Does the Current Municipal Institutional Architecture and Planning Culture Enable Urban Land Transformation?

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ADDITIONAL PAPER- URBAN LAND PAPER SERIES Vol. 2

This paper has been added to the urban land paper series Vol 2 report. An updated version of the Vol 2 report can be found at the following link: Urban Land Paper Series Vol 2

November 2018

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Introduction

During the apartheid era and the post-apartheid democratic dispensation, planning was and remains central to the state's ideological aspirations of spatial representation (Davies, 1981; Maharaj, 1997; Harrison and Todes, 2015). The success of apartheid spatial planning was achieved through draconian legislation and the full might of the state, with little regard for human and land rights, supported by a technical form of planning (Davies, 1981). In contrast, the post-apartheid city has not been achieved, despite state-led interventions. This decade will be remembered for new and bold urban and land visions, policies and legislation, including the National Development Plan (2012), the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) (No. 13 of 2013), the Integrated Urban Development Framework (2016), which is aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (2015) and New Urban Agenda (2016). However, achieving implementation and success is questionable.

Since 1996, municipal planning has enjoyed its own Constitutional mandate, meaning that municipalities and municipal planners have a legal mandate to direct planning policy and instruments in their jurisdictions. In the context of a loosening state (including the local state) that supports neo-liberal planning and the unintended consequences of state-led reforms, state-led spatial interventions have not materialised as intended (Harrison and Todes, 2015). These interventions include mass free housing, land reform, repealed and new planning legislation, and a renewed focus on bus rapid transit and associated transit-orientated development (TOD).

Many factors contribute to the slow changes and perhaps failures in addressing the apartheid spatial city formation. This paper delves into the institutional and cultural environment of municipal planning and its struggle to (re)address apartheid spatial planning, within the context of African urbanism. It asks if South Africa has the municipal institutional architecture and professional cultures capable of managing the desired urban land transformation. The paper is based on a PhD thesis[1] that is supplemented by empirical research, comprising interviews with planning practitioners, municipal councillors, the wider planning profession, development activists and local residents. The PhD research questioned various aspects:

- The roles of planners and government and their institutional and professional beliefs.
- Social relations and power agendas in practice.
- The impact of how planning knowledges are derived on municipal practice.
- Reasons for the planning practice being slow and often reluctant to change, as demonstrated by the lack of spatial transformation.

After explaining the theoretical positions underpinning the research, the paper presents the study findings into how planning is actually carried out in a municipality. The implications for TOD approaches are then discussed and recommendations provided.

Background

This paper draws from an unpublished PhD thesis and primary research undertaken by Moonsammy (2017). Located in the eThekwini Municipality, the research looks at the roles, uses and construction of planning knowledge post-1994 and post-implementation of SPLUMA. It examines how previous and new legislation

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[1] Moonsammy ST. 2017. An Insider-Outsider's Exploration of Planning Knowledges, Roles, Uses and Construction in a Post 1994 Metropolitan Setting: Ethekwini Municipality, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, South Africa. The author worked in municipal planning for over 21 years, and this research reflects her concerns to grapple with why her contributions at executive level were limited in influencing municipal planning. Despite her commitment to challenging the apartheid spatial city, she missed opportunities and areas where she could have influenced the process and shifted the outcomes and relevance of planning practice.

gives rise to municipal planning and the role of planners (strategic and regulatory) to (re)develop planning knowledges as policy, plans, town planning schemes and practices. Although not directed specifically at TOD, the research's focus is on land use planning knowledges or planning policy, and how these are being (re)developed and implemented institutionally. TOD forms part of such a policy environment (Denoon-Stevens in SACN, 2014) and is a planning instrument widely promoted in the context of the massive bus rapid transit (BRT) investments taking place in the metropolitan municipalities in South Africa. It is, therefore, an important policy and instrument for urban land governance and spatial transformation.

Before examining the study findings, it is useful to understand the role of planning knowledges and the inherent tension between African urbanism and modernist planning.

Land use planning knowledges

These knowledges drive both strategic spatial planning and land use management. They refer to planning policy, tools and internally designed procedures used to help make planning decisions and inform planning practices. For instance, spatial plans, such as spatial development frameworks (SDFs) and lower-level planning, such as local/special area and precinct plans, rural–urban demarcations, growth management instruments, town planning schemes, environmental zones, parking regulations, planning procedures and internal sequencing of applications before decisions are made. In this paper, planning knowledges refer to this broad range of plans and planning process.

Councillors, municipal executives and planning practitioners within municipalities have the legislative mandate to *develop new* or *(re)develop* existing planning policies and planning knowledges. The *(re)development* of planning knowledges suggests that municipal planning and planners have a powerful and often uncontested role to change the course of planning within cities.

African urbanism

This is a very distinctive form of urbanisation that goes well beyond the boundaries of informality and formality, and rich and poor (Simone, 2001; Yiftachel, 2009; Parnell and Robinson, 2012). It is distinct from urbanisation in the North and is here to stay – it does not refer to urbanisation that is transitioning from informal to formal. Urbanisation in the South is neither informal nor formal – it is grey. Therefore, land use planning can and should work with the "greyness" in policy and in practice, by recognising it instead of trying to formalise it, or leaving it illegal and in limbo (Yiftachel, 2009).

African urbanism requires new planning theories and practices that respond to the uniqueness of Africa, where the colonised and post-colonised remain entangled and integrated (Simone, 2001). It is a type of urbanisation that is mediated by history and intertwined with the present, and assumes "roles" of government and planning in managing land and development. These assumptions and lived experiences result from the history of land ownership, land conflicts, and the societal, cultural and functional use of land, as well as the multiple actors that socially, economically and politically (re)construct space and its usage.

Modernist planning

Within South African municipalities, the culture of modernist planning continues to direct the formation of policy-making and planning tools. This approach to planning is alive and the central focus of practice (UN-Habitat, 2009; Hoch, 2011; Todes, 2011; Moonsammy, 2017). Modernist planning began at the end of the 18th century, in response to an era of religious repression and divine control of knowledge, place and life

(Fainstein, 2000; Healey, 2012; Oranje, 2014). Planning became an intervention for improvement (Li, 2007) through coding, pre-planning and managing space and its use. Trained, qualified planners are given legal mandates to determine the construction and use of space, through a set of policy, rules and belief systems[2] *of* and *for* society.

The longevity and endurance of institutions come from the culture and society, and have more to do with the actors or agents than the formal structure of the organisation (Lowndes, 2014). What determines institutions is not the institutional structure, but rather the knowledge and rationality in use, or frames of knowledge (Dryzek, 1990). Figure 1 shows a model for understanding planning culture. It suggests that planning as a profession may not be in keeping with the African mode of urbanisation. The model comprises three levels:

- Planning artifacts: visible outcomes, such as legislation, plans and rules used to take planning decisions, e.g. SDFs, town planning schemes, TOD zone requirements.
- The planning environment: the views and values of a professional planning community, from which the artifacts of planning have emerged.
- The societal environment (which is embedded in the planning environment): the beliefs and morals about society and how society should behave and be structured to realise a goal such as spatial ordering.

Figure 1: The culturised planning model
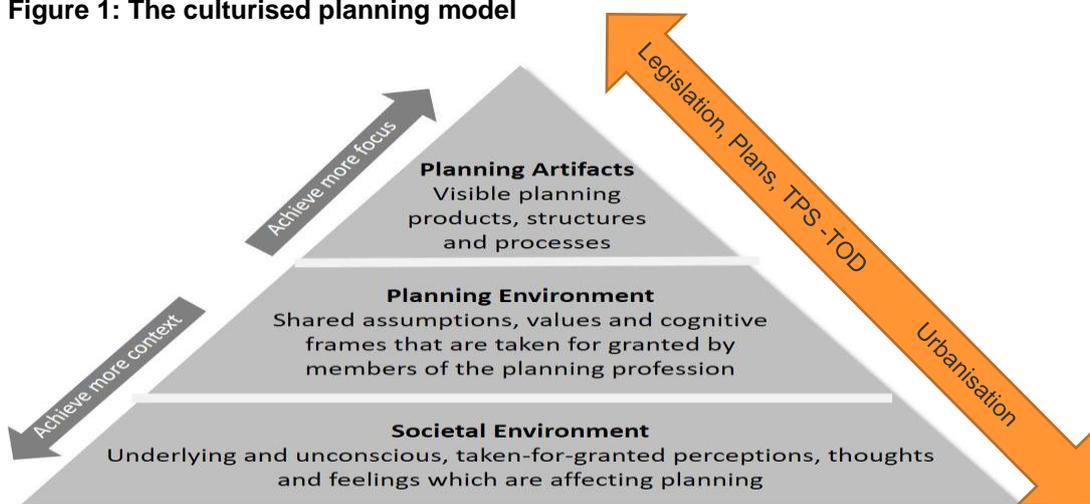
Source: Othengrafen and Reimer (2013: 1275) and inputs from author

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[2] Referred to as planning knowledges in the study.

Study Findings

The findings are grouped under three broad themes: people and relationships, planning processes and conceptual deficits.

People and relationships in planning

Planners know best

The research reaffirmed the presence of modernist planning in eThekwini Municipality and the wider planning industry. The underlying narrative that emerged was that planners know best and have the legal, trained prerogative to determine planning knowledges that direct the creation and use of space.

> *"What we are doing as part of the Land Use Management Project's Team is applying that which we studied and our experience." (Planning Practitioner Respondent 6)*

A unanimous view of the planning fraternity was that their work is reserved for planners and should not be undermined by laymen, councillors and, for that matter, other professions.

> *"We should respect job reservation for specialists, we just doing what we told, the training and legislation." (Focus Group Participants: South Regional Office)*

Domination of middle-management technocrats

The politicians, who are tasked with policy development legislatively, give up their responsibilities and entrust them to their senior executives. In turn, these executives entrust policy development to their middle management and those who are technically proficient. A general view of executive managers and politicians is that planning is complex, technical and so best left to the professionals. In addition, the executive layer has become increasingly more political, often tied up in political meetings and regarded as less experienced in dealing with the policy and technical matters of various sectors, including planning. This in part explains why the middle levels of management and the professionals and technocrats still dominate policy making at a municipal level.

> *"Senior political administrative people are… weak within the functional areas they are appointed to and this creates more additional pressure and reduces trust between them and the remainder of the administration …This also leaves the middle management and the professional layer largely in the driving seat regarding policy, strategy, planning knowledge which is by nature technically strong but can be divisive within the organisation." (Executive Manager: Respondent 57)*

Racial shifts in the planning profession was not mentioned as a factor to promote change, but age was – young planners have or are perceived to have less experience and technical proficiency to (re)develop planning knowledges such as the town planning schemes. Therefore, the town planning schemes are still controlled by those who have been around for a while, who may not be the oldest but are certainly the mature planners. These planners have particular views and mind-sets of what is and what is not permissible. Surprisingly, younger planners did not seem that concerned by planning issues of relevance and change. What mattered was being qualified, employed and part of the planning profession.

"The notion of young people being innovative in thinking out of the box also comes with its limitation, as we not finding young planners taking this approach, bringing in this risk, bringing in this change and again much of the knowledge generated is still very much dependent on old concepts of knowledge." (Former Academic and Planning Consultant: Respondent 39)

The power of social relations

Relationships, social networks, alliances and social webs are important in constructing knowledge, including scientific and expert knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Saarikoski, 2002; Cetina, 2007). The study found that the planning professionals – the "experts" – have their own social relations, agendas and politics, which often led to a selected group ("club") of practitioners being included or excluded in the (re)development of planning knowledges including the TOD zones. Certain sectors (or rather key personalities from these sectors) also matter more. For example, the environmental, sanitation and water and transport departments are more important than the human settlements or economic development departments, which are considered more political and business-led (thus subjective), and lacking in spatial skills and knowledge.

The study identified the following social relation categories in the (re)development of planning knowledges:

- *Those who are in control directly or indirectly*: the infrastructure and environmental departments, including heritage architects, supported by legislation and those who have enlarged their power basis through various social means of inclusion and exclusion.
- *Those who are losing control, directly and indirectly*: strategic planners, land use implementers and older planners.
- *Those who are administratively within the system and simply approve*: executive management and councillors who give up this responsibility to middle management and the technocrats.
- *Those who are unaware and seen as unimportant*: for example, the social and economic sectors.
- *Those who are marginalised and not interested*: in-fighting within the planning unit, where practitioners are excluded and prefer to take as little responsibility as possible.
- *Those who are marginalised and interested*: in-fighting within the planning unit, where practitioners are excluded but also interested (mostly older planners).

Uncertainty where the power lies

Opposing views exist within the planning profession about where the power lies. Some planners believe that they have the power to shape spatial outcomes and land use within their jurisdiction, as legislation allows municipalities and their planners to determine policy for implementing planning knowledges (including SDFs, local area plans, densification and TOD policies). The (re)development of planning knowledges becomes law for all stakeholders engaging in land development and use.

"If we feel certain things should change, we will make the changes." (Planning Practitioner: Respondent 4)

Other planners do not realise their power, which in practice means that a plan cannot be approved if it is not aligned to the strategic plans and or town planning scheme. In other words, these planning knowledges *direct* (rather than *guide*) planning, even if the plans are outdated. The research found that the planning profession inside and outside of municipalities believe legislation prevents spatial transformation. SPLUMA as a long-awaited post-apartheid legislation is a case in point – the municipality uses the same policy and plans in the same way but expresses them in accordance with the new SPLUMA legislation.

"The room to be involved in planning is limited, it's very much a top-down approach." (Planning Practitioner: Respondent 2)

Political input into planning knowledges and practices

With the implementation of SPLUMA, councillors will no longer be part of adjudicating planning applications but will rather be setting policy, including the integrated development plans, SDFs, built environment performance plans, local area plans, scheme review, extensions etc. Yet planning knowledges lack political ideas and aspirations, as in municipalities, political committees only approve planning and land use policies, often without any debate. Councillors are aware that they do not spend the time (nor have the interest) on land use issues. This is partly because planning is seen as technical, legal and difficult to understand, and partly because councillors do not know how to engage with planning issues.

> *"There is cadre redeployment which results in the remainder of politicians playing a lesser role and showing less interest in functions like land use planning." (Councillor: Respondent 37)*

Some believe that politicians need to focus time and energy on areas other than planning issues, which are seen as secondary. This view varied according to the geographical areas represented by the politicians.

> *"In other cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town, it seems like a lot is being done and councillors are far more active, and one of the reasons could be related to the political system, which in these cities politicians are assigned to certain functions and committees and they work closely with officials and start developing certain capacity and can engage with the officials." (Councillor: Respondent 37)*

Factors that limit political engagement with planning include the political system and the calibre of councillors (across the political parties). The politicians are well aware that planning knowledges lack political ideas and aspirations, but councillors are prevented from engaging more meaningfully because this "space" is guarded by the professionals. They receive limited support from municipal planners, and lack the education and time to engage in planning and its need for transformation.

> *"The role of councillors in planning knowledge or policy for planning is extremely important but I would say my political party as well as the leading political party and any other party does not have councillors that are capacitated to engage in the knowledge been generated for the policy been developed." (Respondent 36)*

Actual planning processes

Compliance with even outdated plans and schemes

The planning practitioners who assess applications and deal with compliance were clear that, when making decisions, they must stick to the approved knowledge, even when the plans are outdated and non-sensical, or the on-the-ground situation differs from the approved plans/town planning scheme. What emerged was that often being a planning practitioner means declaring and creating more non-compliant and illegal uses and development, as so many applications submitted cannot be considered. It is not uncommon for practitioners and planning consultants to "turn a blind eye, and tell a small lie to satisfy compliance with the town planning scheme", such as approving a development of private gymnasiums or prayer rooms, with the full knowledge that they will be used as accommodation. The appeal tribunal members and legal experts interviewed found that planning knowledge was one dimensional, out of touch with reality and often irrational, but had to be complied with. This limits the scope and work of a tribunal.

> *"I often refer to the municipal planning knowledge for action as you put it such as spatial development frameworks and in particular the town planning schemes as the nuts and bolts of planning and adjudicating planning decisions within the context of a municipal*

planning. When adjudicating a matter, compliance with knowledge for action is the first thing we look at before we look at the rationality or irrationality of a decision or context."
*(Appeal Tribunal Representative: Respondent 25)*

At times practitioners feel tied up by the knowledge in use, with clauses and definitions and lines on plans that are prescriptive and at times nonsensical. Yet on many occasions, they have to defend this in appeals, in front of executive management and the city manager who often do not understand why such applications could not be approved but take advice from the planning practitioners. This can create anxiety for some practitioners who feel that they were misleading senior management.

"As a legal specialist in planning, I would prefer that the knowledge generated for planning action in land use planning is more flexible and forces planning and planners inside and outside the municipality to apply their minds. A caveat for discretion is always important in land use planning knowledge for action."(Legal Expert: Respondent 29)

Standardising planning schemes

Municipal planners were of the firm view that the spatial governance called for in SPLUMA means having a single town planning scheme to ensure uniformity across the municipality. The eThekwini municipality was created by combining five municipalities that each had their own regional (or core) and township (primary) planning schemes. Therefore, eventually the schemes would have to be streamlined and standardised into one scheme for the municipal area (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Standardising planning schemes
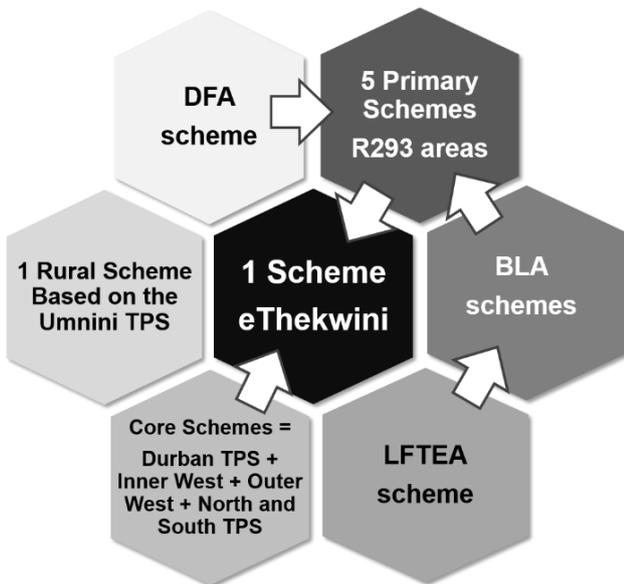
While it was generally accepted that the rural scheme would remain separate from the core scheme, concerns were expressed about whether the primary schemes could be appropriately assimilated into a core scheme. Although the primary and the core schemes share the same zones, controls are more relaxed in the townships than in the core areas. The planners were unanimous that the core areas could not be made less flexible, while a more stringent town planning scheme would be unlikely to work in former townships and

housing project areas, given the lack of control that already exists in such areas. The other option was to have a single scheme in one document that comprises three parts.

Again, a technical solution is proposed for an ideological and political problem – it avoids the wider challenges that planning should be considering, such as control, flexibility, practicality and the mode of urbanisation visibly taking place. The biggest change was to streamline existing zones across all town planning schemes (TPS), to tighten the definitions and clauses and thereby reduce the number of legal disputes.

> *"We need to transition from lower to higher. We also need to make the primary schemes compatible with the formal schemes. We should strive to bring everyone to the same level. For now it's a temporary difference and at some point this difference will change. If we have proper scheme controls they will start liking where they live, schemes can help to promote pride, and getting rid of grime and crime. Compliance with schemes will happen over time." (Respondent 2)*

> *"The problem is enforcement capacity, it erodes the intentions of the scheme."*
> *(Respondent 4)*

In this technical exercise, it was easier to accept that certain controls and provisions have not worked and are certainly not needed, but it was more difficult to try something new or remove it all together. An example was the control of domestic worker accommodation.

> *"Outbuildings/domestic staff accommodation detached from the main building may be erected closer to the rear boundary than herein specified." (Draft TPS, 2015: 95)*

> *"Domestic Staff Accommodation: Means accommodation designed primarily for the housing of domestic staff with a total floor area not exceeding 40m^2 in extent. And may include a kitchen." (eThekwini Municipality, 2015g: 23)*

> *"No domestic workers are to be accommodated on subdivisions less than 400 ^{m2} in extent." (eThekwini Municipality, 2015g: 122)*

Despite what may come across as professional confidence and perhaps arrogance, practitioners dealing with this mammoth task and responsibility of (re)developing planning knowledges are really on their own and often revealed they are lost and need help, especially from the municipality (the politicians and the executives), South African Planning Council and academia.

> *"There is no real discussion about a philosophy, I would like to see a more grass roots approach, let's work with people and not guess what is required." (Planning Practitioner: Respondent 7)*

> *"We also need more intervention from higher levels of planning, such as the institute, academic institutions, the more experienced planners." (Planning Practitioner: Respondent 2)*

Conceptual deficits in planning

Stakeholder engagement is nothing more than legal compliance

Planning practitioners within the municipality view engaging communities and stakeholders as part of the legislative process, not an investment to enrich diversity and relevance of the planning knowledges for practice. The idea of joint problem-solving and knowledge creation with multiple actors does not appear to be on the agenda of the planning sector/industry.

> *"I don't think much new comes out of research that we don't know." (Planning Manager:*
> *Respondent 10)*

However, the notion of co-generation and co-design is gaining much momentum within the environmental sector and among built environment research units linked to the main universities in South Africa, such as the African Centre for Cities and the Urban Futures Centre. The study identified two opposing "ideologies" at work (i) those wanting to find alternative ways, which include some unusual alliances of business, development activists, legal experts, councillors and "everyday" people, and (ii) planning practitioners and the wider planning industry that remain attached to the old ways, where planning is articulated as more legislative clout, more resources and less politics.

> *"We are at a place where many organisations, associations, activists should be able to*
> *feed into the knowledge being generated and used and implemented within the Council."*
> *(Community Activist Respondent 33)*

Theorists, such as Lefebvre (1991), Massey (1994), Moroni (2010) and Halleux et al. (2012), support the institutional set-up in land use planning that focuses on collaboration, trust and pragmatic and simple rules. The focus is shifting away from planning being about control, to promoting society as flexible, and places and society as changing. Simply put, if planning is to engage with the social, then planning must allow the social to engage with planning (Massey 1994; Albrechts, 2004; Moroni, 2010). The central message is to create jointly knowledges for practice, keep them simple and flexible, and allow as many stakeholders with direct interest to co-generate solutions.

> *"I think community discussions are very limited in township areas, especially in planning,*
> *we have not ever had an engagement. Creating planning knowledge is important for us if it*
> *helps to improve the area but knowledge is also power. It is important we engage in such*
> *knowledge so that we all can use it and respect it." (Community Activist Respondent 32)*

However, what emerged from the research was a planning culture that is reluctant to be explorative, and to share epistemic rights[3] and the power to co-construct planning knowledges for a complex and diverse society.

A new ideology for planning

To explore what society expects, how it engages and what important constructs it may offer to (re)developing the principles of planning knowledges for practice, interviews were carried out with development activists and "everyday" residents visiting municipal information offices. A "slice" of African society emerged from the 168 interviews conducted in English and isiZulu. The results point to a very different ideology that sees planning as problem-solving, working with what people do and reducing unnecessary rules and hardships. The

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[3] Rights to one's own knowledge, experience and earned expertise.

negative issues identified by interviewees that planning should prevent were some big "public bads", such as pollution and noise, rather than the long list of prohibitions that planners would identify.

This new ideology for planning also pointed to flexibility and tolerances of mixed uses, integration, far beyond what any mixed use zone would cater for. There was an acceptable and practical sense of how land can be used, mindful of impacts, which planners think that lay people are unaware of and need to be controlled. Overall, the people interviewed accepted the need to be compliant and law-abiding, provided rules were identified together, and were reasonable and sensible. Municipal planning needs to be less administrative and to build on what people are doing for themselves – to go beyond survival and create opportunities in the context of African urbanism.

An important principle of planning and practice to emerge was that the "grey" needs to be accommodated. In essence, role-players should co-generate the problems and the solutions to land use planning, through innovative methods of engagement, and in so doing uncover new constructs of planning knowledges for implementation, informed through lived experiences of a current African urban society. The study confirms that new possibilities for land use planning emerge when citizens engage with expert and political knowledges (Moonsammy, 2017).

Urban development lines and other borrowed concepts without considering history

The "alliance" of planning, infrastructure, and environment appears to be scientific, objective, and professional and the defender of sustainability, but it is often devoid of history, politics and realities. For instance, the urban development line (UDL) is promoted as a scientific tool that supports sustainability, services availability and lifestyle. Here the concern is not about having a UDL or not, but about being prescriptive and blinded to situations that was regarded as a problem for "sustainability". As an example, decades after people were removed to make room for the construction of a dam, the opportunity arose to provide housing for the displaced community, but the entire project was not passed because it would transcend the UDL.

The Human Settlements Unit employed an infrastructure expert who worked almost exclusively for the municipality and was well respected by the different sectors (environment, planning, water and sanitation). The expert's role was to investigate if the UDL, which split an in-situ housing project, would mean that services cannot be supplied to the area outside the UDL. The community disputed the UDL as a service line because in the past they were able to access water. The expert's investigation revealed a splitting of a smaller catchment, and the so-called, rigid and fixed UDL was under scrutiny. This example shows how expert knowledge often counts as the only knowledge that planning and planners can engage with, and how certain sectors have particular consultants that they respect and with whom they work best. This creates a "club" approach that affects the development of planning and other sector knowledges – instead of changing the tool (the UDL) that is not fit for purpose or accepting discretion as part of planning, the "experts" try to make everything fit uncomfortably or disregard the things that do not fit.

> "There's also an assumption that planning knowledge is always right, it's very narrowly defined, planning knowledge also looks for support in the form of legal requirements, environmental, and infrastructure requirements to support certain planning arguments, which may or may not have a direct bearing on the planning argument or planning knowledge been generated. As an example the much contested urban development line, UDL, was often seen as an infrastructure line." (Planner: Human Settlements: Respondent 22)

Planning Policy and Practice and its Relevance for TOD

The planners or "experts" determine where TOD is allowed and make the changes in the town planning scheme, and yet many factors and actors are involved in making a scheme work or not. This raises the question of the codification of land use planning, the use of land, and the construction and use of space. Within the eThekwini Municipality, the first phase of TOD development was the Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN) Corridor C3, which connects the CBD of Pinetown and industrial areas of New Germany (important employment hubs) with the former townships of Clermont, Kwadabeka, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma (where labour lives) and Bridge City, the new mixed used hub (see Figure 3). Bridge City is an important modal transfer hub for public transport corridors coming from the west, north, CBD and south.

Figure 3: Proposed IPTN showing corridors and feeder routes
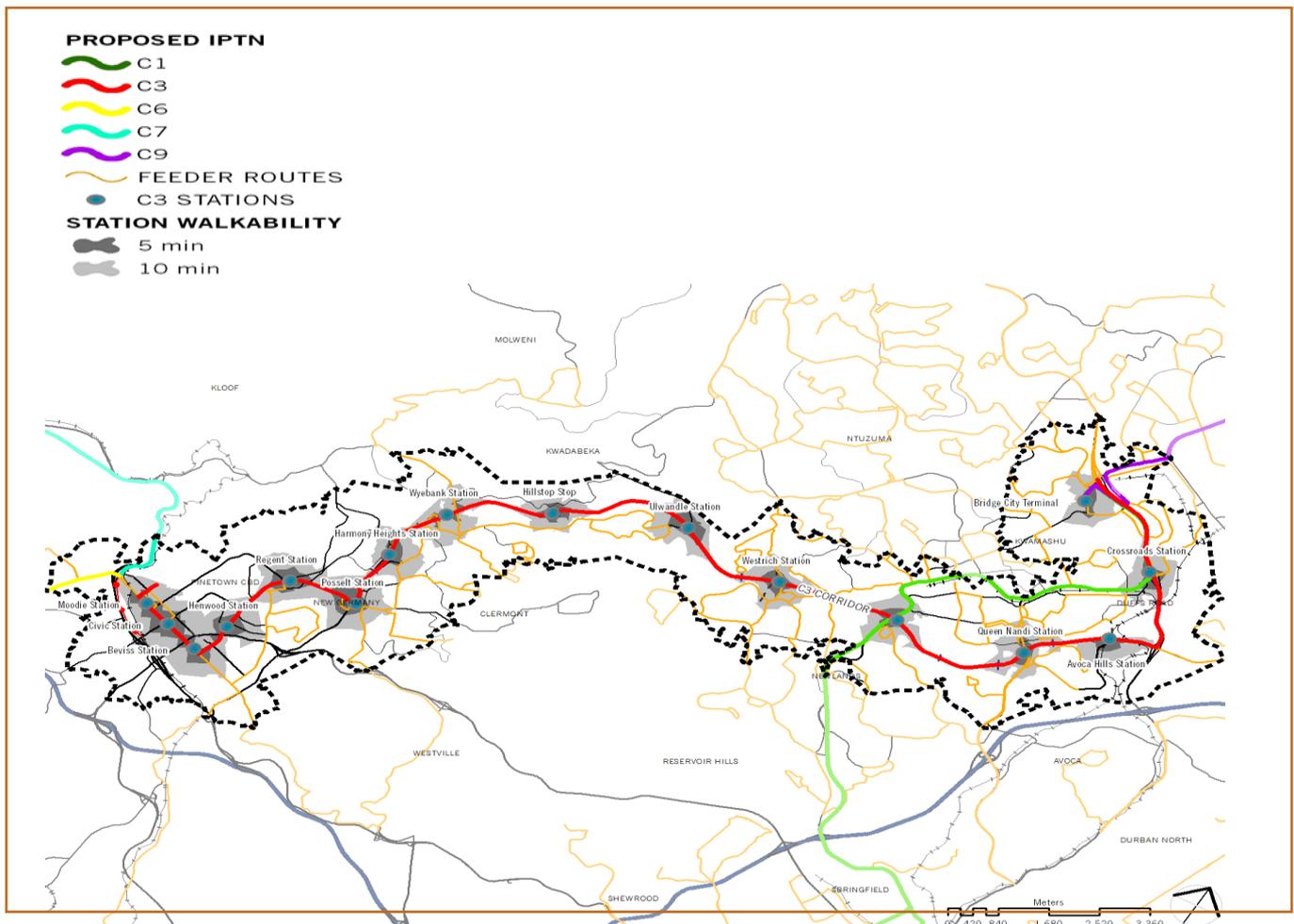
Source: Iyer (2017)

The TOD zones along the 400m-wide C3 corridor allow for more densification, intensity and reduced parking standards (in some cases to nil parking bays as a requirement). This is based on assumptions made by the planners/built environment professionals of what will happen and ignores what is the reality. The reality is that the corridor contains many stakeholders with varying land ownership possibilities and histories, including

former township areas that have remained largely residential, informal and with limited commercial, industrial and retail opportunities. Yet the IRPTN zoning assumes that creating TOD zones will lead to TOD development.

Like land use planning experiences within the municipality, the creation of TOD zones is over-reliant on expert knowledge, with little or no inputs from the many stakeholders that are required to make sense of how TOD can and should work. This is because consultation with stakeholders is aimed at compliance, not engagement. The land use planning included in the IRPTN zones is based on an ideology of planning that says: if it is planned, it will happen. The assumption is that development will happen because land owners have been given more development rights, supported by incentives and enforcement. Yet the usual real-politic and alliances with certain practitioners and within the municipality was apparent with the IRPTN zoning, which was determined by a few selected practitioners from within the planning and transport sectors – many in both sectors felt marginalised. The C3 plans and ambitions are questioned by built-environment practitioners that approve applications on regular basis, revealing the social frictions in the creation of planning knowledges within the municipality. The practitioners in charge of appointing consultants are the practitioners that determine the planning knowledges for implementation, such as the TOD studies and zones. This results in the same problems as identified in the research undertaken by Moonsammy (2017).

- The practical applied knowledge – what people are doing – is ignored, which leads to the development and use of land within a particular urbanisation context.
- Concepts – such as land use planning and TOD – are transferred from one context to another, forgetting the history of land and development in South Africa. The broad assumption is that investing in infrastructure such as the BRT will automatically lead to maximum and intensified development in the corridor, in accordance with the new TOD zones.
- The transport and planning ideology underpinning TOD zones assumes all land owners have the means, access to capital and aspirations to capture land value from government investments in IRTPN/BRT systems. Access to land and development rights are assumed to be the only drivers for land utilisation, ignoring the many social-cultural-economic factors that determine how land will be used, irrespective of what the TOD zones allow for.
- The assumption that TOD zones and corridors will somehow escape the challenges and difficulties present in townships and inner cities that they cross, forgetting that many of these areas have a history of poor spatial governance, social-economic and unemployment challenges, poor service delivery, insufficient urban social facilities and urban management;
- The town planning schemes that support TOD zones are inflexible, prescriptive and complex. While the zones will have more dense and intense land use, the planning schemes pre-empt what and how development will take place – the question raised is how African "grey" urbanisation will be acceptable in TOD.
- Current political representation, budgeting and city administration is not aligned with TOD corridors but continue to be based on demarcated wards.

A recent study reflecting on the TOD experience in Johannesburg, along the "Corridors of Freedom" found that integrated institutional support is important to support the private sector, and new methodologies and participatory policy making are needed, to ensure that local stakeholders are part of the implementation (Rubin and Appelbaum, 2016a; 2016b). The study highlights the importance of improved urban management in the sub-urban and former township areas, through which the corridors traverse. For TOD to be successful, it is essential to deal with the years of neglect (to people and places) in segments of TOD corridors, including providing basic and social service delivery, and dealing with existing social problems of unemployment, substance abuse, crime, and physical degradation of the neighbourhood (Rubin and Appelbaum, 2016).

Recommendations

How the many "occupiers" (actors, owners, tenants) use and develop urban land must be taken into account if land use planning, including TOD, is to be successful in transforming land relations. This means considering the context of land in South Africa, which is part of African urbanisation and an urban history of colonialism and apartheid. The mode of urbanisation is key to changing the ideology and principles underpinning land use planning knowledges for practice and thus shifting practice. If not, TOD, like other concepts that rely on the land use instruments currently in use, will remain government-led, "expert"-driven and benefit the same land owners and developers as in the past – well-located land will continue to receive more public investment, incentives and up-zoning for TOD.

To ensure a fairer distribution of benefits from public investment and TOD incentives and zoning will require a nuanced and intimate approach to planning, spatial governance and government, community and stakeholder partnerships. The poorer areas and declining neighbourhoods that the corridors cross and connect with will need special and practical interventions, including:

- New methods of engaging citizens and stakeholders, to co-generate the principles of TOD policy, both city-wide and within the local context.
- Capacity-building of stakeholders and planners and wider built environment professionals, so that they are able to engage meaningfully in co-generating policy, plans and incentives for TOD.
- The recognition of informality, beyond informal settlements and trade, to include technical assistance with health and safety issues, land registration and acceptance to such development. This means accommodating informal development within townships, considering and supporting development without plans, and legalising uses that are "neighbourly" and which co-exist with other uses including residential as determined by lived experiences of "everyday" people and not simply expert knowledge.
- New institutional models of governance, prioritisation and budgeting, and political representation that promotes the corridors as areas of excellence, with the best public, social and civic services, serving broader areas, the wider city and connecting wards and neighbourhoods. Corridors should be provided with the political, professional resources and budgets for new infrastructure and for maintaining existing infrastructure.
- The establishment of multi-disciplinary teams and special budgets, which may cause conflict with the current ward-based approach. However, this would enable many wards and neighbourhoods to be connected and served, and ultimately transform the spatial and investment apartheid.
- Renewed investment and governance into declining areas, CBDs and former townships, as these areas are where the ridership exists and where the BRT interface is.

Post-apartheid local government, which started in the 1990s, needs to refocus on townships and declining CBDs if TOD is to be successful. A fundamentally different planning paradigm is required, supported by a planning profession willing to let go of control and move to the co-generation of problems and solution finding. This represents a mature professional culture, a new (not weaker) profession, a much-needed planning culture that works with its African urban society.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a reflection on years of practice and insights that are not usually captured in research processes focused on planning. Development policies are about inclusion, participation and innovation. Yet the culture of municipal planners and the practice of planning within municipality in the industry of planning, clings to the old way of doing things: insisting on the power of the expert, supporting a club mentality when taking processes forward, and doggedly applying outdated and ill-equipped planning tools and new laws to contemporary urban contexts that will never recognise such forms of planning. The introduction of TOD

carries with it this institutional and cultural state, and TOD in and of itself will not deliver transformation. What is required instead is a deliberate effort to open up the institutional space and architecture to new ways of working. This means promoting greater transparency and fostering a culture of trying new "people-centred" approaches and researches methods to land use planning and urban development.

Although planning is the focus of the paper, it contains important lessons for the municipal institution and all disciplines that operate within municipalities. The paper does not argue for expert knowledge to be replaced but rather for such knowledge to expand, and for existing methods to be challenged. Municipalities need to find new ways to engage with planning, so that planning beliefs and practices are (re)developed based on an African society, not on another society. If not, planning knowledges and practices will continue to be irrelevant and challenged by how society values, adapts and makes sense of space in cities. There needs to be a re-culturisation of the built environment professions and a restructuring of institutional arrangements within municipalities, which are the critical institutions for implementing TOD.

However, this "cultural change" starts with ideological questioning, consciousness, and awareness of the professional and administrative "class" belief systems that underpin the knowledges and practices of municipalities. Without this, the ambitions for TOD, as identified in the Integrated Urban Development Framework, will not materialise as intended. When managing the desired urban land transformation and TOD, municipal institutions and planning professionals need to consider South Africa's history of land, government and planning and how society has managed and continues to adapt and transform the construction of space. They need to be active agents of change that work with, beyond and in between plans and instruments.

Future Research

Future research should delve into world-scale research, across regions, situated within practice, to explore the role of planning knowledge. What constitutes planning knowledge? How is this knowledge being (re)developed, socially, professionally, institutionally and politically? More importantly, how useful is planning knowledge as a point of focus to shift and change planning practice? The next research area should be the exploration of planning knowledge and practice, as a process of history, problematisation and reconciliation, focusing on existing planning knowledge used within a South African context. It should take a trans-disciplinary approach, one that considers genealogy, given the history of planning in South Africa and its impacts on planning practice and citizens (Friedman, 2008; Vidyarthi et al., 2012). However, working with history, what is and can be remains critical to such studies to change the role and relevance of planning and planners. Comparative studies in exploring planning knowledge, the ideology that underpins the construction is important for planning practice, planning outcomes and the impacts on citizens. Such research could also influence the teaching of planning and planning practice, creating consciousness and awareness not only for planning students but also for planning practitioners.

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