus was on socio-economic conditions and transactive planning followed in these footsteps (Friedmann, 1987; ÖGUT, 2011).

2.3.3.2 The Transactive planning model

Transactive planning was offered as an alternative to comprehensive rational planning. The transactive planning model is based on communicative rationality. This type of rationality is based on human communication and dialogue between planners and the people affected by planning (Kinyashi, 2006; Larson, Sulkin, & Jones, 2003). Assumptions in transactive planning are that there exists interest within society and that an interpersonal dialogue triggers a mutual learning process leading to an intensive communication about measures. In this model planners act as supporters and participants among many (Mitchell, 2002; Forester J. , 1994). Equipped with technical knowledge, communicative and group-psychological skills, planners are able to reduce the disparities between the participants and reach consensus (Kinyashi, 2006). Planners are the centre of systematic knowledge; they also mediate between different interests and communicate information between the actors in the planning process (Larson, Sulkin, & Jones, 2003).

With the above as background, the transactive model of planning assumes that plans should be made in the context of dialogue between planning experts and beneficiaries. It further assumes that those planning beneficiaries, regardless of social class and education, are the best experts about their own lives and can make informed decisions about the plans that can best meet their needs (Friedmann, 1987) (Hardina, Middleton, Montana, & Simpson, 2007). Planners must show how to evaluate fact, they should educate imaginations, they should cultivate appreciation, good judgement and empower (Forester J. , 1994). This model has its origins in the transformative model of community organisation associated with Paulo Freire

(1970), and indicated the staff- and constituent role of the expert, the public can be recipients of knowledge or they can engage in the problem-posing approach to become active participants (Hardina, Middleton, Montana, & Simpson, 2007; Freire, 1970).

Within this model of planning, the population brings a central contribution to the planning process with their traditional knowledge and experiences. They plan and steer actively (Kinyashi, 2006). In this way planning is carried out in a decentralised manner. In an open atmosphere the expertise of the planner and the experimental knowledge of the population are combined and transformed into shared measures (Kinyashi, 2006). This type of planning process is typically characterised by:

- interpersonal dialogue and mutual learning (Mitchell, 2002),
- a central focus on individual and organisational development (Mitchell, 2002)(Larson, Sulkin, & Jones, 2003),
- partnership building,
- incorporation of traditional knowledge(Mitchell, 2002).

Planning in this model is considered a less scientific-technical activity than in the comprehensive rational planning model. In fact, planning is considered as a '*face-to-face*' interaction between planners and the local population affected by plans. Thus, planning is more a subjective undertaking than an objective process. The central concept of transactive planning is the practice of dialogue (Forester, 1989).

With transactive planning there was an increase in the dialogue between planners and the public, the public's socio-economic conditions were voiced by them, but through critical theory the focus to include everyone, especially the marginalised, was emphasised (Forester, 1980; Forester, 1994).

2.3.3.3 The Critical Theory model

The foundations of the Critical theory of society are founded in the early philosophical manuscripts of Karl Marx (1963). Critical theory has a narrow and a broad meaning in philosophy and in the history of the social sciences. Critical Theory in the narrow sense designates several generations of German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School (Johnson, 1995; Forester, 1980). According to these Frankfurt School theorists, a "critical" theory may be distinguished from a "traditional" theory according to a specific practical purpose: a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation, "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer, 1972). Because such theories aim to explain and transform *all*

the circumstances that enslave human beings, many “critical theories” in the broader sense have been developed. They have emerged in connection with the many social movements that identify varied dimensions of the domination of human beings in modern societies. In both the broad and the narrow senses, however, a critical theory provides the descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms (Bohman, 2010).

While modernist critical theory concerns itself with “forms of authority and injustice that accompanied the evolution of industrial and corporate capitalism as a political-economic system,” postmodern critical theory politicises social problems “by situating them in historical and cultural contexts, to implicate themselves in the process of collecting and analyzing data, and to relativize their findings” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Meaning itself is seen as unstable due to the rapid transformation in social structures and as a result the focus of research is centered on local manifestations rather than broad generalisations.

Core concepts of critical theory include: (1) That critical social theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity (i.e. how it came to be configured at a specific point in time), and (2) That critical theory should improve understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including geography, economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and psychology (Forester, 1993). This postmodern view of planning is further characterised by what is called, the *crisis of representation*, which rejects the idea that a researcher’s work is considered an “objective depiction of a stable other” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Instead, in their research and writing, many postmodern scholars have adopted “alternatives that encourage reflection about the ‘politics and poetics’ of their work. In these accounts, the embodied, collaborative, dialogic, and improvisational aspects of qualitative research are clarified” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Often, the term "critical theory" is appropriated when an author, perhaps most notably Michel Foucault (1964) works within sociological terms yet attacks the social or human sciences (thus attempting to remain "outside" those frames of enquiry). Jean Baudrillard (1986) has also been described as a critical theorist to the extent that he was an unconventional and critical sociologist; this appropriation is similarly casual, holding little or no relation to the Frankfurt School.

The critical theory aimed to include everyone in the planning process which is not always possible. Therefore planning as bargaining attempted to introduce a particular theory that was more practical and implementable (Fisher, 2001).

2.3.3.4 Planning as bargaining

In the UN Habitat document *Building Bridges Through Participatory Planning* (2001), Fred Fisher, president of the International Development Institute for Organisation and Management, identifies Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) as the leading school of participatory planning. He identifies Paulo Freire and Kurt Lewin as key pioneers, as well as claiming planning fathers Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford as participatory planners. Freire's (1970) belief that poor and exploited people can, and should be, enabled to analyse their own reality was a fundamental inspiration for the participatory planning movement. Lewin's (1935) relevance lay in his integration of democratic leadership, group dynamics, experiential learning, action research, and open systems theory, and his efforts to overcome racial and ethnic injustices (Goldman & Abbott, 2004; Fisher, 2001), this was more action based. In general, Participatory Rural Appraisal PRA has been supplanted by Participatory Learning and Action (PLA), which emphasises the links between the participatory process and action. Related work has been done on *community-based participatory research* (CBPR) (Fisher, 2001).

Participatory planning is an urban planning paradigm that emphasises involving the entire community in the strategic and management processes of urban planning; or, community-level planning processes, urban or rural. It is often considered as part of community development (Lefevre, Kolsteren, De Wael, Byekwaso, & Beghin, 2000). Robert Chambers, whom Fisher considered a leading icon of the movement, defines PRA according to the following principles:

- Facilitating investigation, analysis, presentation and learning by local people themselves, so they generate and own the outcomes and also learn,
- Facilitators continuously and critically examine their own behavior,
- Taking responsibility for what is done, rather than, for instance, relying on the authority of manuals or on rigid rules; and
- Involves the wide range of techniques now available, from chatting across the fence to photocopies and e-mail (Goldman & Abbott, 2004).

Planning as bargaining involved the public and acknowledged that learning from local peoples is a considerable part of planning. Collaborative planning took this idea and not only can one learn from the public, but the public can also learn and benefit from the collaboration (Healey, 1997).

2.3.3.5 Planning as a collaborative process

The focus of communicative planning is the constructing of knowledge and meaning through the social act of communication. Collaborative planning draws upon this idea, as well as the work of postmodernist philosopher Jürgen Habermas and sociologist Anthony Giddens; the focus being to foster inclusiveness in the planning process through active participation (Salmons, 2007; Healey, 1997).

The emergence of collaborative planning is a logical extension of the advocacy and alternative dispute resolution paradigms (Tewdr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998). Like advocacy planning, collaborative planning acknowledges that there is competing interests and, like mediation, collaborative planning acknowledges that these different interests must be engaged in a negotiation process to seek mutually acceptable outcomes. The principal difference between collaborative planning and more conventional participatory methods is that collaborative planning uses a higher level of collaboration by directly delegating control of the planning process to stakeholders who work together in face-to-face negotiations to reach a consensus agreement ideally in advance of disputes (Carr, Selin, & Schuett, 1998; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000; Duffy, Roseland, & Gunton, 1996; Susskind, Van der Wansem, & Ciccarelli, 2002; Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003)

Collaboration implies that tribal, state, and local governments, other federal agencies, and the public will be involved well before the planning process is officially initiated, rather than only at specific points stipulated by regulation and policy (Tewdr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998; Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002). According to Habermas (1984) participants in the planning process must accept some common principles to allow a communicative exchange to take place. Conversations imply the exchange of knowledge and understanding of claims for attention (Healey, 1997). Their performance requires some form of trust and preparedness for some degree of mutual understanding. If the conversation is one-sided, then the hearer is dominated and marginalised. This type of planning should be based on principles of honesty, sincerity, and openness to people's views and to available knowledge, then these truths can transcend the relativism of different perspectives (Habermas, 1993).

The following guidelines can be used for planning in a collaborative fashion, each stakeholder in the planning process should:

- recognise their role and accept their accountability,
- there must be inclusion and
- acknowledgement of the interest of distant groups, individuals, industry, corporations and other agencies (Allmendinger & Tewdr-Jones, 2002).

Collaboration should be used to enhance and complement standard public involvement and it must be recognised that collaborative processes cannot be effective everywhere, for instance when a process has a prescribed length and collaborative efforts become unacceptably lengthy (NWCOS, 2005).

There are three different viewpoints of collaborative/communicative planning as presented by Habermas, Foucault and a combination of both (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002):

(i) Habermas

Habermas's utopian world is oriented towards an ideal speech situation where validity claims are based on consensus amongst equal participants, and the negative, distorting effects of power are removed (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Friedmann compared this ideal of a 'perfect polity' to a graduate university seminar, where everybody is knowledgeable about the subject and have an equal opportunity to participate (Friedmann, 1987).

In *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas analyses the displacement of discourse of communicative action. This implies that through argumentation, a consensus will be reached that shifts from the individual to the social. Discourse belongs to the category strategic action which is success-oriented rather than understanding-oriented action, this implies that a decision will be reached that will be successful for the community as a whole and will change over time, not necessarily suiting one persons at a particular time. Differences in the outcome of consensus is becoming increasingly more dependent on state power, media and market forces influencing the public, rather than their own argumentative deliberation (Habermas, 1984).

Habermas's definitions of discourse ethics and communicative rationality, and their procedural requirements are based on a procedural as opposed to substantive rationality, which means outside economic action are not supposed to influence the deliberation (Habermas, 1993). Habermas is a universalistic, 'top-down' moralist as concerns process: the rules for correct process are normatively given in advance, in the form of the requirements for the ideal speech situation. Conversely, as regards content, Habermas is a 'bottom-up' situationalist: what is right and true in a given communicative process is determined solely by the participants in that process.

The basic weakness of Habermas's project seems to be its lack of agreement between ideal and reality, between intentions and their implementation, and is rooted in an insufficient conception of power. The argument does not take into effect economic action and personal agendas of people, which makes it not really implementable and different from the reality of

today. Habermas himself observes that discourse cannot by itself ensure that the conditions for discourse ethics and democracy are met (Tewdr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998).

Habermas gave an argument that is isolated from reality and Foucault included the aspect of power to the argument and how it influences the outcome of communication (Tewdr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998).

(ii) Foucault

Habermas operates within a perspective of law and sovereignty which contrasts with that of Foucault (1980) who finds this conception of power 'by no means adequate.' Foucault (1980) says about his own 'analytics of power' that it can be constituted only if it frees itself completely from [this] representation of power that could be termed..."juridico-discursive"...a certain image of power-law, of power-sovereignty." It is in this connection that Foucault (1980) made his famous argument to 'cut off the head of the king' in political analysis and replace it by a decentred understanding of power; planners and the public have power and interest and this influences the reason why they participate.

According to Foucault and others like Nietzsche and Derrida, communication is at all times penetrated by power (Foucault, 1988). For Foucault communication is more typically characterised by non-rational rhetoric and maintenance of interests than by freedom from domination and consensus-seeking. In rhetoric, 'validity' is established via the mode of communication such as eloquence, hidden control, rationalisation, charisma, using dependency relations between participants, rather than through rational arguments concerning the matter at hand.

By combining the inclusion of power of Foucault, while maintaining the communicative rationality of Habermas, a combination of the arguments was introduced.

(iii) Conjoined

The basic question being raised here is whether one can meaningfully distinguish rationality and power from each other in communication and whether rationality can be viewed in isolation from power.

Hillier, like Healey, seeks to resolve matters by combining Foucauldian power awareness with Habermasian communicative rationality (Hillier 1993). Her aim is to create the idealised Habermasian planning arena, where "rational debate and negotiation are possible between proponents of different truths, tellers of different stories...." The idea is to pre-empt conflict through negotiated agreement rather than establishing it" (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). It

seems that the point of linking Foucault and Habermas is to remove the effects of negative power on the planning process. Yet Hillier's aim, like Healey's is the empowerment of disadvantaged interests, which surely requires an acknowledgment of power relations, and the possibility of power being used in a 'positive' way. Ultimately, it is not clear how the 'actualisation of Habermasian communicative action' which appears to depend on removing power from the gaze of planners and theorists, is to be achieved (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002).

The key thinkers in the communicative planning paradigm, discussed above, all focus on communication as the primary aspect in successful planning but differ quite radical in terms of key elements of the theory. Furthermore these authors have different viewpoints on the role of the planner and the public. A summary of these differences are portrayed in Table 2 underneath.

Collaborative theory, unsurprisingly, tends to focus on communicative elements of planning. This focus risks overemphasising the importance of key communicative events in planning, such as public meetings, whilst failing to capture the importance of non-communicative processes and actions. Communication is part of politics, but much of politics takes place outside communication. The reorientation from Habermasian towards Foucauldian planning theory – or planning analytics - would involve detailed genealogies of actual planning in different contexts which would allow a re-imagination of planning in the light of conflict. Foucault takes us towards a different kind of empirical work (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Many of the methods are familiar to social researchers, but there are important differences in the overall approach:

- the researcher is equipped with a language and theoretical analysis of power and its techniques and strategies which guides the researcher through the studies,
- research is based on richly contextualised, detailed case studies,
- the relations between power and rationality are a central focus,
- the focus moves beyond communicative events,
- the language is of conflict rather than communication.

Planning processes and events are written as the playing out of strategies and conflicts rather than debates or arguments (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). Lastly, there is no assumption of the key role of the planner as the facilitator of a rational, communicative/collaborative process. This can be the role of some planners, but others choose to work in different ways, such as participant of the communication process (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). The benefits of

collaborative planning are that better decisions are made, resources are leveraged more effectively and relationships are improved.

Through the viewpoints of Habermas and Foucault, the role of the planner and the public are described differently as one is based on communicative action and the other being based on discourse as summarised in the table below.


Table 2 - Summary of viewpoints (Source: Author's own construction from Foucault (1980), Habermas (1984) and Flyvberg & Richardson (2002))

	Habermas	Foucault	Conjoined
Key Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on communicative action as inherent ethical human nature. • Discourses are the medium to clarify validity claims. • Communicative action is the expression of rationality. • People are social beings who interact for survival and prosperity. • Rational discourse depends on the ideal speech situation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on discourse as societal process. • Discourses are discontinuous, risky and overlapping. • Lack of rationality in discourses. • Power is the reason why people participate. • Discourse depends on social, technical and other capital. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on combining power awareness with communicative rationality. • There is no escape from power. • Conflict is not always positive or negative, but is part of freedom. • Compromise is motivated by justice and mutual respect.
Role of the Planner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Include everybody in the discourse. • Everybody should get the same chance to contribute. • Planners should shape an autonomous environment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create an environment free from domination, more democratic and a strong civil society, by understanding the realities of power. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Include everybody in an autonomous environment, by understanding the realities of power.
Role of the Public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public should participate in discourses. • Participants should mean what they say. • Communication must be free from external and internal constraints. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To become more knowledgeable, as knowledge is power. • To criticize institutions that is not neutral and democratic. • The public should become strong through participation, organizing, and movements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public should become more knowledgeable to participate more effectively in discourses. • Communication should be free from constraints and remain democratic. • Institutions that are not democratic should be disparaged to see the advantages of public participation.

2.4 Synthesis

Planning theory, of late, provides for an increase in public participation. In the early years of planning there was no participation from the public, planning was seen as the design of plans to imprint on the physical environment. With the change to the synoptic theme in planning theory came a limited form of public participation, previous experience was used and incorporated into planning and a more future-based planning came into effect, the public were consulted in consensus building. When the theme of pluralism came into play, planning become more concerned about the public environment, it understands the benefits of public participation and also incorporates a variety of inputs (social and economic).

Table 3 - Increase in participation in planning theory (Source: Author's own)

	THEME	THEORY	KEY AUTHOR
 Public Participation	Pluralism	Collaborative	Healey (1992)
		Bargaining	Freire (1970)
		Critical theory	Forester (1980)
		Transactive	Friedmann (1987)
		Advocacy	Davidoff (1965)
	Synoptic	Mixed-Scanning	Etzioni (1967)
		Incrementalism	Lindblom (1959)
		Rational planning	Faludi (1973)
	Blueprint	Keeble's town forms	Keeble (1952)
		Broadacre City	Wright (1932)
		The Contemporary City	Le Corbusier (1929)
		The Garden City	Howard (1902)

2.5 Conclusion

Planning theory has gone through many phases and movements up until the present. There are similarities that come into play and even though there are some theories that seem archaic, elements of the theories can still be relevant today; there are a variety of projects that only consult the public on certain phases and there are some projects that never consult the public. In recent years, a paradigm shift from advocacy- to collaborative/communicative planning was made and this theory is richly debated. Democracy encourages communication and collaboration and this theory sees that through a combination of elements and contributors the best form of planning can be obtained. It is also concluded that there is no concise level of participation that is relevant in these theories, some encourage a low level of participation and others like communicative planning allow for a higher level of participation. Planning theories describe different viewpoints to better the environment for people, recent theories included participation of the public to better their own environment. Participation is deemed to be a significant building block of human development and will further be discussed in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter 3 –Public participation: a human development perspective

3.1 Introduction

Public participation began with the humanistic approach, but was not prominent until civic humanism developed in Renaissance Florence (Hooker, *World Civilizations*, 1996). The civic humanists agreed on the importance of eloquence, but they stressed political science and political action over everything else (Hooker, *World Civilizations*, 1996). Civic humanism is a political and philosophical orientation emphasising the value and importance of the practical and moral virtues that may be inculcated in and passed along by citizens through their active participation in the political life of their polity. Its central aim is to defend and promote the qualities believed as necessary for communities to effectively, responsibly, and independently govern them; those qualities include the virtues of patience, tolerance, patriotism, self-sacrifice, duty, a commitment to law and forgiveness. Civic humanism is closely entwined with ideals of education and moral formation that are most often associated with the humanist beliefs of Renaissance thinkers, as well as with the classical republican ideas of ancient Greece and Rome (Kurian, 2011).

Public participation became popular in the 1990s with the increasing focus on the role of citizenship in society and several parallel shifts in human development (Gaventa, 2002). The focus of participatory development, long rooted in concern with participation at the project level (often apart from the state) began to turn towards political participation and increasing poor and marginalised people's influence over the wider decision-making processes which affect their lives (Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999; Cornwall, 2000). Alongside this shift was the rise of the 'good governance' agenda and its concerns with increasing the responsiveness of governments to citizens' voices (Goetz & Gaventa, 2001). The rights-based approach opened further spaces for a discussion of citizenship. Shaped by parallel moves within both human rights and development thought, participation itself has been re-framed as a fundamental human and citizenship right, and a prerequisite for making other rights claims (Ferguson, 1999). Representing a level of convergence, these shifts have opened spaces for the participation and good governance agendas to meet under concepts of 'citizenship participation', 'participatory governance' or 'participatory citizenship'.

Public participation is increasingly important in development processes like town planning with its significant role in enhancing democracy (Alexander, 2008: 7) and can address social and economic inequality by means of inclusive planning processes (Cash & Swatuk, 2011: 55). The aim of this chapter is to determine where and how public participation fits into development theory; this will be done by considering the context of development, different development theories and what is understood with public participation (definition, typologies and levels).

3.2 Contextualising development

3.2.1 Development defined

In general terms, “development” means an “event constituting a new stage in a changing situation” or the process of change *per se*. If not qualified, “development” is implicitly intended as something positive or desirable, a good change (Chambers, 1997). When referring to a society or to a socio-economic system, “development” usually means improvement, either in the general situation of the system, or in some of its constituent elements. Development may occur due to some deliberate action carried out by single agents or by some authority pre-ordered to achieve improvement, to favourable circumstances in both. Development policies and private investment, in all their forms, are examples of such actions (Bellu, 2011; Potter, 2002).

The World Bank stated in its 1991 World Development Report that,

“The challenge of development... is to improve the quality of life. Especially in the world’s poor countries, a better quality of life generally calls for higher incomes – but it involves much more. It encompasses as ends in themselves better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer culture life”(Boateng, Heeks, Molla, & Hinson, 2008; World Bank, 1991, p. 4)

3.2.2 Human development

Human development is a process of increasing people’s choices and realising human potential. These choices can be infinite and change over time. Human development has two sides; the formation of human capabilities and the use people make of their acquired capabilities. Human development combines the production and distribution of commodities and the expansion and use of human capabilities; it is not just concerned with basic needs satisfaction, but also with human development as a participatory and dynamic process (United Nations Development Programme, 2007; United Nations Development Programme, 2002).

This move towards human or people centred development became widely accepted with several interrelated theories and strategies of development (Boateng, Heeks, Molla, & Hinson, 2008). Popular theories and strategies sharing this perspective include ‘another development’, sustainable development, human development (from Amartya Sen’s capabilities approach (Kuklys & Robeyns, 2004)) and alternative development, and strategies and policies include the bottom-up and participatory approach (Thomas, 2000, pp. 32-34; Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 1999, p.

67). Another development focused on self-reliant process of meeting needs, becoming ecologically sensitive and promoting public participation, while alternative development is concerned with redefining the goals of development through participatory and people-centred practices (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 1999). As such, this research will approach the topic of public participation in town planning from a developmental perspective.

Various theories exist that view development according to different socio-economic aspects. The following section will give an overview of these theories.

3.3 Development theories

Development theories analyse socio-economic phenomena of development and underdevelopment. They should also be based on problem analyses and offer opportunities for development strategies (Todaro & Smith, 2008).

The values of people in a society are not identical and not in complete variance (Toye, 1995). Development theories tend to be more normative, they do not only seek to analyse the perspective of development, but also suggest the seeming better way in which development should occur in order to create a positive change (Hettne, 1995, p. 12; Thomas, 2000, p. 42).

Development theory is very complex, but to understand public participation in development, different theories should be investigated to find where participatory development fits in. These theories include capitalism and colonialism as foundation, modernisation theory, neo-colonialism, the dependency paradigm and the humanist paradigm.

3.3.1 Capitalism and colonialism as foundation influences in development theory

3.3.1.1 Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system in which investment in and ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth is made and maintained primarily by private individuals or corporations, which trade in a free market of competition (The American Heritage, 2005).

The Models of Capitalism Approach (MCA) identified two broad models of capitalism:

1. The Anglo-Saxon un-coordinated model

This model is not influenced by trade unions, social programs do not play a role, capital is easy to secure and is characterised by high levels of inequality (Ancochea, 2006).

2. The Coordinated model

This model can be state-led, has sectoral coordination with national wage bargaining in some cases. Social services are important, trade unions and active employment policies are in place in (Ancochea, 2006).

Capitalism became the dominant economic force in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century and led to many elements of development policy in the 20th century. Capitalism shifted the focus from agriculture to industrial development, unskilled factory workers earned more money than their field working counterparts (Conteras, 2010). The era of the 18th century was characterised by the force to bring in new regions into the capitalism paradigm, this was done through the process of colonialism (Conteras, 2010).

3.3.1.2 Colonialism

Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. The practice of colonialism usually refers to the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers, while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin (Stanford University, 2012). Two different types of colonialism are distinguished:

- **Settler Colonialism**

Settler colonialism is a policy of conquering a land to send settlers in order to shape its demography; it involves large scale migration, often motivated by religious, political or economic reasons (Surhone, Timplendon, & Marseken, 2010; Wolfe, 2006).

- **Exploitation Colonialism**

Exploitation colonialism is a policy of conquering distant lands not with the intention to supplant its population, but rather to exploit its natural and human resources. This category includes trading posts and where colonists are used for political and economic administration, but would rely on indigenous resources for labour and material (Surhone, Timplendon, & Marseken, 2010; Wolfe, 2006).

A recent generalisation shows that territories with relatively high levels of development before colonialism, declined during and after the colonial period, whereas those with lower levels of pre-colonial development improved their relative position (Acemoglu, 2002; Lange, Mahoney, & Vom Hau, 2006). There was no reversal in terms of social development, the economically and politically developed pre-colonial societies remained poor social performers, whereas the less economically and politically developed pre-colonial societies continued to be better social performers (Lange, Mahoney, & Vom Hau, 2006).

These two influences underlay most of the development theories in the sense that the developmental state of countries is based on their capital and most developing countries were subject to colonialism.

3.3.2 Modernisation theory

The concept of modernisation theories has its origin in the classical evolutionary explanation of social change (Giddens, 1991; Tipps, 1973; Smith, 2003). Modernisation characterised the social, economic and political systems of Western Europe and North America that had developed between the 17th and 19th century and spread to other European countries, South America, Asian and African continents through the 19th and 20th century (Eisenstadt, 1966, p. 1). It became a dominant proposition of development in the 1950s and 1960s, pointing out the differences between the developed or rich nations and the less developed or poor nations of the world. Academic proponents of the theory promoted it by examining the socio-economic conditions of becoming a “modern” society. The terms less developed, underdeveloped, and developing countries, also synonymous to Third World, implied that some appreciable “degree of economic and social backwardness” existed in these countries (Toye, 1995, p. 43). The root cause of this underdevelopment was the focus on traditional modes of production, and the lack of skills, know-how, and poor tradition of research and exploitation of technology (Soeftestad & Sein, 2003, p. 64). The poor countries were characterised as being traditional or having primitive values, comprising of an orientation to the past, strong kin relationships, superstition, and fatalism (Boateng, Heeks, Molla, & Hinson, 2008; Webster, 1990, pp. 49-50).

This approach was propagated by prominent theorists such as Rostow (1960), Lipset (1959) and McClelland (1967) who also played important influences in planning. Rostow gave stages of modernisation, which is seen as the most significant in this theory and will be discussed in the following section.

3.3.2.1 Key thinkers about modernisation: Rostow

Walter Rostow’s (1960) concept of economic growth included both characteristics of the modernisation theory; frequent social change and the idea of development. Rostow argued that within a society there is sequential economic steps in its modernisation; these steps are linear and towards an evolutionary higher development (Rostow, 1960). Rostow identified five growth stages namely the traditional society, transitional stage, take off, drive to majority and high mass consumption.

- **The Traditional Society** – The economic system is stationary and dominated by agricultural subsistence activity. The output is consumed by producers and is not traded. Production is labour intensive using only limited quantities of capital. Technology is limited and resource allocation is determined by traditional methods of production. There is low vertical and social mobility and society is characterized as a hierarchical structure (Rostow, 1960).
- **Transitional Stage (Preconditions for Take-off)** - At this stage the rates of investment are getting higher and they initiate a dynamic development. Increased specialization generates surpluses for trading. Industrial revolution results in economic development. There is an emergence of transport infrastructure to support trade. A strong central government forms that encourages private enterprise (Rostow, 1960).
- **Take Off** – this stage is characterised by dynamic economic growth that is self-sustained, which requires no exogenous inputs. Industrialisation increases with workers switching from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector. The level of investment reaches over 10% of GNP. Political and Social institutions emerge that support industrialisation. The growth is self-sustaining as investment leads to increasing incomes, this in turn lead to more savings that will finance further investment (Rostow, 1960).
- **Drive to Maturity** – economic and technical progress dominates this stage, with continual investments of 40 to 60 percent. New forms of industries like neo-technical industries emerge that supplements the paleo-technical industries. Social and economic prosperity increases, the economy is producing a wide range of goods and services and there is less reliance on imports (Rostow, 1960).
- **High Mass Consumption** – The level of economic activity is very high. Technology is extensively used, but its expansion slows. The service sector becomes more dominant, with most of society living in prosperity and abundance of choices. Urbanisation is complete, multi-nationals start to emerge and there is a larger interest in social welfare. Income for the majority of people transcends basic needs. (Rostow, 1960).

3.3.2.2 Criticism of the modernisation theory

Rostow (1960) suggest that capital is needed for a country to move up from its traditional stage; in many developing countries in Africa, there have been large injections of cash, yet much of the

population are still in the traditional stage. According to Rostow (1960) there is also a short time span between take off and maturity, but time spans of growth is not this simplistic, due to the fact that developing countries learn from economically established countries. War and economic sanctions were not taking into account and can drive the model to a halt or even backwards in extreme cases; the most disabling assumption was that economic progress is a linear system (Itagaki, 1963; Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 1999).

3.3.3 Neo-Colonialism

Neo-colonialism is the geopolitical practice of using capitalism, business globalisation, and cultural imperialism to control a country, and in spite of the looseness of the term, neo-colonialism originated with Ghana's first post-independence president Kwame Nkrumah (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998; Young, 2001).

3.3.3.1 Key thinkers on Neo-Colonialism: Kwame Nkrumah

Neo-colonialism is based upon the principle of breaking up former large united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable States which are incapable of independent development and must rely upon the former imperial power for defence and even internal security. Their economic and financial systems are linked, as in colonial days, with those of the former colonial ruler (Nkrumah, 1965).

Nkrumah made the following points on neo-colonialism in 1965:

- It continues to actively control the affairs of the newly independent state,
- It is mostly manifested through economic and monetary measures,
- These states may also become subjected to imperial powers by new actors, which can include the United States or international financial and monetary organizations,
- Because of nuclear parity between the superpowers, the conflict arise in the form of limited wars, often waged in neo-colonial territories,
- As the ruling elites pay constant respect to the neo-colonial masters, the population's needs are often ignored, leaving issues such as education, development and poverty unresolved (Yew, 2002; Nkrumah, 1965).

Robert Young saw neo-colonialism as being advance first through the development and dependency theory and then through the critical development theory (Young, 2001, pp. 49-56; Yew, 2002). Classification of economic growth, the ways economic output is measured, and the

progressive linear model of development have been so deeply entrenched that neo-colonised states have no choice but to be part of the Western notion of development (Yew, 2002).

3.3.3.2 Criticism of Neo-Colonialism

Nkrumah does not provide a solution to neo-colonialism (Yew, 2002). Nkrumah (1965) himself exposes his views that neo-colonialism is a potentially self-defeating project; this defeat will come through postcolonial resistance and revolt, when neo-colonialism reaches a culmination in the peripheries, but indirectly destabilize the neo-colonial centre that practices it (Yew, 2002). The notion of neo-colonial actions in the periphery cannot be easily explained, development needs to incorporate other dimensions like culture, gender, society and politics (Yew, 2002; Young, 2001).

While neo-colonialism focuses much on control, an alternative view focuses more on relationships between nations, this view is known as the dependency theory.

3.3.4 The Dependency theory

The father of dependency theory is Raul Prebisch, an Argentinean who headed the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Chirot & Hall, 1982). The theory originated with two papers published in 1949, one by Hans Singer and one by Raul Prebisch where they observed that the terms of trade for underdeveloped countries relative to the developed countries had deteriorated over time and over time the Singer-Prebisch Theory developed into the Dependency theory.

3.3.4.1 Key thinkers in the Dependency theory: Hans Singer & Raul Prebisch

Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the force behind dependency relationships (Frank, 1972, p. 3; Ferraro, 2008). The dependency theory holds that there are a small number of developed nations that are continually fed by developing nations, at the expense of the developing nations. The developing nations act as colonial dependencies, sending their wealth to the developed nations, with minimal compensation. The developing nations are actively kept in a subservient role, often through economic force by instituting sanctions or free trade policies attached to loans (Ferraro, 2008).

The central propositions which form the core of the dependency theory include:

- Underdevelopment is conditionally different from being undevelopment; undevelopment is when resources are not used, underdevelopment is a situation where resources are being actively used in such a way that it benefits the dominant state and not the state where the resources are found.
- Countries are considered poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system, only as the producers of raw materials, or as cheap labour. They were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.
- Dependency theory suggests that alternative uses of resources are preferable to the usage patterns imposed by the dominant state e.g. food for export must first be used to reduce the domestic rate of malnutrition.
- Dependency theory relies on the belief that a clear national economic interest exists, which should be articulated for each country by addressing the needs of the poor.
- Dependency theorists argue that elites in dependent states maintain a dependent relationship, because their own private interest coincides with the interests of the dominant states (Ferraro, 2008; Frank, 1972).

Issues that arise in the dependency theory:

- The success of an advanced industrial economy does not serve as a model for the current developing economies. Dependency theory suggests that the success of richer countries was a specific episode in global history; one dominated by exploitative colonial relationships and is highly unlikely for poor countries.
- Dependency theory disagrees with the central distributive mechanism of the neoclassical model; economic activity is not easily disseminated in poor countries; that is why in the dependency theory the market alone is not a sufficient distributive mechanism.
- Dependency theorists make an important distinction between economic growth and economic development; there is a greater concern whether the whole nation is benefiting from economic activity. Therefore, more emphasis is placed on social indices like life expectancy, literacy, education, infant mortality etc.
- Dependent states should attempt to pursue policies of self-reliance. Global economic integration is not necessarily the best choice for poor countries. Global interactions should improve the social and economic welfare of the whole nation (Ferraro, 2008; Frank, 1972).

3.3.4.2 Criticism of the dependency theory

There is a lack of competition by subsidising industries and preventing outside imports. This causes a lack of incentive to improve products, services, efficiency and research new innovations (Sanchez, 2003). Because there are a number of interpretations given to dependency, one cannot speak of a theory of dependency, but rather an approach. The reason for the many distortions is because the original theory was not clear regarding several points (Cardoso, 1977). The largest weakness of the theory is its lack of empirical grounds; it is patently unscientific, according to the criteria of philosopher Karl Popper, the theory is not observed the same throughout the world (Sanchez, 2003).

The dependency theory leans toward economic aspects that in time will influence the social aspects of development, whereas the humanist paradigm focuses more on the social aspects, which will in turn influence the economic aspects.

The theories as described above have changed from purely economic in nature to a more socio-economic approach to development. In the dependency theory it moved to an approach where the effect of economic aspects has led to change in the social fabric of society.

3.3.5 The Humanist paradigm

3.3.5.1 Origin

A perspective of Elias and Merriam (1980) states that humanism dates even further back than the previously discussed development theories, it is as old as human civilisation and as modern as the twentieth century, humans are capable of making significant personal choices within the development of public participation in town planning. Humanism is an important contributor to constraints imposed by heredity, personal history and environment (Elias & Merriam, 1980). In the Renaissance humanism initially only defined a concern for humanity. It was an intellectual movement, the basic training of the humanist was to speak well and write. During this period humanism was a body of literary knowledge and linguistic skill, and not an ideological programme (Kristeller, 1965). The progress to modern humanism of the 19th and 20th century was established through Galileo and Erasmus' wedge between reason and authority; Galileo exposed Aristotle theories as false, while the church adhered to them and Erasmus's translation of Greek text showed that the church who adhered to Jerome's Vulgate was frequently in error (Guinness, 1973).

3.3.5.2 Definition of humanism

Humanism emphasises the freedom, dignity and potential of humans. It is a philosophy of joyous service for a greater good of humanity in this natural world and advocating the methods of reason, science and democracy (Lamont, 1965). The major focus of the concept was the fact that development needed to be conceived as a self-reliance process in which the drivers towards *good change* are internal. This, among other things, involved the meeting of basic needs of people, becoming ecologically sensitive and promoting public participation (Nerfin, 1977; Potter, 1985). From these, criticisms began to grow against most seeming top-down approaches, especially economic growth-oriented ones that had been dominating the development agenda in the world for example the modernisation, neo-colonialism and dependency theories. What most of these top-down approaches managed to do was to create economic growth and paths to modernity with increasing poverty, inequity, and disease (Hettne, 1995) while this paradigm takes the development of people as its core focus.

3.3.5.3 People-centered development

People-centred development favours the organisational models of organic self-organising systems (Crabtree, 2012). Structures are aimed at goal-setting and problem solving processes. Innovative and adaptive action and learning, occurs continuously throughout the system to utilise the creative abilities of all participants. This is done through social learning, empowerment, sustainability and public participation as building blocks (Dunn, 1984).

3.3.5.3.1 Social learning as building block for people-centred development

Social learning suggests that humans and human groups have the unique ability to function as learning organisms that engage in behaviour directed to changing or reprogramming behaviour (Dunn, 1984). Russell Ackoff noted that development is not a product of production, but rather a product of learning (Ackoff, 1984).

People learn by sharing information through communication and social system participation, individual behaviour form group clusters. The individual shapes the group and the group shapes the individual. Through social learning, man can reach its highest human potential, it can even enlarge his potential (Dunn, 1984).

3.3.5.3.2 Empowerment as building block for people-centred development

Empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process of learning and action that strengthens people's self-esteem, analytical and organising skills, and political consciousness so they can gain a sense of their rights and join together to develop more democratic societies (Page & Czuba,

1999; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2007). It is a process that fosters power (the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on the issues that they define as important (Page & Czuba, 1999).

3.3.5.3.3 Sustainability as building block for people-centred development

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland Commission, 1987). Sustainability is broken down in three constituent parts, the domains of economic, ecological, political and cultural sustainability (United Cities and Local Government, 2004). Sustainability is people centred by linking the human needs of the present with future choices (Brundtland Commission, 1987).

3.3.5.3.4 Public participation as building block for people-centred development

Public participation is important for development decisions as can be seen from international examples like Agenda 21 (1992) and the Rio Declaration (2012) Public participation is decision-oriented and it contributes to sustainability; the international blue-print for sustainable development, Agenda 21, emphasises the requirement for consultation, public participation and involvement, public awareness, capacity-building and partnerships in attaining sustainable development (IAP2, 2012). The Rio Declaration of 1992 emphasised public participation in its 27 principles. The 10th principle state that environmental and development issues are best controlled on a relevant level where participation of all individuals is concerned (United Nations Environment Programme, 1992).

Public participation as a process, involving all interested and affected parties in a development or project, plays an important role in ensuring that the socio-economic impacts of a project are integrated into the decision-making process by using a wide range of activities that ranges from providing information through to consultation to direct involvement of the public (Murombo, 2007; Southern African Institute for Environmental Assessment, 2005). Public participation does not always ensure sustainable development, but by engaging the public in decisions, it has the propensity to lead to sustainable development (Murombo, 2007).

3.4 Public participation in development

3.4.1 Defining public participation within development

The relationship between public participation and development has long been debated. In the years following the World War II, there was a belief that there was a trade-off between democracy

and growth (Samuelson, 1961). This was initially substantiated by the growth of the Soviet Union, who had grown faster than the countries of the West and had jettisoned basic democratic rights. Later in the 1960s and 1970s it was reflected in the success of the East Asian economies, which lacked full participatory democracy (Stiglitz, 2002).

However, authors such as Stiglitz (2002; 1993) and Przeworski and Limongi (1993) felt that the growth of the Soviet Union needed to be reconsidered, because of the ambiguity of the cross-sectional and time series analyses, compounded with severe measurement problems. The nature and host of the factors that influence growth and interact with each other, makes it nearly impossible to identify the precise role of any particular factor (Stiglitz, 2002; Stiglitz, 1993; Przeworski & Limongi, 1993). Stiglitz (2002) argued that participation is necessary for a fully effective, society-wide development transformation. Some societies that are highly participatory, at least in a formal structure, have not achieved development success, but it does mean that a better understanding of the transparent participatory processes helps to design policies that are more likely to lead to long term economic growth and that reinforce the processes themselves. Processes like consensus building, open dialogue and the promotion of an active civil society are more likely to result in politically sustainable economic policies and to encourage the development transformation (Bruno, 1993; Stiglitz, 2002).

Despite these debates, it seems that public participation is considered important within development, as a 1986 United Nations Declaration affirmed the 'right to development,' as follows:

"...a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the wellbeing of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting there from." It also stated that "The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development." (1986 Declaration on the Right to Development GAR 41/128, 4)

The World Bank states that participation is a process in which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and the resources which affect them (World Bank, 1996, p. 6). In more recent times, definitions included that;

Community participation is a process by which people are enabled to become actively and genuinely involved in defining the issues of concern to them, in making decisions about factors that affect their lives, in formulating and implementing policies in planning, developing and delivering services and taking action to achieve a change (HEBE, 2002, p. 3).

Public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental decision making. Public participation is a two-way communication with the overall goal of better decisions, support by the public. Participation processes may be single event or they may be embedded in long-term system activities or partnership processes. Adequate public information is always a central element in any public participation program (CRHA, 1999, p. 6).

The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) views public participation as any process that involves the public in problem solving or decision making and uses public input to make decisions. Public participation includes all aspects of identifying problems and opportunities, developing alternatives and making decisions. It uses tools and techniques that are common to a number of dispute resolution and communications fields (IAP2, 2006, p. 2).

The International Association for Public Participation provided the most relevant definition for this study. Public participation means to involve those who are affected by a decision in the decision-making process. It promotes sustainable decisions by providing participants with the information they need to be involved in a meaningful way, and most importantly it communicates to participants how their input affects the decision (IAP2, 2006). Thus meaningful participation is not just advertisement, but involvement that makes the public not just a user of the public sphere, but a creator of the public sphere (Chambers, 2002).

3.4.2 Challenges in conceptualising public participation

Public participation – complex and vague – numerous debates and ideas about its definition – e.g. different uses in terminology and concepts, misconceptions about its core focus, various levels and typologies associated with it. These will be discussed in the following section in order to clarify its conceptualisation.

Public participation is seen as complex and vague, there are numerous debates (Bonnemann, 2010; IAP2, 2006) and ideas about the definition, there are different uses in terminology and concepts, there are misconceptions about its core focus, various levels and typologies associated with it. To clarify the conceptualisation, these debates will be discussed in the following section.

3.4.2.1 Terminology

There are two predicaments with the terminology of public participation:

- **Same concept, different terminology:** Around the world, a variety of terms are being used that essentially describe the same or very similar concepts (Bonnemann, 2010). In *Painting the Landscape: A Cross-Cultural Exploration of Public-Government Decision Making*, a joint research project of the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, which identified different names in their list of “typical public participation terminology”, from “consultation” in South Africa to “public management” in Brazil to “co-management” in Cambodia (IAP2 & Charles F. Kettering Foundation, 2008).
- **Same word, different meanings:** To complicate things even further, the reverse is also true. A term like participation will often mean different things to different people (Bonnemann, 2010).

The challenge of trying to overcome language differences and agree on common terminology has come up before. For different outcomes and different approaches, everyone uses the terminology that they prefer and find the most useful. What’s important, in the end, is to understand what is meant by certain terms when communicating. This is especially true for the term public participation, one of the three pillars of the Open Government Directive (Bonnemann, 2010).

3.4.2.2 Misconceptions

Based on Tim Bonnemann’s (2010) observations listening to the discussions around Open Government, the following four aspects of the term *public participation* tend to get easily and commonly confused:

- **Public *participation* applies strictly to decision making or (political) problem solving.** Many citizen activities that are being referenced in the context of Open Government such as reporting potholes or illegal tenants, or using government data for public studies are *not* considered public participation, at least not by this definition (Bonnemann, 2010).
- **Public doesn’t necessarily mean everybody.** Public here refers to a public, not *the* public. A public will usually be made up of those people *affected by* and those *with an interest in* a decision, a more or less carefully defined group that can be very large or fairly small. Furthermore, public participation *processes* can be applied just as well internally, inside organizations, behind closed doors (Bonnemann, 2010).
- **Public participation comes with a wide range of expected participant impact.** There will always be situations when all a decision maker can commit to is to share information or invite limited feedback at best (Bonnemann, 2010). That’s why IAP2’s Spectrum of

Public Participation explicitly includes the public participation goals *Inform* and *Consult*, neither of which requires the decision maker to incorporate any of the participants' input. Arnstein (1969) also criticised that at the *Consult* level of public impact, for example, the convener only promises to "provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision" (technically, that influence may be minimal or zero) (IAP2, 2007).

- **Public participation is top-down, not bottom-up.** Its success is critically dependent on a decision maker's willingness and ability to initiate, lead and support a participation process from beginning to end (Bonnemann, 2010).

While extending the meanings and concepts of citizenship and rights is important, at the same time there is a growing recognition that entitling all citizens to the same rights does not necessarily promote equitable outcomes (Cornwall, 2000; Ferguson, 1999). Paradoxically, rather than addressing inequalities, universalism can work to marginalise the already marginal and exacerbate social exclusion, through including people who do not have the same needs and resources (Ellison, 1999), while simultaneously masking this under a veneer of formal equality (Lister, 1997). As Kabeer (2000), building on Fraser, stated, there are at least two broad reasons for this paradox, deriving from differences in resources and in recognition (Fraser, 1995; Kabeer, 2000).

With different concepts and understandings of what public participation is and ought to be, different typologies emerged to identify different forms of public participation.

3.4.2.3 Typologies

Pretty *et al* (1995) demonstrated seven typologies with regard to public participation; these typologies were also highlighted by Theron (2005):

1. Passive participation

Passive strategies very often involve a one-way flow of information from the planners to the public (Kumar, 2002). People "participate" by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. Participation relates to a unilateral top-down approach by the authorities. The information being shared belongs to outsiders or professionals (Sibiya, 2010; Theron, 2005).

2. Participation in information giving

This level does not constitute community participation because they merely require the community to judge a finished or almost finished product. People participate by answering questions posed in questionnaires or telephone interviews or similar public participation

strategies. The public do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings as the findings of the research are neither shared nor evaluated for accuracy (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

3. Participation by consultation

People participate by being consulted as consultants/professionals/planners and external officials listen to their views. The professionals define both problems and solutions and may modify these in the light of the people's responses. The process does not include any share in decision-making by the public, nor are the professionals under any obligation to take on board people's views (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

4. Participation for material incentives

People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for material rewards. This helps to reduce overall costs, and participants in return receive a resource (Nampila, 2005). This typology takes place in rural environment, where, for example farmers provide the fields but are not involved in the experiment or learning process. The people have no stake in prolonging the activities when the incentives end (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

5. Functional participation

People participate in a group context to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which may involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisations. Such involvement does not tend to occur at the early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may also become self-dependent (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

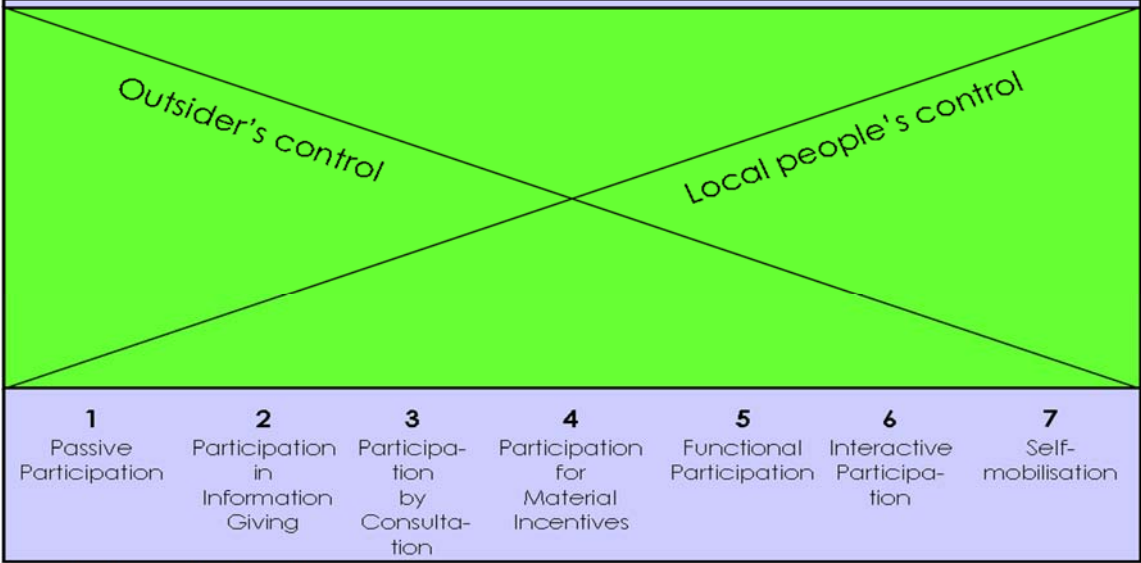
6. Interactive participation

People participate in a joint analysis, the development of action plans and capacity building. Participation is seen as right, not just the means to achieve project goals (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

7. Self-mobilisation

People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. This bottom-up approach allows people to develop contacts with external institutions for resources and the technical advice they need, but they themselves retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated, bottom-up and self-reliant mobilization and collective actions may or may not challenge an existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power (Theron, 2005; Sibiyi, 2010).

Figure 10 - A Spectrum of public participation



(Source: Theron, 2005)

The seven typologies give an overview of the spectrum of participation. The typologies that lean more to the control of local people are more ideal for human development, as the public is part of the process and the end product (Theron, 2005; Sibiya, 2010).

3.4.2.4 Levels

Arnstein (1969) found that the extent to which people participate and the level on which this participation takes place do not always actively engage citizens; she created a ladder of participation that depicts an increase in the degree of citizen empowerment. Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of participation is reflected in the Spectrum of Public Participation that the International Association of Public Participation (2007) devised. Arnstein’s formulation gives a critical view, while the IAP2 is more technical in recommendations for practice (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). There are five levels of participation according to the International Association on Public Participation. The levels are categorized by their increasing level of participation; they all have a certain goal and promise to the public and correspond to the spectrum of participation as can be seen in Table 4 (Stout, 2013; IAP2, 2007).

The levels of public participation include to:

1. Inform

The first and lowest level of Public Participation is to Inform, the goal of this level of participation is to provide public with balanced and objective information to help understand the problem, alternatives, opportunities and solutions. The promise to the public is to keep

them informed and techniques used include fact sheets, web sites and open houses (Svensson, 2011; IAP2, 2007).

2. Consult

The goal of this level is to obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and decisions. The promise to the public is to keep them informed, to listen and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and to provide feedback on how the public influenced the decision. Techniques used in this level include, public commentary, focus groups, surveys and public meetings (Svensson, 2011; IAP2, 2007).

3. Involve

The third level is to Involve, the goal of this level is to work directly with public throughout process to ensure that concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered, the promise to the public is that they will work with the public to ensure that concerns and aspirations are reflected in alternatives, and to provide feedback on how the public input influenced the decision. Workshops and deliberative polling is some techniques used in this level (IAP2, 2007).

4. Collaborate

The fourth level is to Collaborate, the goal of this level is to partner with the public on every aspect of decisions including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution. The promise to the public is that the public will be look to for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate their advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible. Techniques used in this level include citizen advisory committees, consensus building and participatory decision-making (IAP2, 2007).

5. Empower

The last and highest level of Public Participation is to Empower, the goal of this level is to place final decision-making power in the hands of the public. The promise to the public is to implement the decision that they decided upon. Techniques that are used on this level include citizen juries, ballots and delegated decision-making (Svensson, 2011; IAP2, 2007).

Table 4-Comparison of Arnstein’s Levels of Participation and IAP2’s Spectrum of Public Participation

Level of Participation	Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation		IAP2’s Spectrum of Participation
↑ Public participation	Citizen Power	Citizen control	Empower
		Delegated Power	Collaborate
		Partnership	Involve
	Placation		
	Tokenism	Consultation	Consult
		Informing	Inform
		Therapy	
	Non - Participation	Manipulation	

(Adapted from Stout, 2010)

3.5 Public participation as building block for human development

Public participation is the first building block of development (Davids, Theron, & Maphunye, 2005, p. 120). Participation is a component of the process of human growth and is an integral part of human development (Burkey, 1993, p. 50), this is supported by Max-Neef (1991, p. 52)who identified public participation as one of nine basic human needs that should be satisfied through the development process (Liebenberg & Theron, 1997, p. 124).

According to Chambers (1993, p. 1; 1997, p. 33; 1983, p. 168)the challenge to the development professionals and policy-makers regarding participatory strategies relates primarily to thirteen strategic shifts in conceptualisation called the “reversal in learning”:

1. From top-down to a bottom-up approach
2. From a blueprint to a social learning process approach
3. From a system-maintaining to a system-transforming approach
4. From a control to a release style

5. From a “person-as-subject” to a “participant-as-actor” focus
6. From a “hard/hardware” scientific approach to a “soft/software” scientific approach (interdisciplinary approach)
7. From a closed systems to an open systems approach
8. From a mechanical to a dynamic approach
9. From representative democracy to a participative democracy approach
10. From a closed communication style to an open style
11. From a formulised to an incremental approach
12. From public participation as a cost to public participation as a benefit
13. From a “fast-slow” sequence in project planning and management to a “slow-fast” sequence (Brown 1997: 69-87; Brown 2000: 172-186)

Theron (2005) states that development planners should take the context in which community participation takes place into account in order to assess which strategies indicate very good community participation and to determine how these strategies should be applied. It does not help, for example, if a development planner, on account of a lack of knowledge, thinks that information-sharing represents an effective way of community participation whilst this is not the case (Nampila, 2005). For that reason it is crucial to know which combination of community participation strategies works best for a development project. Kumar (2002) states that each development project is unique and faces different challenge.

Using an empirical investigation Hickey and Mohan (2005) drew from a variety of modern-day approaches to participation, their article shows that participatory approaches are most likely to succeed: (i) where they are pursued as part of a wider radical political project; (ii) where they are designed specifically at securing citizenship rights and participation for marginal and subordinate groups; and (iii) when they seek to engage with development as an underlying process of social change rather than in the form of discrete technocratic interventions.

Cooke and Kothari (2001) argued that the popular appeal of participatory approaches crowds out other methodologies that could have been more appropriate, it also includes the homogenous whole, which excludes the marginalised and the control of decision making is captured by the agenda of the initiators, funders or facilitators. However, this tyranny issue raised by Cooke and Kothari (2001) is not an inevitable consequence of the use of participatory approaches, if issues of dominating values, power, knowledge and legitimising systems can be taken seriously (Maru, Alexandridis, & Perez, 2009). Public participation has benefits on grass root levels and brings with it commitment, which in turn encourages effort that is required to make a project successful (Isham, Narayan, & Pritchett, 1995). Development experience has also shown that over time,

when external experts alone acquire, analyse, and process information and then present this information in reports, social change does not take place; whereas social learning that stakeholders generate during participatory planning and implementation of a development activity does enable social change (World Bank, 1996).

3.6 Conclusion

Public participation has become one of the most discussed subjects internationally. There have been numerous debates about the definition of public participation; there are various misconceptions, typologies and levels of public participation. Public participation was found to be not always necessary for developmental growth and it does not always increase the growth of development. Nevertheless it is still important in human development and is considered a right according to the United Nations and a variety of authors. Even though this is the case now, not all development theories have looked at the human aspects. The increase of the human interest in development has a variety of benefits for development and has led to long term economic growth; for this reason public participation needs to involve the public not only in the product, but also the process.

Public participation is seen as an integral part of development and supports each other, to give effect to this it must be integrated in policies and legislation. However, how conducive or injurious it is in SA policy and legislation in terms of the human development perspective is something that needs to be analysed in-depth. The following chapter will attempt to analyse and discuss the legal context for public participation.

Chapter 4 – The South African planning context: conducive or injurious for public participation?

4.1 Introduction

Public participation is a building block of development (Davids, Theron, & Maphunye, 2005, p. 120). South Africa as a developing country (Holtz, 2008) can use public participation in becoming more developed (Murombo, 2007). For South Africa, the post-apartheid context gave rise to great expectations in terms of democratic development and social transformation (Harriss, Stokke, & Tornquist, 2004).

The aim of this chapter is therefore to describe the broader context in which the South African public participate, not only in terms of government processes, but also in terms of urban planning processes. This will be done by considering at the possible challenges facing South Africans in terms of participation, identifying a suitable model of public participation and unfolding the legislative context which guides the participation of people and the urban planning processes, seeing if they are conducive or injurious to public participation.

4.2 Challenges for public participation in democratic South Africa

The unique socio-political background of South Africa contributed in various ways to the development and incorporation of the concept public participation into urban planning. The unique socio-political background also challenges the democratic participation in South Africa. An overview of these challenges including historical, governance, development and cultural issues are discussed in the following section in order to contextualise public participation in South Africa. This will give an indication of the issues facing the people who should participate in urban planning and planning processes.

4.2.1 Historical issues

South Africa is historically known for two major developments in the political sphere, namely colonialism and apartheid (Worden, 2011).

4.2.1.1 Colonialism

Colonialism seemed to have paved the way towards a future of land development control by outsiders (Mabin & Smit, 1997). Colonialists divided the people of the country into different levels of citizenship that concentrated on race and economic level. Differences in social standing led to people not having the same rights to participate and people became aware that citizens are not equal (Madamombe, 2009; Olatunji, 2011). Colonialism is regarded by numerous authors

(Moleah, 1993; Madamombe, 2009; Maylam, 1995) as one of direct influences on the implementation of Apartheid in South Africa.

4.2.1.2 Apartheid

Apartheid, unlike other colonial settlements, did not only make provision for housing ethnic groups in different districts, but conceived towns primarily as white places (Mabin & Smit, 1997). Apartheid instilled fear between the races; with the 1934 Slums Act, existing areas could be destroyed by local authorities (Mabin & Smit, 1997). The dismantling of apartheid left people in a problematic space of ambivalence; not certain whether to embrace the new dispensation of government or to distrust it (Fanon, 1969; Madamombe, 2009). Numerous authors (Ellmann, 1993; Elfers, 2012; Askvik & Bak, 2005) regard apartheid as instilling distrust in government, which in turn hinders people to participate.

4.2.2 Governance issues

The Southern Africa Institute for Environmental Assessments (SAIEA, 2004) views limited capacity, political interference, participation rights and lack of experience and confidence as governance issues that influence public participation policies and people participating in South Africa.

4.2.2.1 Limited capacity

Government in South Africa has a limited ability to guide and decide on public participation practices (The Public Service Commission, 2008). This limited capacity is because in several of the regions in South Africa, there are new and evolving institutions supporting democracy (ISDs) that changes to cater for the community in a reactive manner (Hlekiso, 2012). There are also often too few suitably qualified officials to implement government public participation policies (Bernstein, 2001; SAIEA, 2004). A study by Seloba (2006) concluded that due to the lack of capacity among public officials, there is indeed political interference in government.

4.2.2.2 Political interference

Politicians are known to interfere in development processes before they are completed (Heller, 2012; Tomlinson, 2011). Political interference challenges both the independence and integrity of urban planning in the development process, as well as the public participation processes used in the development process (Heller, 2012). Political representatives have been known to fear the outcome of these independent processes when they may threaten their political interests (SAIEA, 2004; De Visser, Steytler, & May, 2009). Political interests are not always in line with the needs

of the public, and these interests compromises the rights of the public to participate in certain processes (De Visser, Steytler, & May, 2009).

4.2.2.3 Participation rights

Citizens are largely unaware of the rights that they have to participate in development processes (Gaventa & Barrett, 2011). There are varied understandings of participation and democracy throughout the country, for instance the concept of consultation (a Batho Pele principle) includes information sharing, discussions or conferences, according to a study by the Public Service Commission (2008). In certain cases, it seems that governments do not always give the same importance to the involvement of people in key decision making processes (SAIEA, 2004; Chenwi & Tissington, 2010). This influences public participation in planning in the sense that people do not participate in planning processes as they should, since the rights of citizens are not promoted and fully understood by government, due to lack of experience.

4.2.2.4 Lack of experience and confidence

People lack the experience and confidence in participation processes, because participation is new or unknown in many regions of South Africa (SAIEA, 2004). There is a further challenge in the hierarchical traditional and formal political structures (Ngamlana, 2012). Traditional leaders and political representatives are often very powerful, often leading to silence from their immediate communities, because their opinions are viewed as more important than their community's (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007; SAIEA, 2004). This influences public participation in planning in the following manner; the people that should participate are not given the chance to, due to hierarchies and government not knowing who should participate.

In South Africa, government plays a definite role in almost every facet of the development economy, including production, consumption and regulation (The Library of Congress, 2010).

4.2.3 Development issues

Development issues, such as poverty, government financial resources, typical industries, health issues and infrastructure influence the participatory nature of South African citizens, the government and companies (SAIEA, 2004).

4.2.3.1 Poverty

More than a quarter of the population (26, 3%) of South Africa lives below the Food poverty line. This lack of access to basic needs and resources is a fundamental challenge (STATSSA, 2009).

Public participation is not a priority; there exists a priority for daily survival (Chambers, 2011). Some authors (Cohen & Fung, 2004; Verba, 1987) argue that public participation is often only for those of means: time, money and knowledge for participation are often not available for those struggling for daily survival. Poverty, though, is a major issue that can be addressed through sustainable economic development in South Africa. Employment, shelter, food security, access to resources and opportunities can flow from sustainable economic developments, when the poor participate in the process (SAIEA, 2004; Whiting & Salmon, 2010).

With such a large proportion of the population in South Africa living in poverty, government financial resources need to be used for participation processes to help the public participate in economically benefiting programmes, which will in turn uplift them and give them more chances to participate (The Public Service Commission, 2008).

4.2.3.2 Government financial resources

According to the World Bank (2009) the Gini index of South Africa is 63.1%, one of the most unequal rates in the world. Often investment capital is thinly spread, with minimal finances devoted to good planning, assessment and participation processes (SAIEA, 2004). Governments also lack financial resources - they often are unable to support participation processes, even if they want to (SAIEA, 2004; Ngamlana, 2012). Finances are important for public participation processes, as money is needed to (for example) to pay trained facilitators to drive the participation process and help to coordinate a feedback mechanism on community issues (The Public Service Commission, 2008). With government financial resource dependent on taxation, exports and overall economic affluence, the industries of South Africa is very important to uplift the community.

4.2.3.3 Typical industries

Tourism and extractive industries, like mining, are dominant within South Africa. Investment in these industries present both negative and positive aspects, when people participate in the process, they can benefit from long term development, but they can also lose their land and livelihood if implementation of the process fail (SAIEA, 2004). With these risks, citizens do not participate in the typical industries' development processes and do not benefit from them, even though they can. This creates citizens that are not willing to participate in the most economically prosperous developments, even though they work. An example of the latter is the case of Makuleke in the Kruger National Park, where community members gained rights to non-consumptive benefits derived from tourism (Shackleton, Campbell, Wollenberg, & Edmunds, 2002). Industries of South Africa are mostly labour intensive, which helps to absorb the growing number of unemployed, but these industries are also in hazardous environment which affects human health (CSIR, 2007).

4.2.3.4 Health issues

Statistics South Africa and the Medical Research Council estimated that in 2005 over 5million people in South Africa had HIV or Aids (Daniels, 2007). The social impact has seen families and communities destroyed, with children heading households (Foster & Williamson, 2000). The latter impacts on participation in development processes. People are too sick, have other priorities or lack the maturity and confidence to get involved (SAIEA, 2004; Daniels, 2007).

Health issues are not the only element discouraging people from participating in urban planning processes, a large number of the population of South Africa is in rural areas and infrastructure is needed to participate (SAIEA, 2004).

4.2.3.5 Infrastructure

South Africa's population is spread between large urban areas and often very remote rural areas and not within reach of all-season roads (SAIEA, 2004). There is a geographical challenge to reach out to people even with good infrastructure. In South Africa roads are poor, and there are limited telecommunication networks in many parts of the country, which makes inclusive participation a challenge (SAIEA, 2004; Juma, 2012).

4.2.4 Cultural issues

The diverse socio-economic status of the population of South Africa influences the participation of the citizens of the country, but the population is also diverse in terms of culture. South Africa is a country with rich and diverse cultures (Neville, 2008). Traditional values and marginalised groups form part of many of these cultures and can be problematic in terms of public participation (SAIEA, 2004).

4.2.4.1 Traditional Values

Numerous people identify with deep-rooted traditions and tribal customs (SAIEA, 2004). They find this important as it supports their identity and they draw strength from it (Soudien, 2007). This is positive, but also poses the challenge of many people falling within hierarchical structures where traditional leaders are very powerful and limits the participation of people (Beebeejaun, 2006; SAIEA, 2004). Traditional values and customs often marginalise women, youth and disabled people in South Africa, keeping them from certain aspects of society, for instance education and public participation (Hassim, 1991; Mkhize, 2006).

4.2.4.2 Marginalised groups

Women, youth and disabled people are often marginalised within society and their voices are not heard in participation processes (SAIEA, 2004). This is a very difficult issue as most governments in the region support the rights of marginalised people (Heller, 2001). Despite this, many people do not receive the same support in their own societies (O'Keefe & Hogg, 1999; Gupte, 2008). As such, it influences public participation in the manner that people do not participate or participate unequally, giving a skewed view of society. The diverse cultures of South Africa create communication issues, with different cultures speaking different languages and technology sometimes seen as disruptive to tradition (Katz, 2003).

4.2.5 Communication issues

As further emphasised below, South African society is diverse in various facets, including communication, not only in terms of languages, but also in terms of access to communication technology (SAIEA, 2004).

4.2.5.1 Languages

South Africa has 11 official languages and a variety of unofficial ones (SA Info, 2012). There may be stakeholders who come from several different language groups in a development process. This poses a significant challenge to ensure that all stakeholders can both be informed and be part of the dialogue (SAIEA, 2004). The issue of languages is also exacerbated with not all citizens having equal access to communication technology in South Africa (Herselman, 2003).

4.2.5.2 Communication Technology

There exists a wide disparity in the availability of information and communication technology in South Africa (Herselman, 2003; SAIEA, 2004). Not all rural, or even urban areas have access to communication technology (such as telephones, internet and electronic media (Herselman, 2003). It is appropriate to assume that communication across regions is not always possible (SAIEA, 2004; Joseph & Andrew, 2006). This limits participation in planning, as people are unable to reach participation venues and/or do not have any technology to assist them to participate over distances.

In rural areas of South Africa, services like communication technology are difficult to access; this is also the case with education. Some areas are not fortunate to have accessible education facilities, which can lead to increased illiteracy.

4.2.5.3 Literacy

Although South Africa has a literacy rate of 88% (UNDP, 2011), there is still a very high level of illiteracy; especially in rural areas. Many people who choose to participate in development processes do not have the skills to read the basic documents produced and more technical reports are beyond the participant's capabilities (SAIEA, 2004). This limits participation in planning in the way that participants do not have the necessary skills to participate effectively. It seems that South Africa has various challenges, unique to the country that hinders full democratic participation in decision-making. To address this, various models of participation and policies and legislation were developed to promote public participation in government as well as in terms of development processes, regulated by planning.

4.3 Participation models and legislation to enable public participation in South Africa

Various models, policies and legislation were identified that address challenges in terms of public participation in the South African context where democracy is propagated. To understand the nature of the framework in which citizens of South Africa participate, the different models of participation and the legislation on participation are discussed in the following section.

4.3.1 Models of participation

The Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa, IDASA (2005), identified four models of public participation that is prevalent in South Africa. According to the Human Sciences Resource Council (HSRC) (2005), these include: (i) the pure representative democracy, (ii) the basic model of public participation, (iii) the realism model of public participation and (iv) the possible ideal for South Africa. Although the models owe something to a conceptual and comparative investigation of different forms of public participation, they are mainly derived from a review of the current practice in the ten South African legislatures (one national and nine provincial).

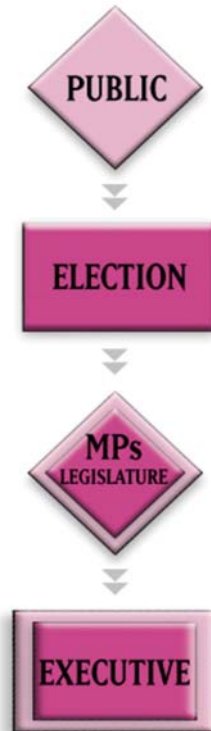
The first model, which has the lowest level of public participation, is pure representative democracy.

4.3.1.1 Pure representative democracy

This model (illustrated in figure 1) indicates that the public elects its representatives during election time. The representatives pass the laws in the legislature and oversee their implementation (Koryakov & Sisk, 2012). The implementation of laws is overseen by the executive

arm of the government. Public participation is limited to election time, when people delegate their sovereignty by contract to government (De Benoist, 2008).

Figure 11 - Pure representative democracy model (Source: IDASA, 2005)



For urban planning, this model means that citizens choose their representatives and do not participate further in planning, but put their trust in their representatives to represent them in all government participation processes, including urban planning. While the pure representative democracy only includes the public at one time, during elections, the basic model of public participation includes the public during several stages.

4.3.1.2 Basic model of public participation

In the basic model of public participation the public interacts with elected representatives at various times between elections (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; HSRC, 2005). However this model has certain drawbacks:

- The nature and form of interaction are not defined,
- What is meant by the public is not defined, it is assumed in South Africa that they are relevant stakeholders, but these can be powerful and organised interest groups (HSRC, 2005).

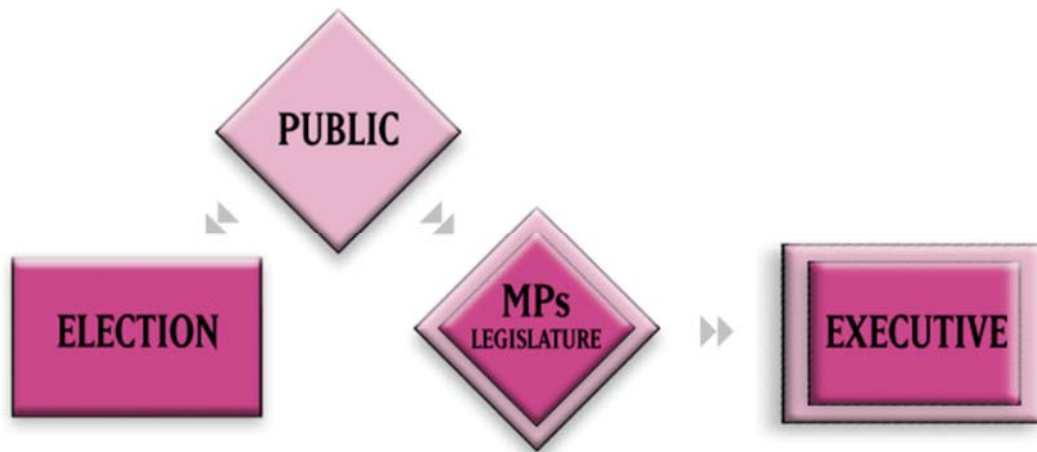


Figure 12 - Basic model of public participation (Source: IDASA, 2005)

For urban planning, this model includes the public at certain times in government processes, but the nature of the participation and the people who participate are not defined. The public is included at various stages in various processes, but because of no defined stages and processes, it is uncertain whether the right public is involved in urban planning processes.

In the basic model of public participation, the public is interacting with government processes at various times, but who the public is, is not defined. The realism model defined with what is understood with the public who is interacting.

4.3.1.3 Realism model of public participation

The realism model is argued to offer the most effective form of public participation. It is based on a corporatist model of political interaction, where consensus is reached between primary interest groups (HSRC, 2005). It looks similar to the basic model, but the public is defined. The key public actors consists of the broader general public or electorate, represented by their elected representatives on one side and the various key interest groups or stakeholders on the other (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; HSRC, 2005).

The successful balancing of interests, through arbitration, depends on a dynamic relationship between the elected representatives and their constituencies, based on constant interaction and communication. Engagements depend on the capacity and resources available to the representative concerned (HSRC, 2005).

In South Africa, there is limited capacity and resources, compounded by two other factors:

- The physical size of the country, with vast distances and weak infrastructure, makes regular and intensive interaction difficult,
- Representatives are elected by the party to a party list and occupy seats in the legislature on the basis of proportional representation. With no formal constituents, the link between the electorate and the individual representative is weakened (Parliament of the RSA, 2001).

Given these constraints, this model still limits broader public influence to voting in elections, but one can still argue that this is the best system available (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; HSRC, 2005).

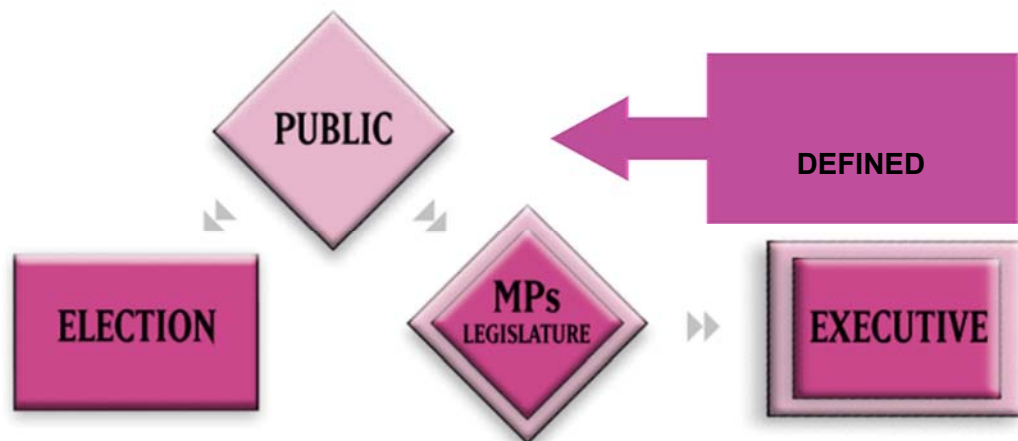


Figure 13 - Realism model of participation (After IDASA, 2005)

The realism model defines with what is meant by the public, but outside forces, for instance the role of political parties are not considered. A model which does consider this is the Possible ideal for South Africa.

4.3.1.4 Possible ideal for South Africa

This proposed model is extended to include three categories of participants (IDASA, 2001):

- Organised and strong
- Organised, but weak
- Unorganised and weak

This model also includes two additional dimensions:

1. The role of political parties and the majority party

Parties are considered key actors in the matrix of political interaction. The majority party has the capacity to control not only decision-making, but also the rules that govern the process. South Africa has a Westminster-based parliamentary system, members of cabinet are drawn from the legislature and the parliamentary gathering of the majority forum is where the executive (president) overlaps with legislature (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001).

A wider party structure may provide a valuable network, linking constituents and communities with their elected representatives and filtering up local views and grievances, while distributing information to the ground (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001).

2. The relationship with the executive (president)

Through the Westminster-based system the executive is linked with the legislature. Intervention takes place when the executive drafts policy, this model proposes a holistic approach to participation, rather than a separation of the legislative from the policy-making process (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001).

Suggested criteria for public participation in this model include:

- Public participation should encompass a sense that the public's contribution will influence the final outcome.
- The public participation process must communicate the interests of and meet the process needs of participants.
- The process must seek out and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected. That means that consideration must be given to how unorganised communities or interest groups can be as participants.
- Participants should be involved in defining the manner in which they wish to participate.
- Participants should be provided with the information they need to make their contribution meaningful.
- Participants need to be informed as to the manner in which their submissions were accounted for and how they are reflected in the decisions made (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001).

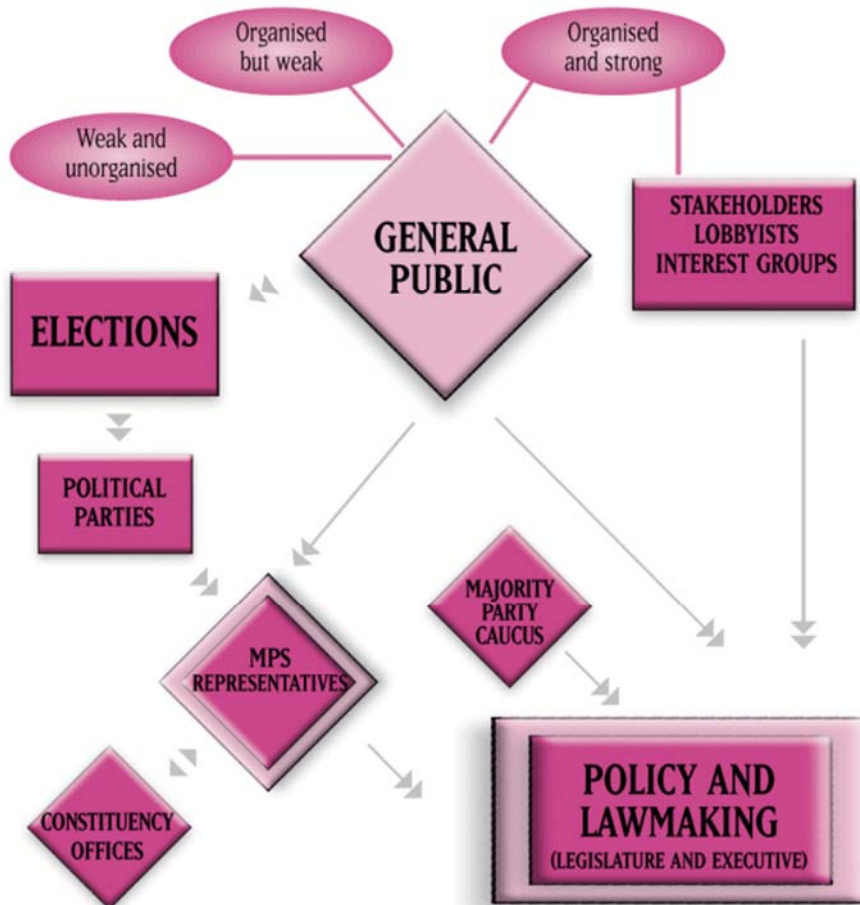


Figure14 - Possible ideal model for SA (Source: IDASA, 2005)

The core of this model lies in the idea that effective participation is not achieved by simply making opportunities for participation available, but is determined by setting up processes and legislation that encourage, aid and promoting the fullest possible participation by the public (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001). For urban planning participation processes this translates to the public not just getting to participate if a process for participation is created for them in legislation, but the public participates in the preparation of the legislation itself. The concern with this is that there should be a balance between the public having full power in the preparation and just having an input.

According to Rapoo(2001), the South African system of government borrowed too heavily from the British Westminster system. The legislative and executive powers are weakly separated; the executive is drawn from the legislature. The executive is supposedly accountable to the legislature, but in practice, the executives wield vast power over policy-making. The Westminster government of South Africa is characterised by adversarial party politics, which manifests into strongly enforced party discipline. This means that participation is equal to everyone, but some carry more weight than others (Rapoo, 2001).

The above mentioned model takes the variety of public participants into account; it also aims to include the public on government decisions not only at the latter stage, but in the process of policy-making. In South African legislation, especially the Constitution, the public is also mentioned as having an input not only on the local level, where town planning applications take place, but also in the other spheres, where policy making takes place.

South Africa uses a variety of these models in the legislative sector, but the possible ideal model, which promotes participation extensively, is not seen in these sectors. While the ideal participation model is promoted, but not followed in South Africa, policy and legislation since democracy developed favourable in terms of support for public participation. An overview of this legislative and policy context is further discussed.

4.3.2 Legislation and policies on public participation

4.3.2.1 Key legislation

While there are a variety of laws in South Africa which require some form of public participation in local governance, there are three laws which are central. These include the Constitution (No.108 of 1996), the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) and the Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998).

4.3.2.1.1 The Constitution (1996)

In South Africa, public participation is entrenched in the Constitution in a number of sections (sections 17, 59, 70, 72, 115, 118) that set the tone for public involvement and participation in the legislative process (Scott, 2009; Centre for Public Participation, 2006). Section 59, 72 and 118 charge the National Parliament and all provincial legislatures with the responsibility of facilitating public participation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006).

The Constitution mandates specific functions to Parliament: “The National Assembly is elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution”. The National Council of Provinces also has public participation functions similar to that of the National Assembly, as highlighted in section 42(4). The National Assembly is required by the Constitution to “facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the Assembly and its committees, in public”, in accordance with section 59. According to section 118 of the Constitution, the nine Provincial Legislatures are placed under the same duty (Scott, 2009; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa offers the public a commitment to an open and democratic form of governance. Not just do people have the right to exercise an elective option of choosing their representative, they also have a right to exercise influence over all decisions by government (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007).

4.3.2.1.2 Municipal Structures Act (1998)

The Act categorises municipalities and allows for a Category A¹ municipality with a ward participatory system with a sub-council. A Category B² municipality is also allowed with a ward participatory system. The ward participatory system establishes ward committees to facilitate community participation in the matters of local government (COGTA, 2004). The Act also pronounces that executive committees or executive mayors must annually report on the involvement of communities and community organisations in the municipalities' affairs (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Scott, 2009). In urban planning practice, this allows the public to be heard in ward committee meetings and the public's opinion on urban planning and other related matters can be represented in the reports of the executive mayors.

4.3.2.1.3 Municipal Systems Act (2000)

The legal nature of a municipality is defined in the Municipal Systems Act as including the local community within the municipal area. Partnerships need to be formed between the municipality's political and administrative structures and the municipality should provide for community participation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007). According to Section 4 in the Systems Act, the council has the duty:

- To encourage the involvement of the local community
- To consult the community on the level of quality, range and impact of municipal services provided by the municipality, should it be through another service provider or by the municipality directly.

In Section 5, members of the community have the right:

¹Metropolitan Municipalities

²Local Municipalities

- To contribute to the decision-making processes of the municipality and submit written or oral recommendations, representations and complaints to the municipal council
- To be informed of decisions of the municipal council
- To regular disclosure of the affairs of the municipality, including its finances

In Chapter 4 of the Act pertinent requirements for public participation in local governance are stated (Centre for Public Participation, 2006); Section 16 requires that:

The Municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance and must...

- *...encourage and create conditions for the community to participate in the affairs of the municipality, including in the IDP, performance management system, monitoring and review of performance...preparation of the budget, strategic decisions re municipal services.*
- *...contribute to building the capacity of the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality and councillors and staff to foster community participation*
- *...(section 42) through appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures ...must involve the local community in the development, implementation and review of the municipality's performance management system, and in particular, allow the community to participate in the setting of appropriate key performance indicators and performance targets of the municipality.*

The ward committee system is an element of the local government system and acts as a structure through which public participation can be pursued. A ward committee consists of the councillor representing the ward who is also the committee and not more than 10 other persons (Centre for Public Participation, 2006). Ward committees are the vehicle for a deepening local democracy and an instrument through which a vibrant and involved citizenry can be established. Development issues unite at the local level within wards. Ward committees play a crucial role as an interface between government and communities (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007).

The three central legislation informing public participation, do not stand alone; there are also planning legislation that specifies public participation in town and regional planning. These types of legislation include the Town Planning and Townships Ordinance, No 15 of 1986, and the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, Act 16 of 2013.

4.3.2.1.4 Town Planning and Townships Ordinance (1986)

The Ordinance provides various examples of specific forms of public participation in town planning processes in the North West Province. The first relates to the amendment of an interim scheme³. When amending an interim scheme, section 37, a notice must be published for two consecutive weeks, as may be prescribed, and the public can give objections for 28 days from the date of such first publication.

In the case of an application to amend a town planning scheme, in accordance with section 45, a notice must be published for two consecutive weeks, as may be prescribed, and a site notice must be posted in a conspicuous place for at least 14 days from the date of first publication on the notice mentioned beforehand. The public can object with a period of 28 days from the date of receipt of the copy of the application.

When establishing a township, according to Section 16, a notice is published for two consecutive weeks as may be prescribed, and any person may, within a period of 28 days from the date of first publication of the notice, lodge an objection. In Section 92, when subdividing or consolidating erven, there is no notice to the public that is made and there are no objections that can be lodged. In Section 131, when hearing of objection or representations and notice thereof:

- *Where in terms of any provision of this Ordinance the Board or a local authority shall hear objections lodged or representations made, the Board or local authority, as the case may be, shall forthwith determine the day, time and place for the hearing.*
- *Not less than 14 days prior to the day determined in terms of subsection (1), the Board or local authority, as the case may be, shall notify every objector, every person who has made representations and every other person who or body which, in the opinion of the Board or local authority, has any interest in the matter of the day, time and place as determined.*
- *At a hearing in subsection (1):*
 - *Every objector and every person who had made representations may set out the grounds of his objection or representations;*
 - *Every other interested person or body may state his or its case, And adduce evidence in support thereof or authorise any other person to do so on his behalf.*
- *A hearing contemplated in subsection (1) shall be open to the public.*

³ A draft scheme adopted by a local authority

- *Where the objection or representations contemplated in subsection (1) of more than one person are contained in one document, it shall be deemed sufficient compliance with the provisions of subsection (2) if the person who has lodged the document or is a signatory thereto is notified as contemplated in the latter subsection.*

At present, and due to a lack of uniformed legislation, the various provinces are governed by their respective ordinances.

4.3.2.1.5 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (Act 16 of 2013)

The Development Facilitation Act (Act No. 67 of 1995) (DFA) was passed as an interim measure to facilitate the establishment of an integrated spatial system, but because it did not repeal any existing laws, complex and parallel land development systems continued to operate. Chapters V and VI were found to be constitutionally invalid as they assign exclusive municipal power to organs of the provincial sphere of government. A new act was needed to repeal the previous laws and take into account the differences in provinces to create a uniform law, while keeping in line with the constitution.

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) were promulgated during 204 with the aim to:

- Provide for a uniform, effective and comprehensive system of spatial planning and land use management for the Republic,
- Ensure that the system of spatial planning and land use management promotes social and economic inclusion,
- Provide for development principles and norms and standards,
- Provide for the sustainable and efficient use of land,
- Provide for cooperative government and intergovernmental relations amongst the national, provincial and local spheres of government, and
- Redress the imbalances of the past and ensure that there is equity in the application of spatial development planning and land use management.

Chapter 2 (7) (e) of the Act specifically introduces the development principle of Good Administration whereby:

- (IV) The preparation an amendment of spatial plans, policies, land use schemes as well as procedures for development applications, include transparent processes of public participation that afford all parties the opportunity to provide inputs on matter affecting them; and
- (V) Policies, legislation and procedures must be clearly set in order to inform and empower members of the public.

In the preparation of Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF), all three spheres of government must: *12 (1) (o) consider and, where necessary, incorporate the outcomes of substantial public engagement, including direct participation in the process through public meetings, public exhibitions, public debates and discourses in the media and any other forum or mechanisms that promote such direct involvement.*

In the preparation of Land Use Schemes, a municipality can only adopt and approve a single land use scheme for its entire area after public consultation. In land development management, Municipal Planning Tribunals must take into account the public interest, when considering and deciding on an application. Section 45 (2) of the act states that:

- *An interested person may petition to intervene in an existing application before a Municipal Planning Tribunal or an appeal authority and if granted intervener status, the interested person may be allowed to participate in such proceeding in the manner prescribed by the Minister or in provincial legislation.*
- *A person claiming to be an interested person in a land development application or an appeal has the burden of establishing his or her status as an interested person.*
- *In the event that a question arises to whether a person is an interested person in a land development application or an appeal, the Municipal Planning Tribunal or appeal authority concerned may make a determination as to whether such person qualifies as an interested person.*
- *If an interested person has not demonstrated an interest in all of the issues presented in a particular land development application or an appeal, the Municipal Planning Tribunal or appeal authority may limit the interested person's participation to only those issues in which an interest has been established.*

In the North West Provinces' Town-Planning and Townships Ordinance, the public is only participating at certain intervals in the development process, and since the public is not defined, it can be compared to the basic model of participation. In the new SPLUMA, what is meant with an interested person can be questioned by the Municipal Planning Tribunal, but the public do not just participate in the town planning applications, but also on the Land Use Schemes and SDFs, which guide the decision-making processes of the Municipal Planning Tribunals. The SPLUMA can be compared to the realism model of participation and partly to the possible ideal for South Africa, as the public is not just represented at certain times, but are involved in all development actions. There is also various questions that arise with the SPLUMA, the nature and extent of public participation is not described clearly and the role of traditional authorities in land use management and spatial planning is still unclear and unless the regulations or provincial legislation provide more detail, the SPLUMA will not assist areas currently without spatial planning and land use legislation.

In South Africa, there is not only legislation which incorporates public participation, but also various policies on public participation, which inherently forms part of the local government processes and in turn influences planning procedures.

4.3.2.2 Key policies

Policies that provides a framework of public participation in government include the White Paper on Local Government of 1998, the Batho Pele Principles of 1998, Community-based Planning Principles and the Community Development Worker Initiative of 2003, and the National Policy Framework on Public Participation of 2007 (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Scott, 2009).

4.3.2.2.1 White paper on Local Government (1998)

Active participation by citizens is required by municipalities on four levels, according to the White Paper on Local Government 1998 (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007):

- As voters: to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote.
- As citizens: who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after the policy development process in order to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible.

- As consumers and end-users: who expect value-for-money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service.
- As organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for profit businesses, non-governmental organisations and community-based institutions.

Mechanisms to ensure citizen participation in policy initiation and formulation and the monitoring and evaluation of decision-making and implementation should be developed by municipalities, as suggested by the White Paper. The following approaches can assist to achieve this (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007):

- Forums to allow organised formations to initiate policies and/or influence policy formulation, as well as participate in monitoring and evaluation,
- Structured stakeholder involvement in certain Council committees, in particular if these are issue-oriented committees with a limited lifespan rather than permanent structures,
- Participatory budgeting initiatives aimed at linking community priorities to capital investment programmes,
- Focus group participatory action research conducted in partnership with NGOs and CBOs can generate detailed information about a wide range of specific needs and values.

4.3.2.2.2 Batho Pele Principles (1998)

Batho Pele is a Sotho translation for “people first”; it is an initiative to urge public servants to be service orientated, to commit to continuous improvement of service delivery, to strive for excellence in service delivery. Through this initiative, public servants are held accountable for the level of service that they deliver to citizens (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2007; Centre for Public Participation, 2006).

Eight principles were developed that are aligned with the constitutional ideals of promoting and maintaining high standards of professional ethics; providing service impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias, utilising resources efficiently and effectively; responding to the needs of citizens; citizens are encouraged to participate in policy-making; and rendering an accountable, transparent and development-oriented public administration (Centre for Public Participation, 2006).

The Batho Pele principles include (DPSA, 1998):

1. Consultation: citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given choice about the services that are offered.
2. Setting service standards: citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect.
3. Increasing access: all citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled.
4. Ensuring courtesy: citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration.
5. Providing information: citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive.
6. Openness and transparency: citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are run, how much they cost, and who is in charge.
7. Redress: if the promised standard of service is not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation and a speedy and effective remedy; and when complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive response.
8. Value for money: public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money.

4.3.2.2.3 Community-Based Planning principles (2003)

The Community-Based Planning principles are based on a number of principles and actively seek to involve the community, focusing on poor people, so as to improve the quality of plans and services, extend community control over development and empower communities so that they take action and become independent. The principles are (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; EISA, 2006):

- Poor people are included,
- Plans, and the planning process, must be realistic and practical,
- Planning must be linked to legitimate structures like ward committees,
- Planning should include implementation, monitoring, evaluation and annual review,
- The plan must be people-focused and empowering,
- The emphasis should be to build on strengths and opportunities rather than focus on problems,
- Plans must be holistic and cover all sectors, for example economic, social and cultural sectors,
- Planning must promote mutual accountability between communities and officials,

- There must be commitment by councillors and officials to the whole process.

4.3.2.2.4 Community Development Worker initiative (2003)

The primary aim of the Community Development Worker initiative is to assist local communities in accessing government services and in meeting their needs. The Community Development Worker initiative plays a supportive role to the ward committees by (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Browne, Patel, & Mpondo, 2005):

- Ensuring that ward committees and civil society are informed on government support and services
- Encouraging ward committees and civil society to engage with opportunities
- Identifying needs and building on strengths by facilitating Community Based Planning (CBP) locally
- Supporting implementation of community activities and projects by community structures such as community workers and Community-Based Organisations
- Providing technical support (compiling reports and documents for example) to ward committees to monitor community projects and to account to communities and municipalities.

4.3.2.2.5 National policy framework on public participation (2007)

This framework identifies certain minimum requirements which municipalities must meet to fulfil the obligations of participatory governance. These requirements are grouped according to three strategies and the key elements of the institutional support to realise these strategies are also identified (Centre for Public Participation, 2006). The three strategies include:

1. **Public participation aspects of communication strategy:** To implement a Community Complaints Management System. Municipalities must publish and distribute a Citizen's Participation Charter which includes the Public participation principles and use Citizen's Satisfaction Surveys as a means of becoming informed of the views of the community.
2. **Ward Committees:** Municipalities should empower and support ward committees, as well as require them to operate in a participatory and democratic fashion.
3. **Integrated Development Plan (IDP) representative forum:** Municipalities should empower and support the IDP forum, as well as require it to operate in a participatory and democratic fashion.

The policies on public participation are reflected in the different models of participation. The White paper on local government, the Batho Pele principles and the community-based planning principles do not define specific timeframes when the public should participate, and what is meant with the public is not defined, which is a combination of the basic and the realism model of participation. The Community Development worker initiative incorporates the community and the ward committees in development, but not in the legislative sectors, which is reflected in the realism model of participation. The National policy framework on public participation includes citizens and wards committees, but gives only the minimum requirements for a municipality to be in good governance, this is also reflected in the realism model, where the public is defined. The ideal model of South Africa is not reflected in the policies, while partly being reflected in the legislation, this confuses the public, as different policies and legislation are willing to include them on different terms.

4.4 Conclusion

In closing this chapter section, it can be said that during the past two decades the focus on public participation shifted from communities waiting patiently for the government to deliver, towards a set of actions that communities themselves can participate in, in partnership with the Municipality and other stakeholders, as seen in Table 5. As such, the Municipal Systems Act created a cooperative governance framework where citizens, councillors and officials take collective responsibility for development at the local level (Centre for Public Participation, 2006). With the Batho Pele Principles, there was a major departure from a dispensation which excluded the majority of South Africans from government machinery to one that seeks to include all citizens for the achievement of a better life for all through services, products and programmes of a democratic dispensation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; DPSA, 1998). The Community-based planning principles and Community Development Workers initiative changed the role of government to one that strengthens (and not replaces) community activity. It has to build community-based workers and group activities. Typically there is an important role for stakeholder groups to facilitate such services, often supported by government funds or enabling legislation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006; Browne, Patel, & Mpondo, 2005). The National Policy Framework on Public Participation incorporated these previous principles and identified aspects of legislation mentioned beforehand as well as other legislation that will guide municipalities to maintain a democratic and lawful level of public participation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006).

Table 5 - Legislative overview on Public Participation

Legislation/Policy	Section	Quote
The Constitution	59(a)	<i>“The National Assembly must facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other process of the Assembly and its committees,”</i>
Municipal Structures Act	74(a)	<i>“A ward committee may make recommendations on any matter affecting its ward”</i>
Municipal Systems Act	42	<i>“A municipality...must involve the local community in the development, implementation and review of the municipality’s performance, management system, and, in particular, allow the community to participate in the setting of appropriate key performance indicators and performance targets for the municipality.”</i>
Town Planning and Townships Ordinance	131(1)	<i>“Where in terms of any provision of this Ordinance the Board or local authority shall hear objections lodged or representations made...”</i>
SPLUMA	45(2)	<i>“An interested person may petition to intervene in an existing application before a Municipal Planning Tribunal or an appeal authority and if granted intervener status, the interested person may be allowed to participate in such proceeding in the manner prescribed by the Minister or in provincial legislation.”</i>
White Paper on Local Government	3.3	<i>“As citizens: who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after the policy development process in order to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible.”</i>
Batho Pele Principles	Principle 1	<i>“Consultation: citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given choice about the services that are offered”</i>
Community-Based Planning Principles	Principle 8	<i>“Planning must promote mutual accountability between communities and officials”</i>

Community Development Worker Initiative	2	<i>“Ensuring that ward committees and civil society are informed on government support and services”</i>
National Policy Framework on Public Participation	1.5	<i>“Municipalities should empower and support ward committees, as well as require them to operate in a participatory and democratic fashion.”</i>

The historical context of South Africa influenced the development of the South African model of participation and provided for a broadly representative constitutional democracy based on universal adult suffrage (De Villiers, 2001; SAIEA, 2004). However, the South African Constitution’s emphasis on public participation introduces elements that, in the formal sense at least, distinguish it from many of the longer established democracies. South Africa has a variety of legislation and policies that emphasises the need for public participation, as well as the responsibility of municipalities to include the public in decision-making processes, but the South African context makes it difficult for the public to participate in these processes (SAIEA, 2004; Centre for Public Participation, 2006).

Participation in planning is incorporated in the relevant legislation and policies. Legislation is conducive to public participation in planning, but because of the variety and differences that exists in the participation, the public and government might get confused over when to participate or not, which is injurious to public participation. The following chapter will give an empirical investigation on whether a conducive legislative environment for public participation in town planning applications is effective.

Chapter 5 – Public participation in planning: an empirical investigation

5.1 Introduction

Public participation is a component of the process of human growth and an integral part of human development (Burkey, 1993:50). This is supported by authors such as Max-Neef, Elizalde and Hopenhayn (1991:52) who identified public participation as one of nine basic human needs that can be satisfied through the development process (Liebenberg and Theron, 1997:124-127). Despite acknowledgment of its importance there still exist questions around the perception of participation's effectiveness (Human Sciences Resource Council, 2000; Achmad, Emby, Mohammadi, Norazizan and Soroush, 2011). In South Africa participation is a constitutional right (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; Buccus, Hemson, Hicks and Piper, 2007) and enforced by policy and legislation (as discussed in Chapter 4).

A survey conducted by the Human Science Research Council in 2000 (cited by Roefs, Rule, Xuza, & Dichaba, 2001) indicated that The North West Province, South Africa, is a province with a large percentage (56%) of people who perceive that it is not possible to influence provincial government decisions. Public participation is sometimes seen as extraneous because people do not believe that their participation can influence government decisions (Achmad, Emby, Mohammadi, Norazizan, & Soroush, 2011). The perception of both citizens and local government acts upon the extent of local government matters and if both parties have a negative perception of participation, they will probably be reluctant to participate or involve participation (Achmad *et al.*, 2011). The quality of decision-making of local government will be unsatisfactory in cases without public participation (The Committee on National Parks and Protected Area Management, 2002), or only tokenistic participation (Arnstein, 1969).

The age of the HSRC survey (2000), seemingly the most recent research in the North West Province on this topic, illustrates a clear need to reinvestigate the issue of the effectiveness of public participation within urban planning. This chapter therefore aims to determine the influence of public participation on town planning applications in order to provide a basis from which public participation in South Africa can be critically analysed.

5.2 Study area

The study area, Tlokwe Local Municipality is situated in the North West Province, South Africa (Figure 15 - Study Area). The North West Province was recently identified by Statistics South

Africa (2012) as a province with a high population migration (third most in the country in terms of net-migration). Apart from the Western Cape (with a growth of 29%), the North West Province, together with Gauteng and Mpumalanga grew collectively at 26% between the two censuses, while the rest of the provinces grew at 6%. A similar optimistic future perspective is expected for this particular municipality, seated in Potchefstroom, a medium sized city. High potential economic growth is anticipated by the Tlokwe Local Municipality draft Integrated Development Plan 2012-2013 and the Potchefstroom Spatial Development Framework (2010) as Potchefstroom is identified as a growth point within the provincial context. In retrospect, Tlokwe Local Municipality illustrated sustained economic growth over time as reflected in the number of development applications since 1983. This past reputation and anticipated future spells a positive climate for investment opportunities, while an increase in development applications is most likely to occur. The continuous expansion of the North West University in Tlokwe is also creating an increase in the demand for residential development. This paves the way for an increase in the opportunities for public participation.

However, a negative perception of public participation in the province, as referred to in the introductory section of the chapter, may spell doom for planning within the current communicative paradigm and future towards a more democratic approach in planning practice. This may be the reason why the public is starting to express their views outside of the formal channels. Informal ways of participation in the form of social media have also become a regular notion in Tlokwe, one recent example is the proposed demolition of the historical Piet Malan residence, in order to make way for a 420-unit residential apartment building. A total of 308 objections were formally lodged with the local municipality and the public's outcry was also made public in two local newspapers (Anon, 2011; Botha, 2011), broadcast over television (Reynholds, 2013) and expressed on a dedicated Facebook page. It was also confirmed through interviews with key informants (members of authoritative bodies, for example the Development Tribunal, Land Use Committee and the Township Board who all have power to influence decision-making on development in the study area) that Tlokwe Local Municipality is more prone to reaction towards development than other local municipalities in the province.

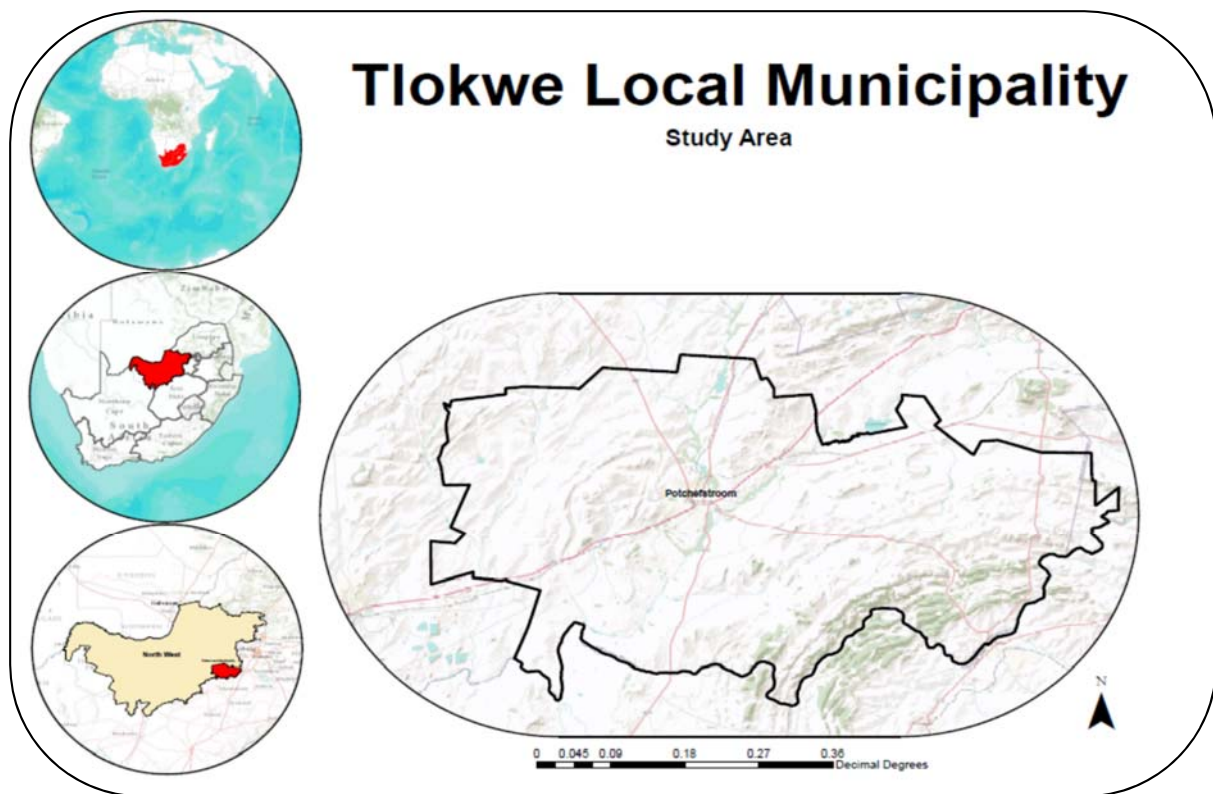


Figure 15 - Study Area

5.3 Research approach

As the aim of the empirical investigation is to determine the relationship (influence) between the participation of the public and the outcome of town planning applications, a quantitative research approach is considered more appropriate. The goal is to produce counts of key categories and measurements of the amounts of variables; that supports the quantitative nature of the analysis (Neundorf, 2002). A descriptive design will be used. According to Ross (1999) a descriptive study may be used to develop theory, justify current practice, make judgements, identify what others in similar situations may be doing and identify problems with current practice. A quantitative design for the study was regarded as most appropriate to verify the chosen hypothesis and because it is objective, deductive and generalisable (Neuman, 2011:166).

5.4 Research method

Content analysis is a process of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages (Cole, 1988). According to Harwood and Garry (2003) content analysis was first used as a method

for analysing hymns, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches in the 19th century. Content analysis has a long account of use in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business, and during the last few decades its use has shown steady growth (Neundorf, 2002). As a research method it is a systematic and an objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena (Krippendorff, 1980) (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992) (Sandelowski, 1995)

There are two types of content analysis, qualitative and quantitative; the method can also be used in two distinct ways; inductive or deductive. The purpose of the study determines which of these is used. In this case the quantitative method was used in both an inductive and deductive process. Figure 16 - Preparation, organising and resulting phases in the content analysis process (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) shows the steps and phases followed in the content analysis.

Content analysis provides a specific challenge for research, in that it does not proceed in a linear fashion and is more complex and difficult than simple quantitative analysis because it is less standardised and formulaic (Polit & Beck, 2004). As such, there are no simple guidelines for data analysis: each inquiry is distinctive, and the results depend on the skills, insights, analytic abilities and style of the investigator (Hoskins & Mariano, 2004). One challenge of content analysis is the fact that it is very flexible and there is no simple, 'right' way of doing it. Researchers must judge what variations are most appropriate for particular problems (Weber, 1990) and this makes the analysis process most challenging and interesting. A disadvantage of this type of data analysis is that it is a time-consuming process (Polit & Beck, 2004).

In this study, content analysis will be performed on specific town planning applications lodged within the Tlokwe Local Municipal. Town planning applications are kept on record by local municipalities and provincial departments. These records document formal public input from the public as part of the public participation process run during a town planning application, as well as the content of the application and subsequent negotiating process. These records are the first step in analysing public participation. Content analysis is considered appropriate for this particular study because it is useful as a method for analysing existing documents, such as town planning applications (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Cole, 1988; Harwood & Garry, 2003; Neundorf 2002).

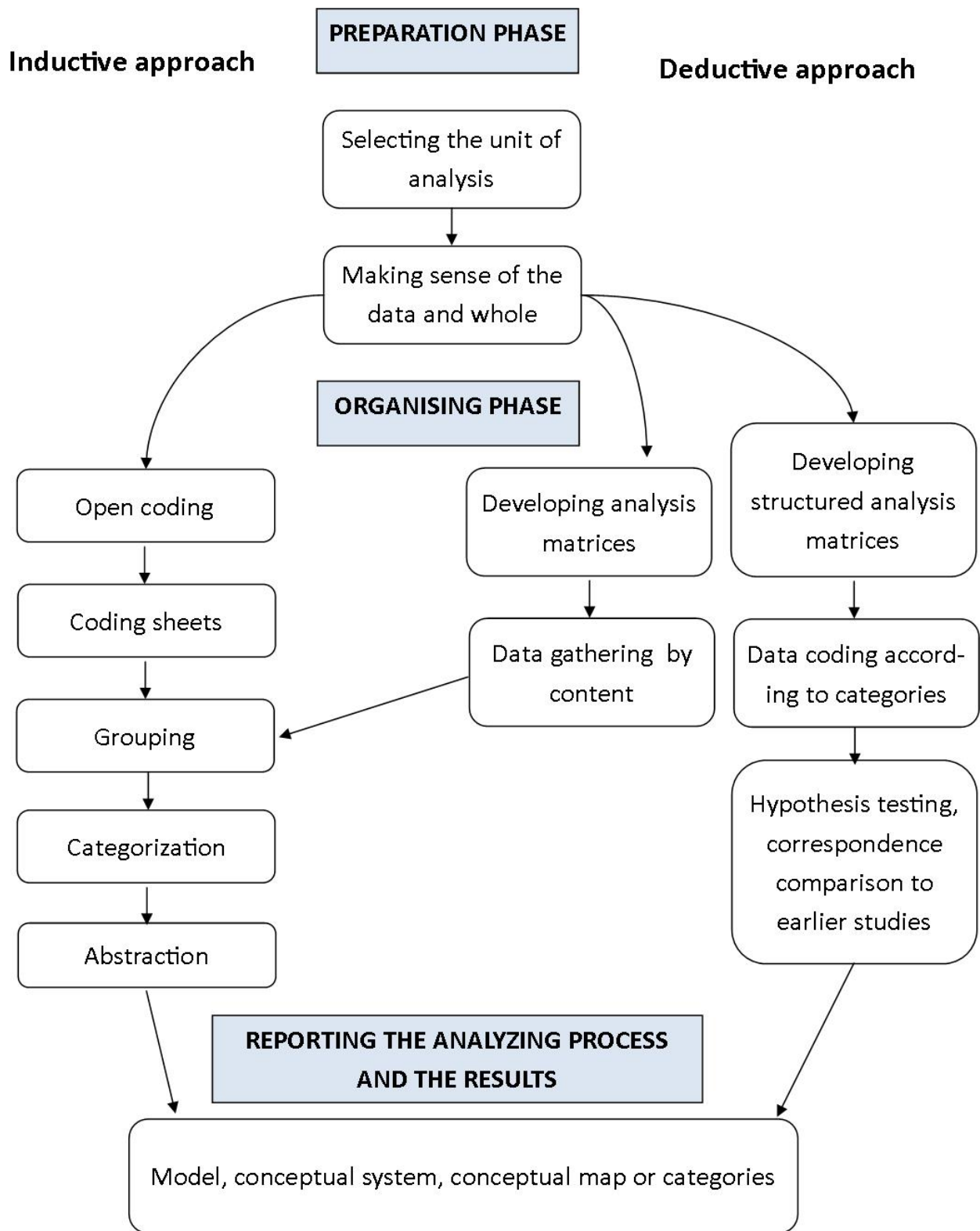


Figure 16 - Preparation, organising and resulting phases in the content analysis process (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008)

5.4.1 Preparation

Permission was obtained from the relevant municipal and provincial departments to collect data from archival records where development applications have been kept on record since 1983. These records are the only existing hard copy data that reflect the process of public participation and the content of the application process and are therefore useful as a first step in analysing the public participation process and outcomes. Because the use of bureaucratic data in research is criticised by authors such as Gomm (2004) and Tzavidis (2011) all data for this study was captured from the original files of development applications in order to develop insight into the context of the data.

5.4.2 Sampling

Systematic sampling was used to select town planning applications from the provincial and municipal archival records. Applications investigated gave an overview of participation trends over a 15 year cycle in the Tlokwe Local Municipality and represent both the period before and after democratisation. The sampling covered a variety of applications, including business rights, Development Facilitation Act applications, division of agricultural land, excision, public resorts, removal of restrictive title conditions, township establishment, consent use, consolidation of erven, rezoning and sub-division of erven.

From Table 6 - Number of applications included in the study, the chosen sampling frame can be seen, including a total of 564 applications from the periods of 1992-1993, 1997-1998, 2002-2003, and 2007-2008. The periods were chosen to give a broad sense of town planning applications over time, before democracy and after democracy. The period of 2012-2013 was not included as some of the applications have not been concluded.

Applications analysed included all documents pertaining to the application, consisting of the application itself, internal and external commentary, objections and the final decision. As guided by planning legislation, public participation input is currently only recorded in written objections submitted to local or provincial municipal authorities. Written objections were therefore considered to be public participation data.

Table 6 - Number of applications included in the study

Year	Municipal: Tlokwe Local Municipality	Provincial: Department of Developmental Local Government and Housing	Total
1992-1993	⁴	31	31
1997-1998	62	63	125
2002-2003	109	59	168
2007-2008	156	84	240
Total	327	237	564

5.4.3 Organising phase

Organisation of the data was done through coding, coding sheets, grouping and categorisation of the codes, and finally abstraction, as based on the procedure of Green (2000) and De Nisco *et al* (2008).

5.4.3.1 Coding

Commentary and any public notifications and objections are recorded in the applications, as well as the type of legislation used. This information formed the basis for coding. Open coding was used in this research. This means that notes and headings are written in the text while reading it (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The written material is read through again, and as many headings as necessary are written down in the margins to describe all aspects of the content (Burnard, 1991; Burnard, 1996; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For this study, notes and headings were written down while going through the applications in a notebook, to keep the integrity of the archived files.

5.4.3.2 Coding Sheets

The headings are collected from the margins and transferred onto coding sheets (Cole, 1988; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Dey, 1993) and categories were freely generated at this stage (Burnard,

⁴Tlokwe Local Municipality does not have applications from the period of 1992-1993 in their archives

1991). Categories that were used in terms of commentary was if the application was accepted as is, if the application was not welcomed by the municipality or if the application was accepted under a conditional agreement by the local municipality. The types of complaints that were lodged by the public in terms of objections were categorised e.g. an increase in crime, an increase in noise, the depreciation of the objector's property etc.

5.4.3.3 Grouping

After completion of the open coding process, the lists of categories were grouped under higher order headings (McCain, 1988) (Burnard, 1991). The aim of grouping data was to reduce the number of categories by collapsing those that are similar or dissimilar into broader and higher order categories (Burnard, 1991) (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992) (Dey, 1993). The commentaries of departments/bodies were grouped under the name of the department/body. Public objections were grouped by their nature: against the application, approval of the application under conditional agreement, or additional information needed before finalisation of the municipality's decision.

5.4.3.4 Categorisation

The creating of categories is not just bringing together remarks that are related or similar (Dey, 1993). By classifying data as belonging to a particular group, a comparison between these data and other remarks that do not belong to the same category can be made. Categories provide the means of describing phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge (Cavanagh, 1997). In an inductive content analysis, when formulating categories, the researcher comes to a decision, through interpretation, as to what themes to put in the same category (Dey, 1993). Categories included were the type of legislation used in the application, and also the departments/bodies that gave commentary under external or internal departments. Public objections were not categorised any further. The final outcome of the application was also categorised to see if it was approved, not approved or if the application was cancelled.

5.4.3.5 Abstraction of coding categories

By formulating a general description of the research topic through generating categories, abstraction is achieved (Robson 1993, Burnard 1996, Polit & Beck 2004). Each category is named using content-characteristic words. Subcategories with similar events and incidents are grouped together as categories and these categories are grouped as main categories (Dey 1993, Robson 1993, Kyngas & Vanhanen 1999). The abstraction process continues as far as is sensible and possible. A pattern that was observed by analysing the applications is that there is always reference to specific legislation, there is always commentary from certain departments/bodies and there is always an outcome. Depending on the type of legislation that was used, public notification

is not always included. Public objections are also not prevalent in all applications. The final abstraction grouped the data into five main headings: Legislation, Public Notification, Commentary, Objections and Final Decision.

Abstraction

Legislation

- Act 88 of 1967
- Act 67 of 1995
- Act 70 of 1970
- Act 21 of 1940
- Act 20 of 1986
- Act 22 of 1919
- Act 18 of 1969
- Act 84 of 1967
- Act 15 of 1986
- Act 25 of 1965

Public Notification

- Notice Board
- Advertisement
 - Provincial Gazette
 - Local newspaper

Commentary

- Internal comments
 - DDLG&H
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - District Municipality
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Local Municipality
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Community Development
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Other
 - Vyfhoeck management council
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Fochville town council
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
- External comments
 - Agriculture & Rural Development
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Public Works, Roads & Transport
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Health
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Water Affairs & Forestry
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Economic Development, Environment, Conservation & Tourism
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - SAHRA
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Telkom
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - Eskom
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement
 - DBSA
 - Against application
 - Conditional agreement

Objections

- Against application
 - Increase crime
 - Increase noise
 - Depreciation of value
 - Not enough parking
 - Technical difficulties
 - Unwanted
 - Other
- Conditional agreement

Need more information on application

If more information is given, and objector still objects to application, it is listed either under 'against application' or 'conditional agreement'.

Final Decision

- Approved
- Not approved
- Cancelled

Figure 17 - Abstraction coding categories

5.4.4 Application of coding to data

One of the aims of this chapter is to determine the effectiveness of objections to influence the outcomes of planning decisions. An example of how it was determined that an objection influenced the outcome of an application, using the coding and abstraction procedure described above, was as follows:

- The coding within a specific application identified that the main issue of an objection was noise impact.
- Coding of internal commentary revealed the presence of the same code (e.g. noise impact).
- Reapplying the same coding illustrated the presence of noise impact present in the final decision document. The final decision also indicated mitigating factors that the developer had to adhere to, to reduce the impact of noise on the surrounding properties. As such, it was deemed that the objection was successful in influencing the outcome of the final planning decision.
- Should a specific code identified in an objection not be present in the final decision, the influence of that objection was considered negligible.

The objective of content analysis was to analyse the information obtained in a scientific and systematic manner. This was done by summarising the coded data, discovering patterns and relationships, testing hypotheses, relating results to data obtained or assessing the validity of the analysis. The tasks set out above and analytical techniques for accomplishing these tasks are unique to every content analysis and a variety of statistical methods can be used, depending on the coding system.

The most common means of summarising data is by looking at frequencies among them (United States Government Accountability Office, 1996). The absolute frequency is the total amount of occurrences of one variable and the relative frequency is the absolute frequency divided by the total amount of occurrences of all variables. For this study both absolute and relative frequencies were used to indicate growth and trends over time and in totality.

5.5 Results of the influence of public participation

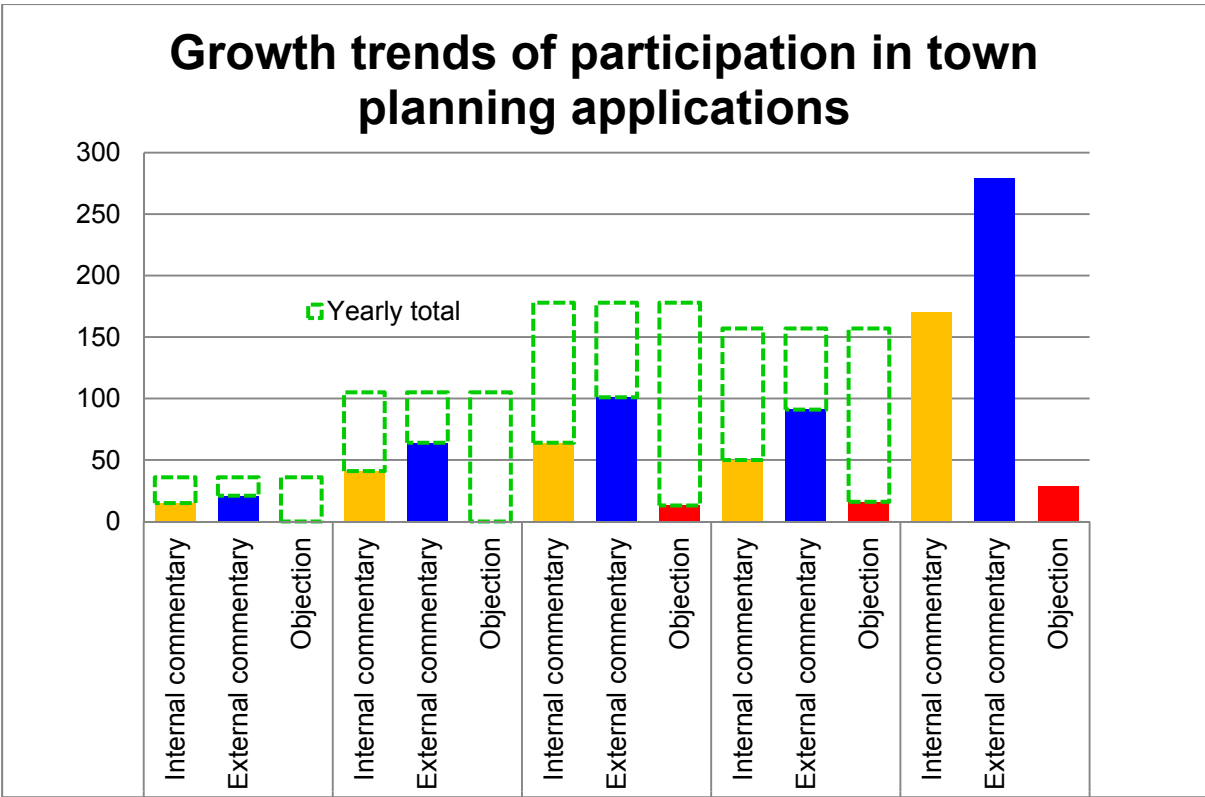
Although the focus of the critical analysis is on *public* participation, commentary from various internal and external stakeholders (like internal municipal departments and Eskom) were considered in certain statistical analyses to contextualise participation within a wider scope.

Results are presented to give an overview of participation trends for the time period of 1992 to 2008, to illustrate the nature of public participation for various types of applications and to illustrate the influence of public participation on planning.

5.5.1 General growth trends in participation

From **Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.** it seems that participation increased after democracy was introduced to South Africa, but after 2003 participation decreased. More external departments participated than internal departments and the public (objections). External departments include the department of health, the department of economic development, environment, conservation and tourism, the department of public works, roads and transport, the department of agriculture and rural development, the department of social development and internal departments include the department of community services, the department of housing and planning, the department of economic development, the department of infrastructure and the department of public safety. Public participation (objections) was the only type of participation that increased over time.

Figure 18 - Growth trends of participation in town planning applications (1992-2008)



5.5.2 Objections in applications

From **Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.**, it is illustrated that the application that received the most external commentary was Business rights and the Division of agricultural land. Rezoning applications received the most internal commentary and the most objections. Rezoning applications along with consent use applications were the only applications that received objections from the public. Business rights, division of agricultural land and rezoning applications received the most participatory input overall. The most participation took place in the period of 2002-2003. Participation by external departments was the most prominent type of participation.

From Table 8 - Application types that support participation Consolidation- and Sub-division of land applications do not support public participation; the only method of participation is the circulation of the application in internal/external government. Business right-, excision- and Division of agricultural land applications has a single method of supporting public participation, while the rest of the applications (excluding consolidation- and Sub-division of erven applications) have two methods of supporting public participation. All of the applications support the participation of internal/external government by the circulation of the application.

Table 7 - Number of objections per application type

Number of objections per application type	1992-1993			1997-1998			2002-2003			2007-2008			Total		
	Internal commentary	External commentary	Objection	Internal commentary	External commentary	Objection	Internal commentary	External commentary	Objection	Internal commentary	External commentary	Objection	Internal commentary	External commentary	Objection
Business rights	7	19	0	14	44	0	5	21	0	6	20	0	32	104	0
DFA ⁵										7	19	0	7	19	0
Division agricultural land	2	0	0	8	6	0	10	36	0	2	14	0	22	58	0
Excision	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public resorts	6	2	0	8	8	0	8	13	0				22	23	0
RORTC ⁶				2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	4	0
Township Est.				4	5	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	5	9	0
Consent use				5	0	0	3	0	2	3	0	0	11	0	2
Consolidations							0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Rezoning							35	20	11	31	18	16	66	38	27
Sub-division of erven				0	0	0	2	3	0	1	17	0	3	20	0
Total	15	21	0	41	64	0	64	101	13	50	91	16	170	279	29



⁵During the period of 1992-1993, the DFA legislation did not exist. No DFA applications were lodged within the municipality during the periods of 1997-1998 and 2002-2003.

⁶ Removal of restrictive title conditions

Table 8 - Application types that support participation

Type of application	Method of participation	
	Internal/external government	Public
Business rights	Circulation of application	Advertisement
DFA ⁷	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Division of agricultural land	Circulation of application	Site notice
Excision	Circulation of application	Site notice
Public resort	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Removal or restrictive title conditions	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Township establishment	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Consent use	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Consolidations	Circulation of application	None
Rezoning	Circulation of application	Site notice/Advertisement
Sub-division of erven	Circulation of application	None

Figure 19 - Percentage of application types that support public participation (objections), indicates that the majority (82%) of the applications do support public participation. There is not that many applications that received objections, the majority of applications (95%) did not receive any objections, as can be seen from

⁷As for DFA applications, it is known through professional association with registered town planners that in some cases additional, voluntary public participation is elicited by the planner. This was done by informing surrounding land owners via registered post, or post delivered in person by hand, about the proposed development at the same time of the site notices and advertisements

Figure 20 - Percentage public participation (objections) for total amount of applications. When considering the type of applications that received objections, there are only two application types: rezoning and consent use applications. When comparing applications, rezoning applications received the most objections, with 18% of all rezoning applications receiving objections (see Figure 21 - Public participation (objections) in rezoning applications

Figure 19 - Percentage of application types that support public participation (objections)

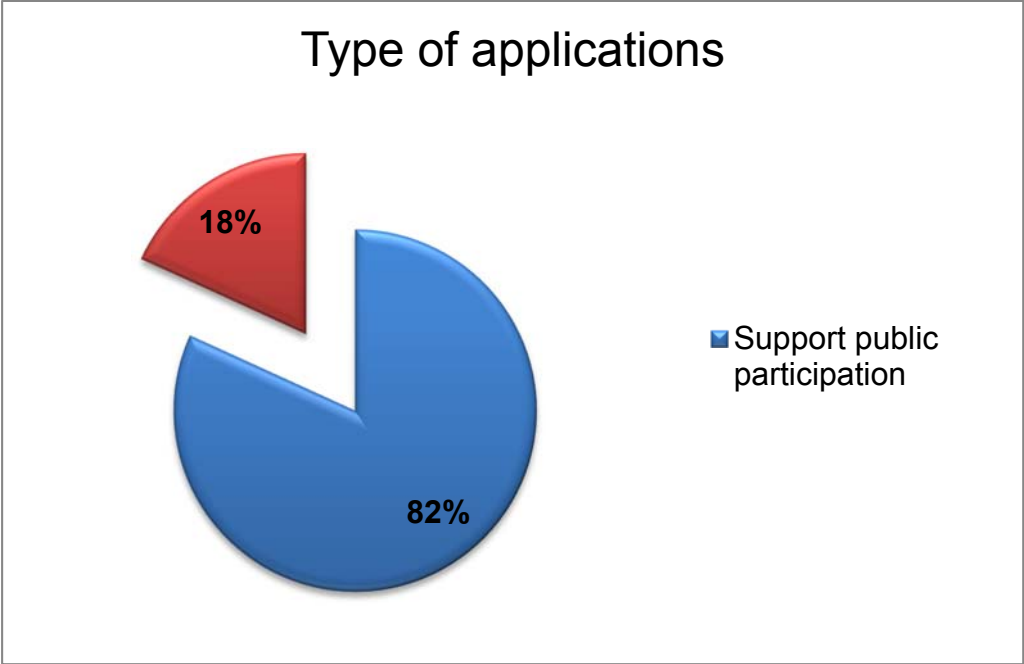


Figure 20 - Percentage public participation (objections) for total amount of applications

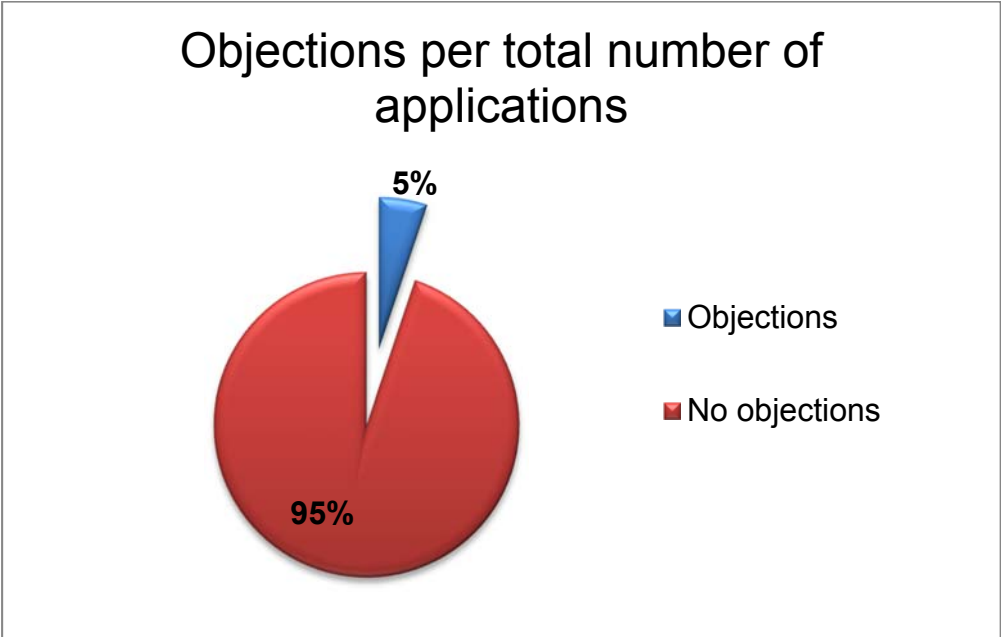
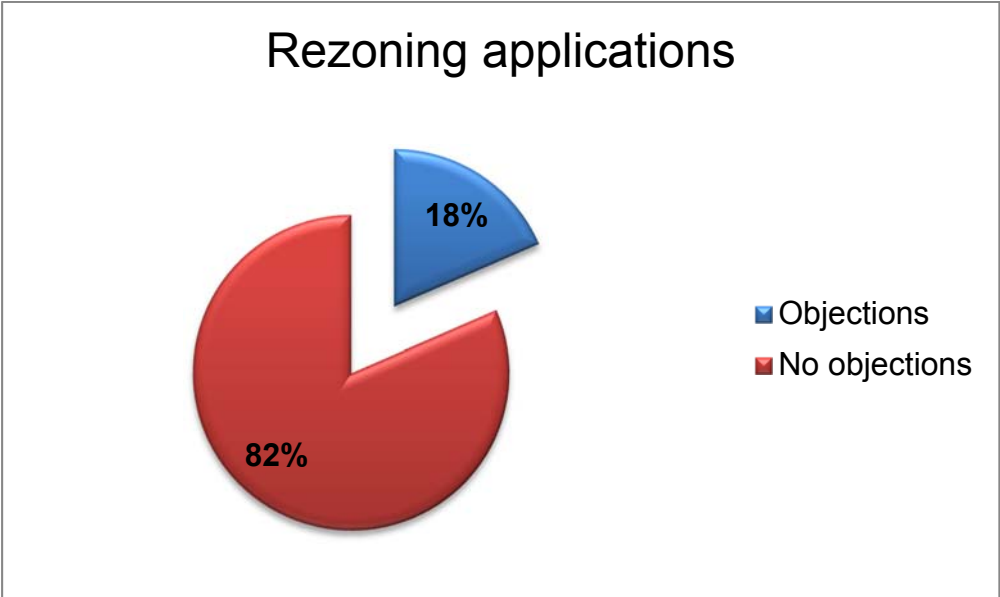


Figure 21 - Public participation (objections) in rezoning applications



Consent use applications received fewer objections; with 4% of all consent use applications receiving objections (see Figure 21).

Figure 22 - Public participation (objections) in consent use applications

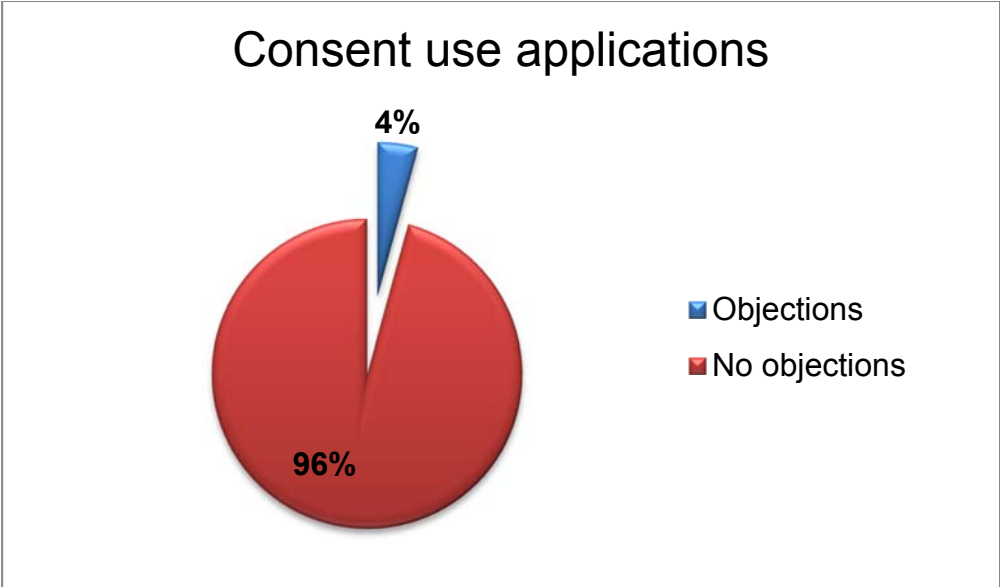
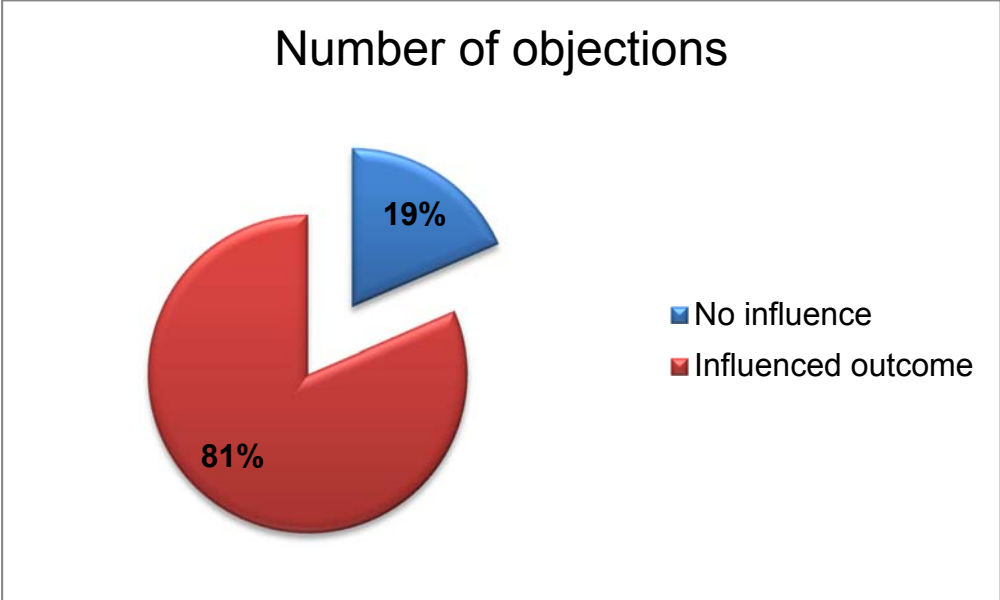


Figure 23 - number of objections that influenced the outcome illustrates that the majority of objections influenced the outcome of the applications, with 81% of all objections that eventually influenced the outcome.

Figure 23 - number of objections that influenced the outcome



5.5.3 Reasons for objections

Potchefstroom is a town with a large student community and natural beauty. The most objections by the public take these two elements into account. For instance a rezoning of a property to a student commune, the neighbours will likely object with the reason that the noise will increase, because of rowdy students. Applications for business zonings are mostly objected to by neighbouring competitors. All objections were analysed and revolved mainly around four themes.

Environmentally based objections included arguments that a proposed development would create increased noise, increased levels of pollution, and obstruction of view. Economic reasons were based on the decrease in value of neighbouring properties, competition and non-feasibility of the proposed land use. Technically related objections often referred to lack of sufficient parking and services, as well as an increase in traffic volume in the area. Social reasons for objecting included an expected increase in crime in the area, segregation of the community, and the possible creation of social defects such as alcoholism. Finally, other reasons given for objecting to the proposed developments were that the approvals sought after were not aligned with the relevant legislation, nor did they reflect the spatial trends in the specific context.

Figure 24 - Reasons for objections

Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noise increase • Pollution • Obstruct view
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Property value decrease • Too much competition • Not feasible
Technical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough parking • Lack of services • Traffic increase
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of crime • Segregate community • Social defect
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not aligned with relevant legislation • Not in line with spatial trends

People participate and they object according to a variety of reasons, their objections are taken into consideration and have an effect on the final outcome, as was illustrated in the research of the study. In the following section, the results will be critically evaluated.

5.6 Discussion of results

5.6.1 Broad participatory trends

Participation in town planning applications consists of participation from three spheres, (1) internal commentary, (2) external commentary and (3) public objections. Internal commentary is comments from other branches within the municipality; external commentary comes from different government departments, municipalities and state agencies. Public participation is expressed

through formal objections against applications that emphasises the reactive nature of public participation in planning.

Growth trends in participation in town planning

5.6.2 General growth trends in participation

From **Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.** it seems that participation increased after democracy was introduced to South Africa, but after 2003 participation decreased. More external departments participated than internal departments and the public (objections). External departments include the department of health, the department of economic development, environment, conservation and tourism, the department of public works, roads and transport, the department of agriculture and rural development, the department of social development and internal departments include the department of community services, the department of housing and planning, the department of economic development, the department of infrastructure and the department of public safety. Public participation (objections) was the only type of participation that increased over time.

Figure 18 - Growth trends of participation in town planning applications (1992-2008) indicate that participation increased after democracy was introduced into South Africa in 1994, this could be because of the more inclusive society and a more public participation oriented constitution (Centre for Public Participation, 2006), but after 2003 overall participation decreased, as indicated by Figure 4. Participation was the most prominent during the period of 2002 to 2003. When looking at the growth of the different types of participation, public participation is the only sphere that continues to grow over time, while internal and external commentary growth took a dip in growth over the time of 2007 to 2008. Public participation increased by 23% from the period of 2002-2003 to 2007-2008. The utmost participating sphere over time continues to be the external departments; when different spheres of participation are considered it is clear that public participation increased over time, while internal and external participation (in the form of commentary) decreased over the period of 2007 to 2008.

5.6.3 Nature of participation

With national legislation and policies embracing public participation (Centre for Public Participation, 2006), it is peculiar to see that this is not the case with town planning legislation. Not all types of applications require participation from the public, for example applications for sub-

division of land (within the municipal boundaries) and consolidations of erven do not require site notices or newspaper advertisements. In the Tlokwe Local Municipality nine out of the eleven types of applications and thus 82% of all applications require (and therefore supports) public participation (see Figure 19 - Percentage of application types that support public participation (objections)). In general certain types of development applications seem to evoke in total more response, including internal and external commentary and objections. These include applications for business rights, division of agricultural land- and rezoning applications. In total, only 5% of all the applications received objections from the public, as illustrated in

Figure 20 - Percentage public participation (objections) for total amount of applications. The only application types that received formal objections from the public were rezoning (mostly for Residential 3) and consent-use applications.

Densification (as is associated with “Residential 3” type zoning), especially in the area of the North-West University (known as The Bult), has remained controversial over the past decade, as most of these applications involve the development of student housing. Furthermore, higher densities in many instances involve demolition of historic residences older than sixty years and thus protected in terms of the National Heritage Resource Act (South Africa, 1999). The fact that The Bult, as one of the oldest neighbourhoods in the city, has experienced radical transformation in terms of its character, use and density were also protested by means of social media (the Piet Malan residence, referred to earlier).

5.6.4 Profile of objectors

Regarding their profile (Figure 12), the majority of the objectors were individuals (48%) and groups of individuals (28%), while other objectors included town-planning firms on behalf of individuals (14%) and non-governmental associations (10%) such as the Potchefstroom Guest House Association. Individuals and groups of individuals were spatially located in the immediate vicinity of the application, for example neighbouring property owners. Town-planning firms that objected were always on behalf of neighbouring residents or owners of properties with the same land use, for instance student-housing property owners or office property owners. Nongovernmental associations objected in the area of their expertise; homeowners associations objected, because the application was in the physical vicinity of their properties. Guest-house associations objected when the proposed development presented direct competition, as in the case of another guest house.

Objections from individuals and town-planning firms remained constant between the 2002 and 2003 and between 2007 and 2008 (Figure 13).By contrast, the number of groups of individuals and associations increased between these two periods.

Figure 25 - Profile of objectors

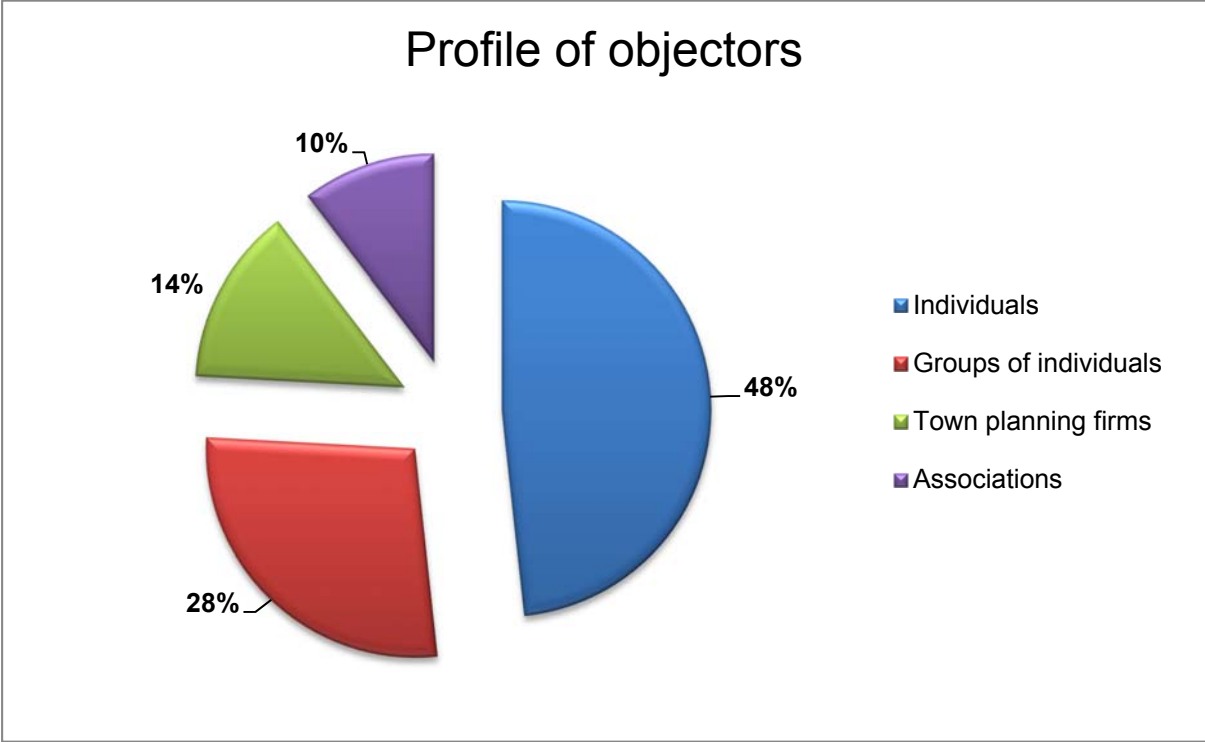
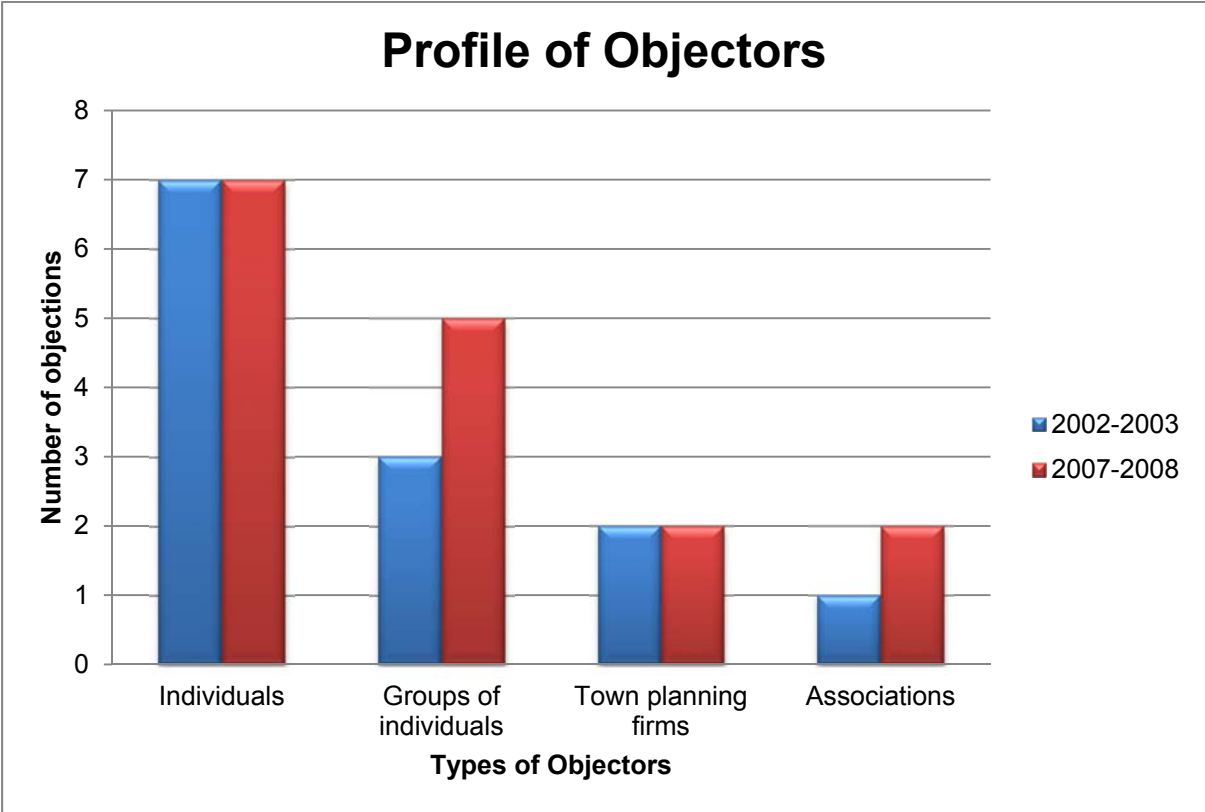


Figure 26 - Profile of objectors over time



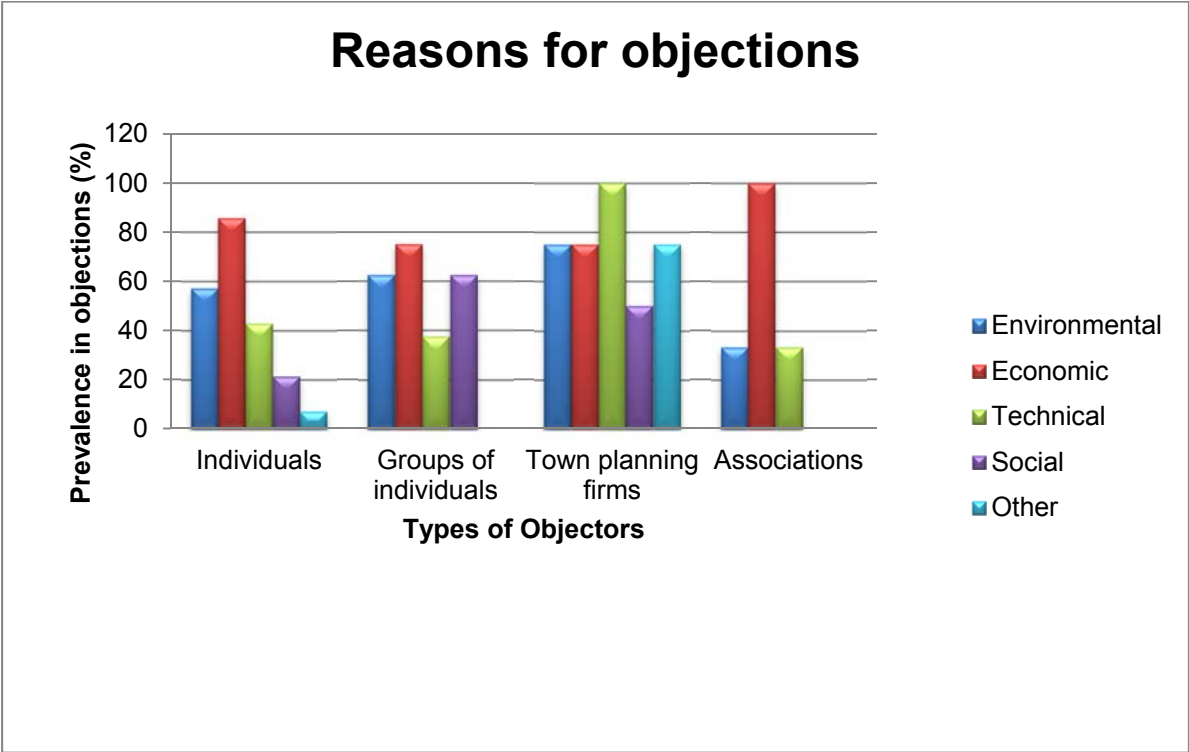
5.6.5 Reasons for objections

Objections from the public were mostly from people in the immediate vicinity of the application, this is in line with the IAP2’s definition of participation, which states that public participation means to involve those who are affected by a decision in the decision-making process (IAP2, 2006). Most of the objections were based on NIMBYism⁸, which Bedford, Clark and Harrison (2002) identified as the most likely reason why the public object. The objections focused not only on the personal interest of the objector, for instance the decrease of value of their property, because of the change of land use of a neighboring property, but also on the communities’ interest, for example the creation of social defects like alcoholism and the pollution of the area. The objections also included the interest of the applicant in some cases, for instance the technical reasons, such as insufficient parking and lack of services. Objectors also took into account the legislation and frameworks when objecting, for instance when the application is not in line with the spatial trends of the town. Most objectors gave a variety of reasons when objecting, but most stayed in one theme of reasoning.

⁸NIMBY (an acronym for “Not In My Back Yard”) is the characterisation of opposition by residents to a proposal for a new development because it is in close proximity to them.

Economic reasons were most prevalent as reason for objecting, with the exception of associations (Figure 14) that are more civilly oriented bodies than economically driven institutions. Environmental reasons were also popular motivations for objections for all types of objectors. Groups of individuals and town planning firms were quite adept at motivating objections based on social reasons. An obvious discrepancy exists between the number and variety of reasons given to object between the town-planning firms and associations: not only did town-planning firms object more than associations, but they also used a greater variety of objections than any other objector type, especially associations. This may be attributed to the voluntary and noneconomic driven nature of associations as well as to the professional knowledge available to town planners with regard to town-planning applications that is not necessarily available for the other objector types.

Figure 27 - Reasons for objections



5.6.6 Influence of participation

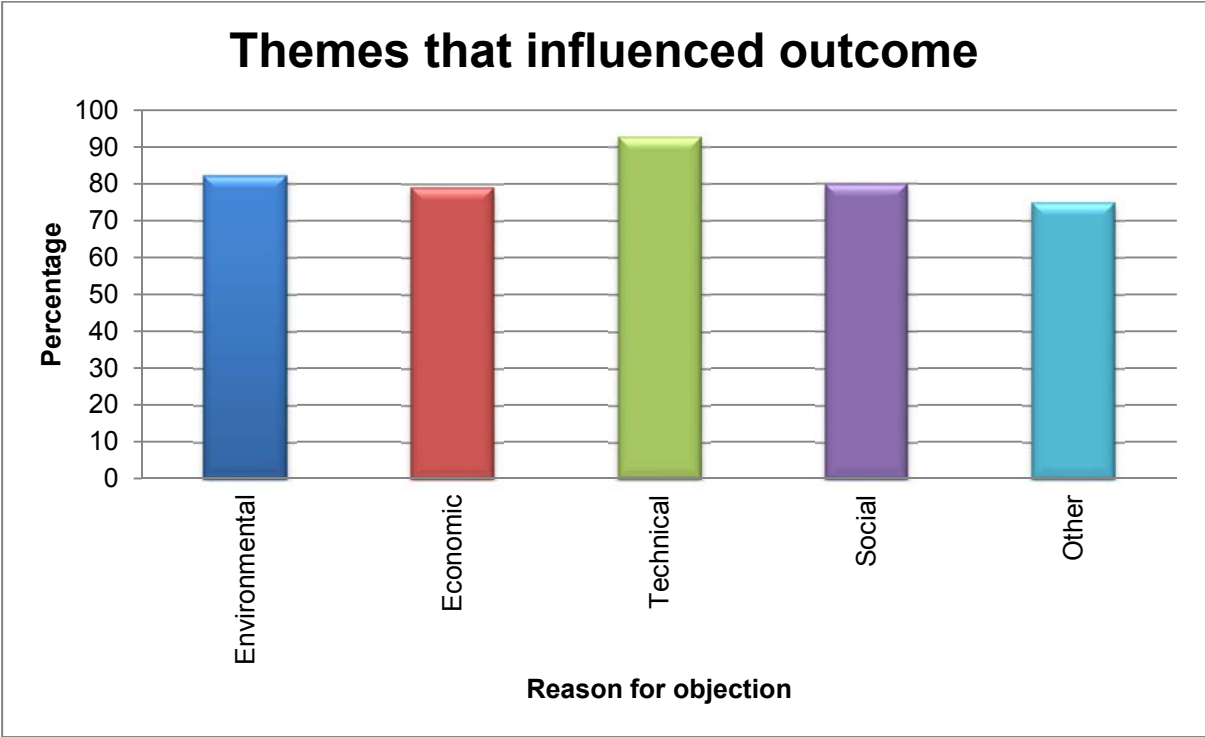
The inductive data analysis indicated that, although only 5% of all applications received objections from the public, public input was the most prominent in influencing the outcome of applications. Of all the objections received from the public, 81% influenced the outcome of the applications (see Figure 23 - number of objections that influenced the outcome) in the sense that the final disapproving decision was based on the grounds set out in the public objections. *The hypothesis of this study is therefore rejected because public participation did in these cases determine the outcome of planning decisions.*

Follow-up interviews with key informants of the Development Tribunal (2013) and Land Committee (2013) confirmed that the role of public participation is an important consideration for the final decision, if objections are well motivated (based on facts and not emotions). The interviewees further emphasised that the Land Committee and Development Tribunal both aim to find a balance between the applicants and objectors and instances where approval is granted despite objections, fears expressed in objections being incorporated in the conditions of approval. This, therefore, seems to indicate that public participation in the cases included in the research was able to influence the outcome of planning decisions.

However, further scrutiny of the data indicates that those objectors who proved to be the most successful in influencing the final decision on a town-planning application were the town planners acting on behalf of other clients, followed by individuals and groups of individuals. Associations seem to have had the least influence on decision-making in town planning (Figure 14).

In terms of reasons that swayed the outcome of a planning application, technical reasons proved to be the most effective (Figure 15), followed by environmental reasons, social reasons, economic reasons and lastly, other reasons.

Figure 28 - Themes that influenced outcome



One could, however, continue to be critical towards the underlying reasons that only 6% of all applications were accompanied by objections, as this reflects a small number of only twenty-nine

formal objections over a period of sixteen years. The reason for this might be that citizens do not believe that they can influence government decisions (Martin, 2004), as also indicated by the HSRC survey (2000).

Furthermore, this percentage is not necessarily an indication of active or proactive participation by the public in decision-making, nor an indication of satisfaction with the planning process and the nature of public participation *per se*. Planning still seems to be reactive (Hillier & Healey, 2008) and not inclusive and the level of participation is still very low and falls within tokenism (Arnstein, 1969).

This study also reflects public participation up until the first level of decision-making, namely recommendation for approval or not by the land use committee or tribunal. There are other ways of public participation that may be valuable data but that is not included in government data (archival records) or the formal planning procedure. These include public response through social media, telephone calls to authorities and newspapers. However, for a more in-depth and qualitative exploration additional research will be required.

5.7 Conclusion

The original hypothesis stating that public participation does not influence town planning application is rejected, as the data infers that the majority of public participation (81%) did influence town planning applications in the Tlokwe Local Municipality during 1992-2008. This study points to a difference in the way the impact of public participation in town planning is perceived in the North West Province as researched by the the HSRC (2000), when compared to the actual outcome of participatory input on the decisions of town planning applications in the Tlokwe Local Municipality.

Even though the public has an influence in local government in terms of town planning applications, they still perceive that public participation has no influence on outcomes and this may prove to be a valuable area to investigate. A critical analysis of the results of the empirical investigation of public participation in Tlokwe Municipality may add insight into this perception; especially when contextualised against the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2-4. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6 – Critical analysis of public participation in town planning applications as instrument for democracy

6.1 Introduction

The role of the public has become increasingly important in society, and considered by the United Nations as a basic right (United Nations Environment Programme, 1992). This increasing emphasis on public participation is also reflected in planning where the public stepped out of its role as end-product user became part of the process of getting to an end product. The level of participation increased from a level of informing to a level of collaboration, involvement and even in some cases to empowerment. With the increasing role of the public in planning, the role of the planner has changed from that of an autonomous expert implementer of plans to that of facilitator (Peel, 2000). The reason for the increased importance of public participation mainly revolves around the fact that public participation is linked to human development (Thomas, 2000, pp. 32-34; Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 1999, p. 67) However, although the importance of participation in human development takes precedence and overshadows negative aspects of participation, including time-consumption, cost and negative perceptions (Ministry for the Environment, 1999; Parks and Wildlife Commission, Northern Territory, 2002), public participation is not accepted without critique (King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998).

In this study it was found that public participation had an effect on the outcome of town planning applications (see Chapter 5 where this is discussed in more detail), but this is not necessarily an illustration of positive participation that leads to what is believed to be the very purpose behind public participation: human development. The aim of this chapter is therefore to conduct a critical analysis of the effectiveness of public participation in town planning applications in democratic South Africa in terms of the theory discussed in this study as well as the results of the empirical study. The chapter will start with a short definition of what a critical analysis is and why it is necessary, while the rest of the chapter will critically view theoretical concepts embedded in public participation (derived from Chapter 2, 3 and 4) as well as concepts with regard to the empirical findings (derived from Chapter 5).

6.2 What is critical analysis?

Critical analysis is the analysis of arguments by making inferences using deductive and inductive reasoning, judging or evaluating intended for an academic audience (Lai, 2011). Deductive reasoning is a top-down approach to reasoning, where the researcher moves from a broad spectrum of information to a specific conclusion, whereas inductive reasoning is a bottom-up

approach, where the researcher moves from specific observations to generalisations and theories (Goel, Gold, Kapur, & Houle, 1997; Johnson, 1996).

Critical analysis comes from critical thinking (Lai, 2011). Critical thinking is an objective analysis which evaluates an issue with the goal of formulating a judgement on the aforementioned issue (Ennis R. , 1987; Brown & Keeley, 2000). It is a set of skills and attitudes that are used in a form of cognition to evaluate an issue. Critical thinking originates from two primary academic disciplines, according to (Lewis & Smith, 1993) that include psychology and philosophy. A third school of critical analysis was found within the education field by Sternberg (1986).

The philosophical school focuses on the qualities of a person, rather than the action and behaviour that the person can perform. The ideal critical thinker is inquisitive, open minded, considers other viewpoints and is not judgemental (Lewis & Smith, 1993; Facione, 1990).

The psychological or cognitive approach differs from the philosophical school in the sense that they focus on the way people actually think rather than on ideal conditions, it also does not focus on the qualities of a person, but rather on the actions and behaviour of critical thinkers (Sternberg, 1986; Lewis & Smith, 1993).

The educational approach is hierarchical in nature, with comprehension at the bottom of the tier and evaluation at the top. The three highest levels of the tier are analysis, synthesis and evaluation and are the representation of critical thinking (Bloom, 1956; Kennedy, Fisher, & Ennis, 1991; Lai, 2011).

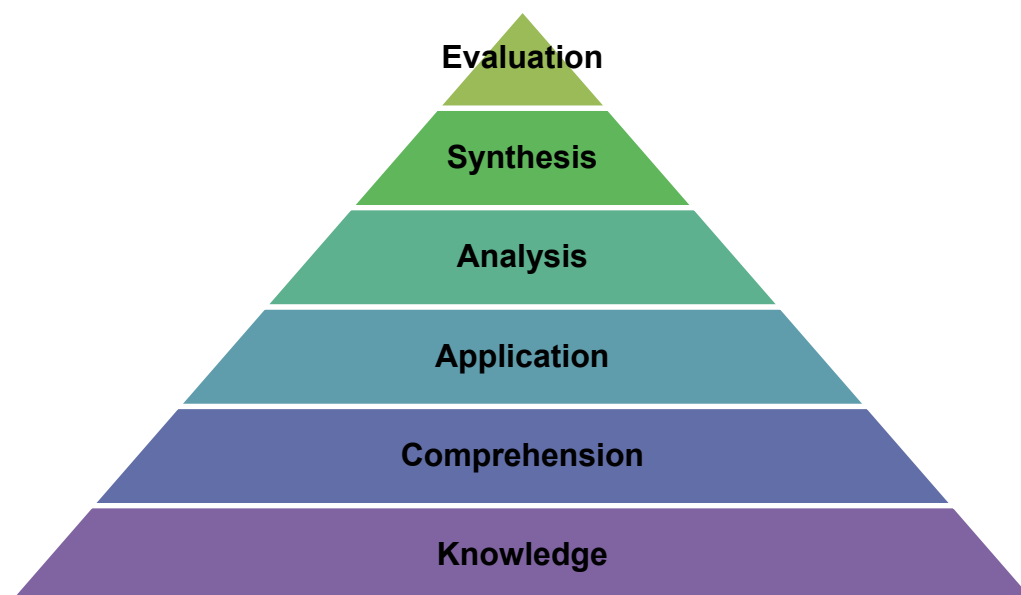


Figure 29 - Taxonomy of critical thinking (Source: Bloom, 1956)

Although there are differences between the three schools of thought, there are certain similarities between their approaches to critical thinking. Specific abilities include analysing arguments, claims or evidence (Ennis, 1985; Facione, 1990; Halperne, 2001; Paul, 1992); using inductive and deductive reasoning (Ennis, 1985; Facione, 1990; Paul, 1992; Willingham, 2007); judging or evaluating (Case, 2005; Ennis, 1985; Facione, 1990; Lipman, 1988; Tindal & Noler, 1995) and making decisions or solving problems (Ennis, 1985; Halperne, 2001; Willingham, 2007). In this chapter, a critical stance will be taken to the arguments put through in the previous chapters while through inductive and deductive reasoning a conclusion will be drawn on the general effectiveness of public participation in town planning applications.

To analyse critically, one should also look at certain dispositions for critical thinking, these include: open-mindedness (Ennis, 1985; Facione, 1990; Halperne, 2001); fair-mindedness (Facione, 1990); the propensity to seek reason (Ennis, 1985; Paul, 1992), inquisitiveness (Facione, 1990), the desire to be well-informed (Ennis, 1985; Facione, 1990) and flexibility (Facione, 1990; Halperne, 2001).

6.3 Why is critical analysis necessary?

There are numerous benefits to critical thinking which is applied in critical analysis. Critical analysis brings forth: (i) a more focused reading, with the identification of key points, (Cottrell, 2005; Lai, 2011) (ii) is linked to heightened individualism (Le Cornu, 2009) and (iii) is important because it allows one to analyse, explain, evaluate and restructure one's thinking – especially particularly important in the academic fields to decrease the risk of adopting or acting on a false belief by detecting poor arguments. By including background knowledge into your analysis, it makes this judgement even more informed (Cottrell, 2005; Lai, 2011).

6.4 A critical approach to public participation in planning

Critical thought in planning is important to understand the limitations of theory in comparison to practice (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002; Ennis R. , 1993). It is also important to know the differences between theories and that each theory emphasises a certain ideology while taking into account some or no other ideologies (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). There exists contradictions between planning theories and theories should be applied parallel to each other to arrive at a perspective, the contradictions are mostly reflective of the contradictions in society (Hudson, Galloway, & Kaufman, 1979; Yiftachel, 1989).

6.4.1 Critical analysis of theoretical concepts used in this research

Theoretical concepts are beneficial to the practical paradigm, but it is important to take note that these concepts are not objective, because they are inherently self-directed (Ennis R. , 1993; Ennis R. , 1985; Loar, 1990). The theoretical concepts (derived from Chapter 2, 3 and 4) in terms of public participation that are critically analysed in this chapter, are: human development and the level of participation, context in which public participation was promoted, normative nature of planning, application of planning theory, power relations, and applying public participation in South Africa.

6.4.1.1 Critique 1: Human development and the level of participation

According to Healey (2002), the two main tendencies over the past 50 years in town and regional planning, was the top-down and bottom-up approach. The top-down tendency aimed at centralism and de-politicising decision-making as well as increasing the role and power of technical experts. The bottom-up tendency demanded more participation in decision-making, a call for more accountability from politicians and municipal officials and an increase in the criticism of technical expertise (Murray *et al*, 2009) (Pissourios, 2014). The top-down and bottom-up tendencies include various levels on which the public informs decision-making in planning.

Not all levels of participation seem to be conducive for human development (Nisbet, 2008; Streeten, 2002). The question of what level of participation is ideal for human development is still to be answered. Various levels of participation is criticised for various reasons. There is for example a danger in total citizen control as it culminates in a decrease in planning. This *laissez-faire* approach and non-planning was the reason why the importance of planning came into existence during the industrial revolution (LeGates & Stout, 1993).

In Arnstein's (1969) levels of public participation the level with the most public participation also poses problems for the planning process. These problems include bad planning decisions because there is a lack of knowledge of the projects, there can also be outside influences and people's own motives that influence the outcome of these planning processes (Fodor & Smith, 1982). The problem is that total control by the public can also be linked to anarchy (Stiftel, 2000).

Total control by the public might not be the ideal for human development (Stiglitz, 2002). A balance between total public control and total government control might help human development more. A combination of control will perhaps have a better change to lead to consensus building, through discourse, which is helpful in human development (Innes & Booher, 1999; Susskind, McKernan, & Thomas-Larmer, 1999)

It seems that the balance needs to be found between total anarchy where no planning exists versus dictatorship and over-planning. With anarchy, planning is done from the bottom-up, there are no regulation with the planner playing a marginal or no role as expert, while in dictatorship the role of the planner is that of the only expert and the public is not taken into account at all. The disadvantage of anarchy is that the decision-makers might not be educated in the planning environment, while the disadvantage of dictatorship is that the decision-makers do not take advantage of local knowledge and expertise (Innes & Booher, 1999). The following figure indicates that the possible ideal for participation is the exact balance between anarchy (control by public) and dictatorship (control by politicians/officials).

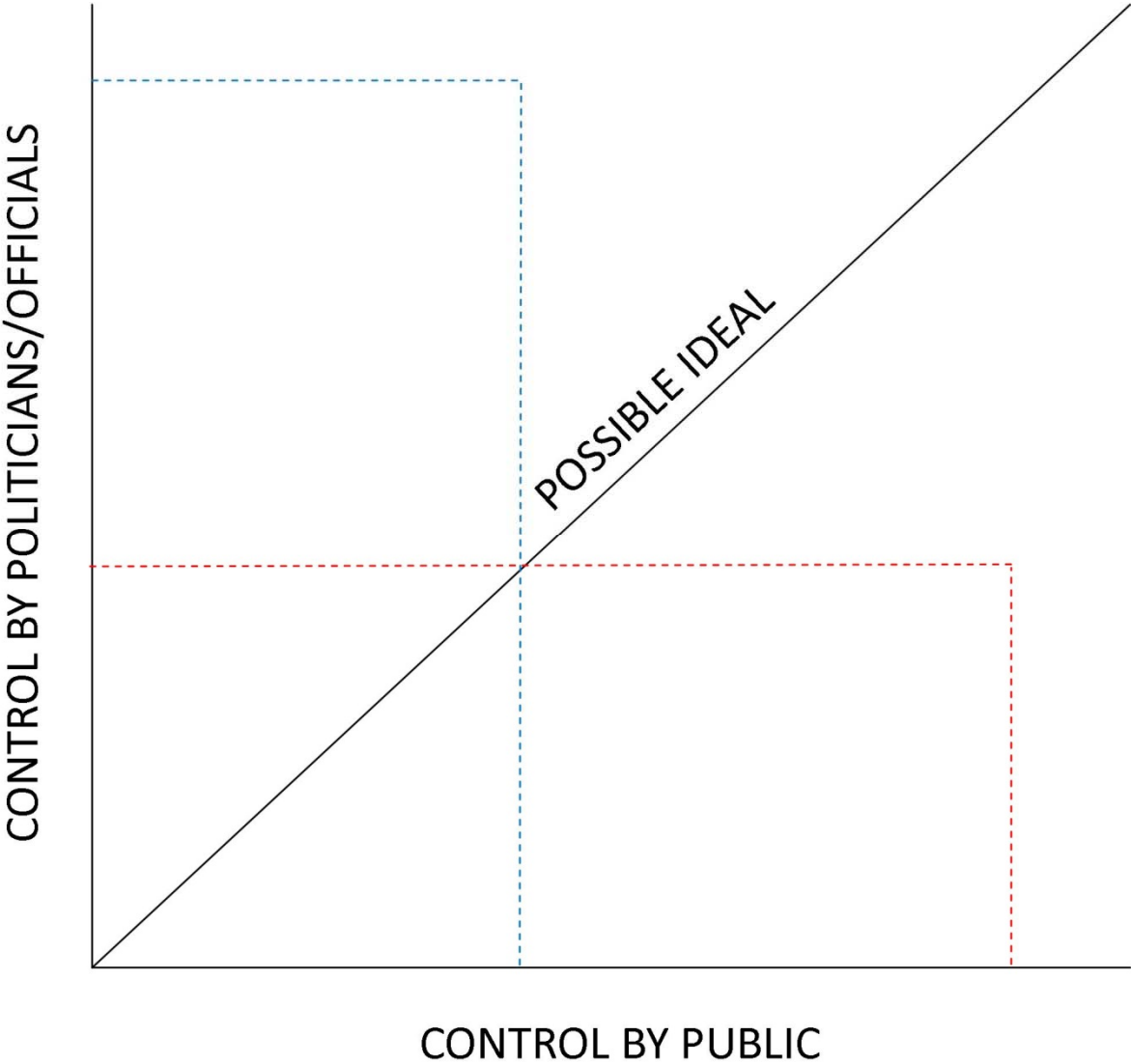


Figure 30 - Balance between levels of control (source: Author's own, 2014)

6.4.1.2 Critique 2: Context in which public participation was promoted

The importance of public participation in planning processes originated as a reaction to civil right movements in Europe, Australia and the United States, local urban uprisings against planning schemes, the acknowledgement of the political nature of planning and the realisation of the affect that planning has on the social nature of people (Stiftel, 2000; Healey, 1997; Hillier & Van Looij, 1997). These uprisings were done against a variety of reasons including concerns about impersonal universities, low job prospects, the shallowness of societies, war and the exclusion of people from participating, for instance the 1965 protests of the London School of Economics against white rule in Rhodesia (Feuer, 1969; Keniston, 1971).

The disadvantage of over-reacting to the context in which public participation was promoted, is that the problems might not be solved, because the importance of the solution might be emphasised more than solving the problem itself (Davids, Theron, & Maphunye, 2005). The importance of public participation is already emphasised to such a way that people are satisfied with a process just because there is a form of public participation present, whether the type of public participation is efficient or not, is not seen as a crucial part of the process itself. The over-emphasis of public participation also overlooks the fact that there might not be a need for public participation in all processes (Neyroud, 2001; Von Korff, d'Aquino, Daniell, & Bijlsma, 2010).

6.4.1.3 Critique 3: Normative nature of planning – theory and practice are still divided

The problem with the move from the top-down approach to the bottom-up approaches is that these post-modern and communicative approaches are highly problematic or not even feasible to transfer or interpret into the field of town planning (Allmendinger, 2002; Taylor, 1998 (Pissourios, 2014)).

The practice of town planning remains normative due to the fact that planning is essentially political and thus cannot be value-free (Klosterman, 1978; Watson, 2002). Although there is a place for theory in planning, the practical realisation of planning is still divided from the theory, because the application of theory is rarely applied in real-world situations like land use regulation and public participation (Graham & Healey, 1999; Forester, 1993).

6.4.1.4 Critique 4: Application of planning theory

The problem with a theory of planning is that it cannot always apply to every context, for instance when translating the theory to practice (Pissourios, 2014). Most theories were also developed for the European and American context. The problem with this is that some forms of the theory that were relevant to their context in terms of public participation might not be relevant to the African socio-political context (Watson, 2003; Balbo, 1993).

Numerous authors like Healey (2003), Flyvberg and Richardson (2002) mentioned the misalignment of taking theories and ideologies out of context and applying them to a different context. The need for an African theory of public participation must be formulated to overcome this misalignment (Watson, 2003; Balbo, 1993).

6.4.1.5 Critique 5: Power relations

In public participation there is also an inherent problem with regard to power relations. The influence of the big businesses on the public and the influence on the majority on the minority are problematic in public participation (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006; Forester, 1989). There should be a process in place to diminish the effect of power relations to give everyone an equal opportunity to participate without an influence from outside forces (Healey, 2003). There is also an inherent problem with letting everybody participate: are the needs of the majority really more important than the minority (Reynolds, 2006). The term of an affected and interested party is also open to interpretation, which lets in different people each with their own interests (Milgrom & Roberts, 1986).

6.4.1.6 Critique 6: Applying public participation in South Africa

Applying the theory of public participation in planning in the South African context is challenging due to the socio-political context (Chenwi & Tissington, 2010), the nature of public participation (SAIEA, 2004) and different rationalities in South Africa (Katz, 2003; SAIEA, 2004), which are all briefly discussed below.

6.4.1.6.1 Socio-political context

The current socio-political climate in South Africa makes total public participation difficult (Ellmann, 1993; Elfers, 2012; Askvik & Bak, 2005). People do not participate, because they feel that their input do not have an outcome in decisions, as indicated in the HSRC study (2000). The distrust in government structures is also problematic and does not help the public opinion on participation processes (Horowitz, 1991). This with the vast areas that is unreachable in the country makes the milieu challenging for public participation.

6.4.1.6.2 Proactive versus reactive

The current processes cater for public participation, but the level of participation is low and the times when people can participate are set. This is the reactive nature that South African public participation faces. The reactive nature of the policies and legislation does not help with human development (Parliament of the RSA, 2001; IDASA, 2001). The predetermined timeframe when input is allowed does not create an environment where people feel responsible for giving input.

6.4.1.6.3 Different rationalities

The different cultural backgrounds make the planning environment in South Africa more complex. The facilitation of public participation from a variety of cultures is difficult (Enslin, 2003). Planning is inherently an ethical activity and these different rationalities make it difficult for a universal ethical position to form, thus asking the question: whose ethics should prevail and does planning recognise differences for a common good (Watson, 2003; Campbell, 2002).

The different cultural ideas and rationalities of the public makes public participation complex within South Africa. Methods of public participation do not cater for cultural or ideological diversities. By using one theory or method of public participation, others will be forced to fit in and will not be able to fully participate; this may also lead to a negative view of participation.

6.4.2 Critical analysis of empirical findings

6.4.2.1 Critique 1: Nature of participation

Public participation increased over time after democracy was introduced into South Africa. This could indicate that the pool of people that participated increased or that participation became more popular.

When comparing the current legislations and policy to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, we can see that the majority of legislation and policies fall within the level of consultation, this means that there is no way of telling whether the public has an influence in the outcome. It is better to see that the legislation governing planning in South Africa at least falls within the level of placation, which is similar to consultation, but the influence of the public can be seen either in committee minutes, outcomes of decisions, tribunal minutes etc (Stout, 2013; IAP2, 2007). The problem with this placation is that the final power in no sense falls with the public (Stout, 2013; IAP2, 2007).

Participation is thus seen as reactive, especially when it comes to planning legislation (Cash & Swatuk, 2011). The public is informed in most cases of the application, which in itself is a low level of participation. Then after their comments have been taken into consideration, a decision is taken for them. This is problematic in the sense that a low level of participation does not lead to human development (Nisbet, 2008; Streeten, 2002). The Town planning and Townships Ordinance, 1985, currently used in the North West Province, only made provision for the public to be informed in some instances of planning, whereas the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, 2013 makes provision for the public to be informed, to provide input on all

planning matters affecting them and also grants them intervener status to participate in proceedings of decision-making.

Public participation cannot be seen as effective, since it is based on a consultative foundation (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008; Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). Purely taking part in a process does not justify participation (Mzimakwe, 2010). Participation in municipalities is done as compliance measure to policies and legislation and do not involve intense involvement from the community (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008).

In terms of town planning applications, not all applications require public participation; for instance sub-divisions and consolidations. The reason is that these applications do not change the land use. Legislation only requires applications that change the land use to undergo some form of public participation, as referred to in Chapter 5. This might be a remnant of the previous less participation orientated planning ideologies, where participation was seen as necessary just on certain aspects. There might be truth in the matter, is it really necessary for participation in all aspects and in all applications and who decides when participation is needed.

6.4.2.2 Critique 2: Influence of public participation on decision-making

The influence of public participation on decision-making is not necessarily a reflection of a planning atmosphere conducive for human development and does not create a true culture of participation, as the public only participate when asked. The influence on a public participation process that is not full participation cannot justify that the planning atmosphere is conducive for public participation. The influence can be evident just because of the limited nature of involvement from the public. When people participate on such a limited scale it can be seen as captivating when they do participate, this might make the decision-makers take more notice. Participation on such a limited scale may be explained through Williams (2004) as a form of passive resistance to the dictatorship of participation (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013).

The form of public participation, although influencing the decision, is not a reflection of true participation; true participation is educative and stimulates negotiation (Aregbeshola, Mearns, & Donaldson, 2011; Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). The use of placation and consultation as an activity of full participation is deceptive, as this is just partly participation (Arnstein, 1969; Kanyal, 2014). The legislative and environment and policies, although incorporating participation, might be limiting to the type of participation that is needed for human growth as an integral part of human development (Burkey, 1993, p. 50).

The public does not have the majority influence in town planning applications; internal and external departments had a more significant sway as depicted in Chapter 5. There exists an

imbalance of power between those of the lay-person and those with technical expertise and decision-makers must differentiate between fact and opinion (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013).

Although public participation influences the outcome of town planning applications, it is done on a limited scale (6%) and also on a low level of participation that does not necessarily lead to human development.

6.5 Conclusion

The influence of the public participation on town planning applications could be seen in the previous chapter, but whether this is a true form of public participation is still open for discussion. Which level of participation is needed for human development and if public participation is needed in all circumstances is also not certain. The study raised awareness to the fact that, at least in terms of town planning applications, participation from the public does have an effect on the outcome of these applications. The concluding remarks and recommendations that came forth out of the study will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7 – Synthesis of public participation in planning applications and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The study was undertaken to determine whether public participation in town planning applications affected the outcome of the application itself. The study further illustrated that public participation has become increasingly recognised as an important component of human development and considered a human right by the United Nations. The legislative environment in South Africa is seen as conducive for public participation, although the legislation is reactive in nature and mostly focuses on the lower levels of participation. Through an empirical study it was found that public participation does affect the outcome of town planning applications, however the tendency of participating and level of participation is exceedingly latent.

7.2 Synthesis of the study

7.2.1 Participation trends

Over the course of time it can be seen that participation has increased on an international level, this is evident in the way public participation is seen as an integral part of human development (Burkey, 1993, p. 50).

In South Africa, the post-apartheid context gave rise to great expectations in terms of democratic development and social transformation. A general rise in public participation accounts to an increase in the overall participatory public (Askvik & Bak, 2005) as supported in a new more inclusionary society and constitution. The public participation oriented constitution lead the way for a variety of legislation and policies that emphasised the need for public participation. In town planning, the legislation was mostly comparative with the basic model of participation, where the public participates at certain intervals, but who participates is not defined. With newer legislation, for instance the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, 2013, the realism model and partly the possible ideal model for South Africa was reached, as the public is not just represented at certain times, but are involved in all development actions which affect them. The increased importance of public participation is thus seen through the increased opportunities for the public to participate.

The increase of participation nationally was seen in the study of town planning applications in the local municipality of Tlokwe, but it was also seen in planning theory; at the beginning of the planning profession, participation was very scarce and the relevance of it began to show

later during the period of pluralism, where it later became a pivotal part of planning for people (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002; Hillier & Healey, 2010). Currently, planning is more concerned with the public environment; it understands the benefits of public participation and also incorporates a variety of inputs from all spheres.

In town planning applications, the level of participation increased after democracy was introduced in South Africa in 1994, the overall participatory population increased and the population realised that participation may lead to change in government decision-making processes. The latter is especially applicable in the Tlokwe Local Municipality. The trend of increased public participation then started to decrease after 2003, this came at a similar time to the HSRC study, where it was found that the majority of the population in the North West perceived that it is not possible to influence decision-making. Overall the importance of public participation increased, this gave rise to an increase in the opportunities for participation, through new legislation and policies.

7.2.2 The nature of participation

The South African context makes it difficult for people to participate, due to a variety of historical, governance, development, cultural and communication issues (as discussed in Chapter 4). This is contrasted with a legislative environment that is conducive to public participation. As mentioned previously, after 1994, the constitution and a variety of new legislation and policies provided for public participation. The problem with the majority of these legislation and policies are that they fall within the basic model of public participation; where an undefined public can participate at legislated intervals.

This model is also seen in town planning legislation, where the public is only notified where an application will lead to a change in land use. Applications for sub-division of land within the municipal boundaries and consolidations of erven do not require site notices or newspaper advertisements. This makes the nature of participation in town planning applications selective; the public is not involved throughout the process, but only when they are legislated to be. In Tlokwe Local Municipality nine out of the eleven types of applications supports public participation, mostly in the form of notice boards and advertisements in local newspapers, this is used only to inform the public to give objections.

The public is only informed of the application process and given the opportunity to object. There is no consultation on individual applications, but only on the development of spatial planning and land use management tools, like Spatial Development Frameworks and Land Use Schemes that help guide and control development. This indicates that the level of

participation from the public in town planning processes is low and the level of public participation in town planning applications is even lower, as can be seen in the table below.

The current legislative environment only caters for public participation on a low and middle level. These levels of public participation will not necessarily lead to human development as beheld in democracy. It is also noteworthy that recent legislation (SPLUMA) does not fall in the highest level of participation, but in terms of a young democracy it is an improvement on previous legislation and it may be more fitting for a younger democracy to incrementally upgrade to higher levels of participation.

7.2.3 Reasons for objections

In the evolution of planning theory, it was seen that the public environment became more important, and during the theme of pluralism the importance of incorporating a variety of social and economic inputs was understood as beneficial.

In the empirical investigation, it came to light that the objections can be categorised into five themes that include environmental, economic, technical, social and other aspects. Most of the objections were based on NIMBYism, which Bedford, Clark and Harrison (2002) identified as the most likely reason why the public object.

The objections focused not only on the personal interest of the objector, for instance the decrease of value of their property, because of the change of land use of a neighbouring property, but also on the communities' interest, for example the creation of social defects like alcoholism and the pollution of the area. The objections also included the interest of the applicant in some cases, for instance the technical reasons, such as insufficient parking and lack of services. Objectors also took into account the legislation and frameworks when objecting, for instance when the application is not in line with the spatial trends of the town. Most objectors gave a variety of reasons when objecting, but most stayed in one theme of reasoning. The most prevalent theme for objecting was economic reasons; it came up in the objections of all types of objectors.

Table 9 - The nature of participation in town planning applications. (Source: Own synthesis)

Level of participation	Legislation/policy	Year	Empirical Study
Manipulation			Subdivision and consolidation applications
Therapy			
Informing	Community Development Worker Initiative	2003	Town Planning Applications that changes land use
Consultation	The Constitution	1996	Spatial Development Frameworks; Land Use Schemes. (Both not included in this study)
	Municipal Structures Act	1998	
	Municipal Systems Act	2000	
	White Paper on Local Government	1998	
	Batho Pele Principles	1998	
Placation	Town Planning and Townships Ordinance	1986	Appeals (Not included in this study)
	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act	2013	
Partnership	National Policy Framework on Public Participation	2007	
	Community-Based Planning Principles	2003	
Delegated power			
Citizen control			

7.2.4 Influence of participation

In the literature review it was concluded that public participation is not always necessary for developmental growth. Public participation does not always increase the growth of development, this can be why only 6% of the applications had objections from the public. Even though public participation does not always lead to developmental growth, it is still important in human development and is considered a right according to the United Nations and a variety of authors (Liebenberg & Theron, 1997, p. 124; Burkey, 1993; Davids, Theron, & Maphunye, *Participatory Development in South Africa: a development management perspective*, 2009).

In the empirical investigation it was found that public participation influenced the final decision of 81% of the applications that received objections. Technical reasons were the theme that influenced the outcome of the decisions the most. Commentary from internal and external departments also influenced the outcome of the decision more than objections from the public, indicating that the power balance is in favour of the person with technical expertise rather than the lay-person (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). The study indicated that there is a general consensus between the public and local government in terms of the town planning decisions of land use and land development applications. Flyvberg (1998, p. 229) and Sandercock (2000, p. 15) warned that a low level of conflict or consensus may be a sign of a weak civil society where the majority rules and weaker voices is silenced (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013).

The increased importance of public participation in planning theory, the importance of participation in human development and a legislative environment that is conducive for public participation lead the public to be taken seriously and influencing the outcome of town planning applications. This is also substantiated by follow-up interviews with key-informants of the Development Tribunal (2013) and Land Committee (2013). However the low frequency of participation is problematic; civil society is an integral part of democracy (Reddy & Sikhakane, 2008) and the legitimacy of public participation processes should be strengthened and negative perceptions should be curbed.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Key recommendations

7.3.1.1 Suggestions to encourage more proactive participation

In town planning applications, public participation is conducted reactively (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). The public is asked to participate after development proposals are presented

and the final decision resides with the local authority. Public participation should be a two-way process; the public should be able to influence the agenda, rather than just being part of the consultation (Mzimakwe, 2010, p. 503). A more proactive public participation will help stimulate people-centred development; it will lead to a balance of power between the local government and the participating society.

True participation that is “educative and engenders negotiation” will encourage proactive participation (Aregbeshola, Mearns, & Donaldson, 2011). When the public is involved throughout the processes of development, rather than being notified when development is in process and the outcome thereof, the public will become educated in the process. A civil society educated in development and its processes may be able to see local opportunities and constraints. Education may lead to development proposals being introduced or evaluated by the public in a proactive manner.

7.3.1.2 Recommendations for public participation in town planning to be more democratic

Democracy can only come into being when people are afforded an opportunity to actively and meaningfully contribute to their own development and well-being (Ababio, 2007). When people are asked to participate in participation processes, they do not speak to each other (Cash & Swatuk, 2011, p. 72). People-centred development should come from the people themselves, rather than being an invitation from local government.

For public participation to be more democratic there must be more than merely invitations to participate. According to Friedman (1987, p. 407) there should be a “step-by step process of radical reform and social learning in all domains of public action”. This can be done by “developing skills and abilities so that they can negotiate with the development delivery system and can make own decisions in terms of own needs and priorities” (Nzimakwe & Reddy, 2008).

7.3.2 Additional recommendations

7.3.2.1 Other methods of public participation

The current method of public participation in town planning applications is done by notification in the form of notice boards and advertisements in local newspapers. In the empirical study it was found that only 6% of all town planning applications received objections from the public. This may be an indication that the method of public notification is not successful entirely. Different types of public participation needs to be formalised. Social media has been used as a mechanism for the public to voice their opinion on development and can be repurposed to

provide objections to town planning applications (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). Social media should be used reactively to identify areas where development is needed and encouraged. Geographical Information Systems have been used as a mechanism for the public to spatially locate elements that can be developmental constraints and opportunities; this is a reactive process to help local government make decisions regarding development proposals with local knowledge (Brown & Reed, 2009).

7.3.2.2 Transparent processes to legitimise participation

Public participation in South Africa is struck with negative perceptions and the legitimacy of public participation processes is in question (Williams, 2004, p. 566; Public Service Commission, 2008, p. 32) . In town planning applications, the public are notified to give objections and are later notified of the decision that local government took. The process is not transparent and the public do not know how their objections affected the outcome of the decision. If it is not possible for the public to be involved in the whole process of deciding on an application, transparent processes may help to encourage negotiations between the public and local government in phases that were otherwise closed to the public. Transparent processes will also help the public with the development of skills and abilities to become more actively involved in development.

7.3.2.3 Monitoring and evaluation of participation processes

In the majority of cases public participation is only executed to comply with procedural guidelines and legislation; there is limited deep and intense involvement on the part of the community (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008). Current monitoring and evaluation processes in terms of town planning applications mirror the aforementioned compliance measures. The frequency of participation on single applications is noted but the trends as a whole is not monitored. People in decision-making structures rely on the “scientific nature of the legislative procedures in town planning to guide public participation” (Puren, Goosen, & Jordaan, 2013). Criteria for evaluating the levels of participation are needed to measure not only the compliance to legislation and guidelines, but also the intensity of participation. Public participation should be monitored throughout all spheres of government to understand the nature of participation on all levels, and to identify disparities between spheres. Active participants should be identified in the beginning of the process and should be involved throughout the process and not just at the end of the product. In town planning applications, public participation should form part of

the whole process of planning within the local sphere of government; this can be accomplished by involving the public in all planning documentation that guides decision-making.

The public should be involved in the drafting of the Spatial Development Framework, Municipal Bylaws including the Land Use Scheme and other policies. The aforementioned documentation guide the decision-making of town planning applications and can be a way of evaluating whether active involvement in these process will decrease objections from the public later or help substantiate objections to reach a united decision. Another way of involving the public in decision-making is to ask for comments from ward councillors on all types of town planning applications, as supported by role-players in municipalities (Member of Townships Board, 2014), as ward councillors have more knowledge of local aspects in the community.

7.4 Future research

The empirical study reflects public participation up until the first level of decision-making, namely recommendation for approval or not by the land use committee or tribunal. There are other ways of public participation that may provide valuable data but is not included in government data (archival records) or the formal planning procedure. These include public response through social media, telephone calls to authorities and newspapers. However, for a more in-depth and qualitative exploration into this, a follow-up research stage may become necessary.

Although it is suggested in the study that micro level planning processes ultimately have to be changed towards more proactive inclusive two-way processes in which mutual learning and empowerment can take place, more research on the influence of public participation in town planning is needed in other local contexts before policy implications can be discussed. Research about why people participate or not, how they experience participation in day-to-day planning practice, as well as the appropriateness of methods and tools used to conduct participation in planning may provide insight into this important topic and is thus suggested for future research.

Further research is also required to determine when participation is needed and if participation in every aspect of planning will hinder development, which in turn might be detrimental to the public.

7.5 Conclusion

The rationale for this study was embedded in a need to research public participation in terms of the influence people exercise over development in South Africa. Public participation have been found to be an integral part of human development and forms part of the process of human growth (Burkey, 1993; Davids, Theron, & Maphunye, *Participatory Development in South Africa: a development management perspective*, 2009), but distrust from the public and the legitimacy of public participation processes have put the effectiveness of public participation into question (Reitzes, 2009: 26-28; Aregbeshola et al., 2011: 1285; Cash & Swatuk, 2011: 65).

The theoretical and legislative framework for public participation in town planning were investigated and town planning was found to be an instrument of change and can help enhance democracy through spatial justice as legislated in the SPLUMA. This is done through inclusionary planning processes that address social and economic inequality in a spatial context. Public participation has become increasingly important in planning theory and with the communicative planning theory as theoretical context, South African policies and legislation was found to be conducive for public participation in planning. Although the public was given a voice in the planning process, the context in which planning is promoted cannot create a culture of participation per se, as it remains on a lower level of participation and does not allow for negotiation. In micro-planning practices of town planning applications in Tlokwe Local Municipality, the widespread appeal of public participation in planning do not empower civil society in socio-political systems as hallowed in the Constitution.

Town planning is shaped on a local context, where decisions on land development and land uses take place. This context provides the initial step to measure the effectiveness of public participation in town planning procedures. The empirical investigation in Tlokwe Local Municipality found that public participation in town planning applications was effective in the outcome of the applications, which is in contradiction with the general view from the public, as suggested in several studies like the HSRC, 2000 and Reitzes, 2009. The results of the empirical study founded only a first step towards changing negative perceptions of the public as not having any input in development. Micro-level planning processes must be converted to a pro-active, more inclusionary process, in which mutual education and empowerment is promoted in a two-way process. Participation by the public is exceptionally limited and due to the informative and consultative nature of participation in town planning applications, does not lead to active involvement.

The study focused only on the first level of decision-making and did not take the appeal process into consideration; therefore it is also necessary to investigate whether public participation is effective in this process. Tlokwe Local Municipality is one medium municipality in the North West Province and the geographical scale of the study needs to be increased in order to compare municipalities with one another and determine whether the effectiveness of public participation in town planning applications is a country-wide tendency, before policy implications can be determined.

As Fernando Cardoso said “democracy is not just a question of having a vote; it consists of strengthening each citizen’s possibility and capacity to participate in the deliberations involved in life in society”, South Africa as a young country should start changing the environment and perception of public participation to increase effective participation in order

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