

# **Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post Apartheid Urban Reconstruction**

*Gustav Visser*

## **Abstract**

The paper focuses on the intersection between South African urban reconstruction and the development of social justice debates in urban geography. Drawing on the distributive choices displayed in post apartheid urban planning strategies the paper sketches the general contours of a contemporary understanding of social justice. It is argued that the structuralist and post-structuralist debates that dominate geographical social justice discourse are insufficiently attuned to the geographically and historically located formulations of this concept. The paper concludes by arguing that if geographical social justice discourse is to be useful or relevant to urban planning practice in South Africa, new theoretical frameworks, sensitive to the geographically and historically located interpretations of this concept need to be developed.

## 1. Introduction and objectives

All tiers of government have to consider the manner in which they will, must or can intervene in the distribution of a society's benefits and burdens (Abbot, 1996). In many countries, these issues are increasingly devolved to local government (Abedian *et al*, 1997; Cameron, 1996a; Cameron, 1996b; Chambers, 1997; Cloete, 1995). Consequently, local structures fulfil a growing role in regulating the distribution of society's benefits and burdens. Whilst South African local government institutions increasingly preside over (re)distributive practices, they operate in the context of the distributive legacies inherited from apartheid. As such the increasing autonomy of local government and the context of apartheid distributional realities frame the complex task of South African urban reconstruction.

Commentators monitoring South African institutional change agree that the country's democracy hinges on dismantling the resource distributional legacies of the apartheid era (Bernstein, 1995; Coetzee, 1995; Coovadia, 1995; Mansfield, 1995; Moosa, 1995; Padayachee and Elliot, 1995; Schmidt, 1995). Most argue that the reconstruction of state institutions to reorient and redirect resources and capacity at all levels of government is fundamental (Bond, 1998; Dyantyi and Frater, 1998; Gotz, 1995; Heymans, 1995; Maharaj, 1996; Olver, 1999). With the advent of post apartheid national governance, a number of policy frameworks aimed at planning and funding strategies for reconstructing these cities and delivering basic needs to the poor have emerged (Tomlinson, 1995a; 1995b). During initial post apartheid urban reconstruction however, numerous commentators insisted that despite the restructuring of the governance system, apartheid-style planning, as well as fiscal and social divisions, persisted. This they claim constrained the broader project for urban democratisation and development (Bond, 1998; Dyantyi and Frater, 1998; Gotz, 1995; Heymans, 1995; Khan, 1998; Lemon, 1997; Lohnert, *et al* 1998; Oldfield, 1998; Swilling, 1996; Swilling and Boya, 1995; Wooldridge and Cranko, 1995, Zziwa, 1998). Only slowly, suggest Parnell and Pieterse (1998), have new urban development policies, united under a planning approach labelled "Developmental Local Government" signal a new "phase" of post apartheid urban reconstruction.

In this context, and contrary to much critique, this paper suggests that positive lessons can be drawn from the transitional developments found in South African local government. Specifically it contends that South African urban development policies hold implications for the direction in which normative social justice theorisation, particularly in urban geography and planning, could develop. In fact, it will be shown that recent policy shifts in South Africa

challenge the structuralist and post-structuralist moulds in which geographical social justice debates operate. The paper suggests that the current normative social justice debates, presented as guidelines to planning practice, are inadequately aware of emerging empirical understandings of social justice found in this country. In particular the academic debates are insufficiently attuned to liberal understandings of social justice which increasingly emerge from the distributive choices made by South African local government representatives (Berstein, 1995).

In order to incorporate the lessons that South African planning practices hold for the development of normative statements about social justice, it is necessary to first demonstrate that empirical understandings of social justice contribute to developing the social justice concept. To facilitate this position, the theoretical debate developed by Miller (1992) and Swift *et al* (1995) who illustrate that such an endeavour is not only desirable but, in fact, necessary in developing social justice theory as a guide to planning practice is drawn upon. Having established this position, the focus of the paper turns to the consideration of local government planning frameworks in post apartheid South Africa. Based on a case study located in Tygerberg, a city in the Cape Metropolitan Region of South Africa, the paper illustrates how decision-makers in this city implemented a planning strategy referred to as Integrated Development Planning (IDP). As much of this strategy is focused on the redistribution of a particular urban society's benefits and burdens (i.e. fiscal responsibilities and development opportunities), the IDP's development and contents is interpreted as illustrating particular understandings of social justice. By analysing the distributive choices made in the IDP, this paper aims to capture some of the key characteristics of a post apartheid understanding of social justice.

This analysis simultaneously illustrates how the spatial imagination is deployed as a method of negotiating how this urban society's benefits and burdens could be distributed. Building from this observation, negotiated urban visions and imagined urban spaces expressed in IDP, can be seen to function as a device by which shared understandings of social justice are enabled. This outcome is "expressed" by linking these negotiated urban visions to the (re)distributive practices of local government - a range of development projects - funded via the city's capital budget. Subsequently, how these new understandings of social justice are reflected in the manner in which the City of Tygerberg applies its finances is investigated. The paper concludes by reflecting on how these findings illustrate liberal understandings of social justice and how these findings might (re)direct the theoretical development of social justice debates in geographical research.

## **2. Social justice from "below": The case for empirical contributions to social justice**

Recent urban studies debates have suggested that development and planning policy should return to normative social justice theory as a guide to planning practice (Smith, 1994a; Harvey, 1996).<sup>1</sup> This revisitation of normative understandings of social justice can be explained on the basis of two sets of considerations (Corubolo, 1998). First, there appears to be a shift in the understanding of morality itself that implies the rejection of ethical dogmatism and universalism as a basis for explaining how moral codes are generated (as seen in post structuralist writing of Bourdieu, 1984; Dear, 1988; Hassan, 1985; Jencks, 1987; Young, 1990). Second, there is an increasingly perceived need for new normative frameworks to structure social science research and practice so as to enable social scientists to provide better tools to guide action towards the improvement of the human condition (as seen in structuralist and egalitarian arguments of Corubolo, 1998; Latouche, 1997; Smith, 1994a; 1995a; 1999). These debates have developed along two distinctive lines of reasoning. One group developed a social justice discourse, which rejects the notion of moral rules. Another has come to embrace universalist social justice theory (Harvey, 1996; Smith, 1999). This position has led to growing discontent, particularly among urban theorists, and has led to a refocusing of debates to accommodate the concerns of both positions (Merrifield, 1995).

Increasingly social justice debates express the post structuralist need for emancipation and inclusion of the poor, marginalised and oppressed in governance structures (Young, 1990a; Young, 1990b). Universalist concerns are accommodated by insisting that governance institutions propagate equality and equity in the process (Pratt, 1993; Smith, 1993). This "new" position is increasingly expressed by theoretical work concerned with social justice generally (Corubolo, 1998; Harvey, 1992; 1996; Massey, 1995; 1999; Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996) and in policy guidelines for the developing world in particular (Corubolo, 1998; ILO, 1994; Moser, 1989; Pugh, 1997; Smith 1994a; 1995a). This reworked position has become a "new" normative statement of what social justice ought to be, though its proponents are reluctant to develop it as a theory in itself (Corubolo; Harvey, 1992; 1996; Smith 1993; Smith, 1994a; 1994b; 1995a; 1999). Whilst this "mediated" position represents an interesting policy objective, it raises two important issues.

First, urban geography (of the past three decades) must rank as one of the few social science disciplines that have failed to actively investigate the relevance of liberal theories of social justice as a guide to urban policy and planning practice. The Rawlsian (1971; 1993)

view of social justice<sup>2</sup>, bed-rock of the social justice debate (see for example, Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996), the Nozickian (1974) response and the Hayekian (1976) dismissal have been largely ignored in the urban studies literature. A second issue has been the total lack of interest in developing accounts of social justice grounded in empirical understandings thereof. Whilst it is not intended to develop an argument pursuing the introduction of liberal social justice theorisation *per se*, the paper does suggest that if geographers and urban planners engaged in the development of an empirically based understanding of social justice, very different social justice frameworks would be suggested as guidelines to planning practice, as what "ordinary urban citizens", particularly in terms of the case study reviewed here, deem to be socially just, challenges the post-structuralist/ structuralist debates in geographical social justice discourse. Recent developments in political science and sociology suggest that social justice discourses can, and in fact should, be influenced and reworked by considering how the decision-makers and communities they represent interpret social justice (Miller, 1992). These studies, of which both the findings and theoretical concerns are currently omitted in the geographical theorisation of social justice, suggest that understandings in various empirical settings are vastly more diverse and widely located in geographical and historical contexts, than current debates suggest.

Notwithstanding, on the face of it there is little reason for social justice theorists to pay attention to the findings of social scientists generally and geographers in particular. Basically, justifications of moral principles made by Rawls, Nozick and Hayek for example, occupy different logical spaces from the descriptions and explanations of the moral principles to which people in the "real world" actually subscribe. It could be suggested that empirical research is unlikely to contribute to political-theoretical debates, mainly because the philosophical task of justification remains largely immune from whatever one might discover about the justice beliefs current in any particular society. This view can however, be contrasted with David Miller's (1992) arguments suggesting that empirical beliefs can be regarded as "data" against which theories of justice may be "tested". Supporting Miller's view, Elster (1992) argues that such theories need "empirical foundations" and that these might be provided by studies of the manner in which institutions allocate the scarce resources at their disposal. In this regard, productive engagements following this view have come from the collaborative work of Swift, Marshall, Burgoyne and Routh (1995). These authors suggest a number of arguments to justify the "empirical" study of social justice.

First, perhaps uncontroversially, they suggest that knowing that others think differently give the philosopher, or at least one with a sense of humility and fallibility, ground

for caution. Nevertheless, in this case the philosopher may still end up rejecting popular opinion. Thus, descriptive and explanatory empirical research might be helpful for the normative project, but with this role external to the theorisation of social justice. In this case however, there is still no serious suggestion that what other people think, or why they think it, could do more than give the philosopher reason to reconsider his/ her own arguments.

Swift *et al*'s (1995, p.19) second consideration is that conceptions of justice that do not correspond to ordinary thinking are doomed to failure, no matter how sound or robust they may be in philosophical terms. Quoting Dunn, they observe that "if historical agents are to be provided with reasons for acting, they must be furnished with reasons which are reasons for *them*" (ibid.p.19; italics in original). In addition to ensuring an argument that is presented in such a way that it can actually motivate those to whom it is addressed there is, however, another point. Compromise for the sake of achieving, on balance, better outcomes than would be achieved by insisting on pure truth may be justified. The boundaries of political possibility are to a large extent set by popular opinion, so that judging what can be done politically requires knowledge of that opinion. Swift *et al* (1995) add to this the claim that it makes little sense to advocate that which is "impossible" to achieve, that the responsible theorist should worry about the sets of feasible outcomes given the *status quo*, and that a person has a variety of moral arguments for taking lay beliefs into account when constructing normative theory. Nevertheless, one does not need to regard those beliefs as making any difference to the truth about justice, for the conclusion may well be simply that justice is unattainable and will be so while popular opinion remains as it is.

Their third argument (ibid.p.19) is much stronger. The idea presented is that the right answer in politics, in this case the distributive principles that are justified for the society in question, may be internally related to lay beliefs themselves. Whereas the second argument regarded those beliefs merely as constraints upon the feasibility of achieving a just society and the justification of principles of justice as occurring quite independently of popular beliefs, the third argument claims that at least part of the answer to the question of how goods should be distributed is to be found by looking at the way that people think that they ought to be distributed. In their view, two versions of the claim that empirical beliefs have a constitutive role to play in the justificatory project can be presented. Seen in one way, there is the anti-foundationalist ("anti"-philosophical) position, which simply rejects the idea that there is anything else to which one might appeal other than a society's "shared meanings" and "shared understandings". On the other hand, however, there is the position that holds that there are good (possibly "foundational") moral reasons why one should respect the opinions

and judgements of our fellow citizens. Following this second view, it is not so much a matter that there is no other manner by which to arrive at normative principles (what Rorty refers to as “historico-sociological” description of the way we live now) as it is rather that people have normative reasons to accord moral weight to the beliefs of relevant others (Swift, *et al*, p.20).

Building from the possibilities that these arguments present, sociologists and political scientists have set out to illustrate the impact of key social features, such as race, nationality, class and gender on the meaning of social justice (Alves and Rossi, 1978; Beedle and Taylor-Goody; 1983; Hochchild; 1981; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Lane, 1962; McClosky and Zallar, 1984; Miller; 1992; Murphy-Berman *et al*, 1984; Robinson and Bell, 1978). Yet, whilst other social scientists have drawn upon this position, the geographical debates surrounding social justice have not followed this path. This paper addresses this omission and aims to illustrate what social justice is understood to constitute in post apartheid cities. In doing so, it goes further and simultaneously illuminates how the spatial imagination impacts upon how understandings of social justice develop in these cities. In particular, this exploration provides insights into the profound impact of space, both physical and imagined, in moulding understandings of social justice. To contextualise these arguments however, the following section first reviews some of the dynamics of the case study area, in which these suggestions are investigated.

### **3. Tygerberg as a case study area**

The Tygerberg area represents a “classic” post apartheid local government "reconstruction product" (Cameron, 1996a; Visser, 1998). The City of Tygerberg, located in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA), constitutes the restructured remnants of sixteen former apartheid local governments, service areas and management organisations brought about by the highly controversial amalgamation of South African cities in 1994/1995 (see Cameron, 1996a). Spanning the higher middle income communities of Durbanville in the north, to Khayelitsha the poorest of the CMA communities in the south; this city of 1.1 million residents, represents a cross-section of post apartheid society (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. The City of Tygerberg**



Following the first democratic local government elections in May 1996, the National Party (NP)<sup>3</sup> narrowly won control over Tygerberg. Unlike most local councils in South Africa, Tygerberg has a near equal political party division between the NP (35 seats, 49%) and the African National Congress (ANC<sup>4</sup>, with 34 seats, 47%) (the balance is made up by the DP, with one seat or 2% and ACDP, with one seat or 2%). Whilst leading by a narrow margin, the council is officially a NP controlled local government. With this particular party political weighting a broad-based consensus, decision-making process is essential to effective governance. Reflecting on the circumstances following the creation of Tygerberg (the first two years of the newly amalgamated council in 1996 and 1997), such consensus proved elusive (Knoetze, 1998). Nowhere was this more apparent than in the decision-making processes leading to the formation of this city's development programmes and budgets. Decisions about how particular benefits and burdens had to be distributed was totally absent and practically paralysed city functioning (Knoetze, 1998). This problem was further compounded by the fact that a two-thirds majority is required to approve council budgets, leading to further tension in decision-making processes.

Two ANC representatives, Ngcuka (1998) and Van Zyl (1998), recall that tremendous conflict and suspicion marked the starting point from which this council set out to address the challenges of Tygerberg. Ngcuka (1998) noted that the general understanding of the NP aligned councillors was that the ANC:

“wanted to take it all...not share these [local government resources] things...the rather strong language and pointless arguments at the beginning of the council's term in office, wondering whether anything could possibly be resolved in the coming years.”

On the other side of the party political divide, the NP councillor Frikkie Knoetze (1998) recalls that after the demarcation of Tygerberg:

“We were highly suspicious about the manner in which the demarcation process took place...It is as if there were hidden intentions...we didn't know what the ANC wanted. The initial shock behind the massive task that was awaiting was a daunting prospect.”

Perhaps the judgement of the single DP councillor in the Tygerberg chamber, Remo Ciolli (1998), best described the dynamics of the beginning years when he recalled that:

“There was little co-operation between the various parties in the conceptualisation of the development schemes in the Tygerberg area. When the ANC came up with something the NP rejected it out of hand purely because it was an ANC plan, not because it might have been a worthwhile project.”

Lack of co-operation meant that the city council could not deliver the services and functions it was constitutionally required to, nor could they agree upon a sustainable financing strategy to do so (Younge, 1998). It was not only a public embarrassment but also a threat to the council's existence, as the provincial government was constitutionally sanctioned to take control of authorities that could not provide the "basics of normal local government" (Burger, 1998; Peterson, 1998). However, it was the development of the Tygerberg IDP, a key planning tool for post apartheid local government that stands out as having been central to facilitating a sea change in the city's decision-making process.

#### **4. South African local government and the IDP**

The South African constitution explicitly provides for local government. Governance in this country is organised on the principle of co-operation between three “spheres”, national, provincial and local. The word “sphere” is, according to Corrigan (1998,p.5), deliberate and is intended to convey the view that there are no hierarchical relationships between the various levels of government. These spheres are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated, enjoying a measure of autonomy while co-operating with and respecting the functions and operations of others. Constitutionally, local government is enjoined to carry out two main tasks, that of ensuring the delivery of services to the communities within their jurisdiction, and to promote economic development (Brewis, 1998; De Jongh, 1998).

The Local Government Transitional Act (Act 97 of 1996) and the new White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) ushered in a number of significant changes to the legislative framework controlling the management of South African cities. Within these documents, objectives such as cost containment by means of a reduction in the number of local authorities, as well as the increasing professionalisation of political offices are set out. In addition, principles of financial accountability are introduced and the fund raising abilities of local authorities are enhanced (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998). The most important policy directive is focused on the expanded function of local government to include poverty eradication and local economic development (see Parnell and Pieters, 1998 for an excellent analysis of the IDP).

The Local Government Transitional Act, Second Amendment Act (1996) required that all municipalities prepare IDPs which conform with the Provincial Land Development Objectives. An IDP is defined in this Act as a plan aimed at the integrated development and management of the area of jurisdiction of the municipality concerned in terms of its powers and duties. The intention is that the post apartheid objectives of restitution by redistribution, (re)development and growth will be achieved at the local level. Integrated development planning embodies the core purpose of local government and guides all aspects of revenue raising and service delivery activities, interaction with the citizenry and institutional organisation. It is also the primary tool by which to ensure the integration of local government activities with other tiers of development planning at provincial, national and international levels. In this sense, it serves as the basis for communication and interaction within government structures. The IDP is thus the gearing mechanism through which national constitutional obligations are matched with the autonomous prioritisation of locally generated development agendas (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998).

The White Paper on local government (RSA, 1996, p.47) sees the process of Integrated Development Planning as one through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term. The IDP is envisaged to enable a municipality to assess the current realities in its area of jurisdiction, including economic, social and environmental trends, available resources, skills and capacities. The IDP should enable the assessment of the varied needs of the community and different interest groups; prioritise these needs in order of urgency, importance and constitutional and legislative imperatives. This programme should establish frameworks and set goals to meet these needs; devise strategies to achieve the goals within specific time frames; develop and implement projects and programmes to achieve key objectives; establish targets and monitoring tools/instruments to measure impact and performance; budget effectively with limited resources and meet strategic objectives; and regularly monitor and adapt the development programme based on the underlying development framework and development indicators. For Parnell and Pieterse (1998,p.17):

“Local government as enshrined in the White Paper therefore extends way beyond the scope of the Urban Development Strategies and spells out a vision for transforming South African cities that relies on both the latest technical procedures of environmental, economic and physical planning and democratic political process at the local scale”.

Parnell and Pieterse (ibid., p.18-19) point to the subtext of this institutional mechanism, recognising the complex inter-relationships between various aspects of development, for example, political, social, economic, environmental, ethical, infrastructural and in terms of spatial relations. They go on to remind us that given the complex inter-relationship of these various aspects, it is impossible to address only one dimension and expect to make an impact on inequality or poverty. In fact, they are of the opinion that IDPs recognise that any sustainable and successful strategy must address all of these elements in a co-ordinated way, based on an analysis of the underlying structural factors that sustain economic growth, poverty and inequality.

At an abstract level, the IDP makes it an essential requirement for a local community to identify development needs and simultaneously execute agreed anti-poverty and growth strategies that emanate from a common vision that spells out how local needs will be satisfied. The IDP thus has as its core the consultation of all urban stakeholders in the development of a local governance strategy that will support local citizens' understandings of how the city ought to develop. This position represents a major break from earlier urban development policies in South Africa in the sense that it is set on addressing the general needs of all those who live in urban settlements.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the apartheid urban governance system, which focused on the recognition and address of a particular urban community's understanding of desirable distributive outcomes and its associated urban form (i.e. White South Africans), the IDP aims to facilitate locally negotiated consensus about what the transforming post apartheid city should achieve for its all citizens. It is however, the way in which this process is guided by the spatial imaginary and codified in the IDP, that makes it of particular interest to the spatial scientist. Constructing an urban vision of the city, indicating what could be developed, where in the city, to who's benefit and based on agreed reasoning, has been fundamental to how Tygerberg is developing and the emergence of a new understanding of social justice.

## **5. Re-imagining the City of Tygerberg**

Tygerberg published South Africa's first Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (Van Zyl, 1998). This represents a broad-based development initiative, hitherto never attempted. It required participants, both within communities and the city council bureaucracy to compile an urban image of post apartheid Tygerberg as an integrated whole. As Rudi Ellis (1998), the Provincial Director of Social Planning suggests, "...IDP is [a] methodology, and should be

able to develop an integrated city in which the 'desires' of the people are married with good planning practice". The IDP co-ordinator, Dr Martin van der Merwe, reports that nearly 1400 community organisations were invited to participate in fifteen working groups responsible for the compilation of this development plan. How many actually participated was never made clear, although it would appear to have included a very significant community input (Van Houwelingen, 1998a, p.12). The important point is that the city managers set out to develop a post apartheid urban vision that aimed to accommodate the views of as many civic and community based organisations' as possible (Dyantyi and Frater, 1998). As such the IDP "...faces the things of the past... work[ing] towards a common goal – how do we [the community] want the city to look in ten or fifteen years time" (Ellis, 1998).

In conjunction with the working groups, civic movements, as well as political and administrative representatives of Tygerberg, the general statutory objectives of the IDP were reworked into a "Vision for the City of Tygerberg" which describes this city as:

"A city of opportunity, at the hub of economic activity in the Cape Metropolitan area, in a safe and secure environment where all its residents have a quality of life in a sharing and participatory atmosphere" (Tygerberg, 1998a, no page numbers)

By means of consultation workshops, Krynauw (in Tygerberg, 1998a) indicated that Tygerberg Council reworked this vision into a number of spatial development objectives negotiated with various community representatives. "A city of opportunity" is seen as a city in which people will have access to adequate facilities where they can reach their personal, emotional, physical potential, as well as their ideals and dreams. The "hub of economic activity" is seen in the context of the CMA specifically, signifying a north/ south development corridor from Khayelitsha in the south and Durbanville in the north, crossing the east/ west development corridor of Voortrekker Road and ending with Industrial Parks near Delft and Khayelitsha which should create enough jobs to meet all employment requirements. "Quality of life" according to this document means that a community must be sought in which every person has a "decent place to live" and "enough food to eat", "has access to clean water", in suburbs where all people have access to parks, pools and sport facilities. "Share and participate" implies unity through diversity of ethnic, cultural and religious units where people can interact, participate in decisions affecting their fate and will have empathy for each other's group identity. It should be evident from these "interpretations" that the visual and spatial metaphor figures strongly. Abstract goals are redefined into concrete things. Consequently, "economic activity" becomes a development corridor, it

denotes "industrial parks" in very specific places, for example, Delft. "Quality of life" becomes "decent house", it becomes "food", "water ", "swimming pools", etc. (ibid., no page numbers). These objectives have become detailed images of the more desirable urban form.

Delving deeper into this document, it becomes apparent that there are multiple spatial references and specific urban images or visions attached to this "urban vision". This should not however, be surprising as the IDP itself has its foundations in a document which is profoundly spatial - the Tygerberg Spatial Development Framework (TSDF) (City of Tygerberg, 1998b). Although there is no apparent legislative requirement that the IDP has to be based or framed by a spatial development framework Krynauw (in Tygerberg, 1998b) wrote that:

“The Tygerberg Spatial Development Framework and Tygerberg Urbanisation Strategy are two major projects that will directly influence the IDP...Both studies will directly influence the 1999/2000 budget with primary projects to integrate the various areas of the City of Tygerberg into one functional unit”.

The TSDF makes for an interesting understanding of the challenges facing Tygerberg. Although Tygerberg developed this document, it is placed specifically within the context of the larger Cape Town metropolitan region. Unlike the fragmented urban visions of the apartheid era, Tygerberg is envisioned as part of a metropolitan whole. Now, unlike the past, the location of the city in a metropolitan context is seen as essential to thinking about its development (contrast this position with the White Local Authorities demarcation proposals in 1994-5 in Cameron, 1996a). It is no longer the antagonist “us” and “them”, with the urban reality of one local authority seen as unaffected by its larger geographical and historical setting. Rather, “care has to be taken to ensure that it slots into the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF)” (Van der Merwe, in Van Houwelingen, 1998a,p.12). The planning vision proposed to overcome these challenges is:

“... to integrate the city at both the physical and socio-economic levels in order to create a unique urban image and to facilitate the socio-economic development of its people”.

"Effective integration" and development of the city is to be achieved through the creation of "high intensity nodes", linked by infrastructure ensuring "high levels of mobility", and encompassed by an enabling framework for socio-economic development within a sustainable metropolitan environment (ibid., p.12). The manner by which to achieve this

planning vision, in an effort to optimise investment, has been by identifying a number of development nodes (or areas of opportunity), closely aligned to the ideals of the MSDF. These nodes capitalise on existing infrastructure and natural attributes and have been selected for their perceived growth potential over the planning period (Tygerberg, 1998a). In their line of reasoning the selected nodes cannot however, function properly in isolation and should be "inter-linked" in order to provide an integrated system in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The existing Voortrekker Road Corridor is to be supplemented by a north-south Tygerberg Corridor, serving as a framework for attracting most of the investment in the city, thus concentrating resources where they would have the greatest benefit. They (Tygerberg 1998a) go on to suggest that by intensifying development at these nodes and by creating continuous "movement corridors", a new dynamic can be created which would not only facilitate public transport, but would also provide the necessary accessibility and exposure in previously disconnected areas, which could lead to the creation of new job opportunities. In addition, higher density housing should be concentrated along these corridors, so that the bulk of the population can be accommodated close to all the opportunities that the city may offer (Van der Walt, 1998a,p.6).

It is envisaged that over time each of these nodes will develop its own character and that a nodal hierarchy will emerge. Being located at the intersection of two metropolitan corridors, Bellville should emerge as the largest of the nodes and serve as a focus for the City of Tygerberg and a metropolitan node. This structure should also result in a strong identity and sense of place within Tygerberg as a city, integrating the previously disparate local authorities (Tygerberg, 1998b). A main conclusion was that the "changing" of a number of urban spaces - how these urban spaces are developed and how they might be linked to other types of spaces - could lead to a broader societal and political transformation. In fact, there is a firm confirmation that changes in spatial arrangement lead to changes in society. As alluded above, these are acknowledgements that Tygerberg is not only in need of changes to its internal spatial arrangement but how it is linked into the larger Metropolitan context. Thus, Tygerberg is not only seen in terms of an isolated urban space but as part of a metropolitan hierarchy, i.e. a metropolitan node, with its activity streets part of metropolitan development corridors. Consequently, there is a sense and understanding of Tygerberg's connectivity to a larger urban reality – the Cape Metropolitan Area.

Like the MSDF for the CMA, the Tygerberg IDP represents (and borrowing from Robinson, 1998) a codification of ways in which the apartheid city form could be restructured for the post apartheid era. This post apartheid city is positioned as a central part of the MSDF

and closely related to most, if not all its ideals. The IDP shares the vision of an "integrated, equitable, sustainable" city, which is contrasted with the existing inequalities in service functions, physical disconnectivity, isolation and the ultimately unsustainable nature of the current urban form. Like the MSDF, the integrative features of the new City of Tygerberg are linked to "activity corridors", "nodes" and "sustainable development". These features are now to be deployed to aid the transition from the dysfunctional and problem-ridden apartheid city to create a better, more socially just post apartheid Tygerberg.

The TSDF and IDP represent a practical response to the problems these councillors and city managers have identified. Unlike the MSDF, the TSDF and the IDP are relatively evasive in judgement of the distribution of economic, social, etc. activities in Tygerberg. The view of the apartheid past is rather technical and apartheid ills mainly expressed in terms of the functional problems this situation presents to "good urban management and development". Unlike Robinson's reading that the diagnosis of the MSDF, on which the IDP is based, developed both in the context of an anti-apartheid political practice and in the framework of the analytical concerns of urban planning, it would appear that the latter point is of greater relevance to Tygerberg. The salient political motivation of the IDP is to contribute to undoing apartheid legacies by rectifying an urban geography which is seen to hamper "good" urban planning. An important aspect of apartheid policies' impact on urban living is "fragmentation", leading to inequality and a lack of development in many parts of the city – a key characteristic of the present urban form. In the process of integrating the city, the IDP has also led to significant change in the meanings ascribed to various areas in the Tygerberg. "Old" apartheid spaces have been ascribed "new" meaning. As such the IDP holds implications for the re-interpretation of the spatiality of this city.

The drive to integrate the Tygerberg, has led to political and local government decision makers ascribing new meanings to localities in Tygerberg which were formerly seen (particularly White Local Authorities) in a negative light. "Old" apartheid spaces, which held little or no potential, are now interpreted differently, not representing zones of decay but places of opportunity. Shahid Solomons, Director of Urban Planning and Economic Development of Tygerberg argues (in Van Houwelingen, 1998b, p.2) that the "physical development" of the city has to be beneficial to a broader base of citizens and seen to hold potential in many different spheres. Considering high levels of unemployment, poverty and the lack resources, the IDP has understandably focused much of its energy on economic develop projects. The multiple spaces of southern Tygerberg, only three years previously



denoted as a major expense (to the WLAs) with no opportunity, are now seen to hold potential (see for discussion Cameron, 1996a).

For some, there is a reworking of the economic spatiality of the Tygerberg. As, for example, Frikkie Knoetze (1998), laments:

“People are starting to reconcile themselves with the new spatial unit... One day I can see that interaction, particularly in the CBD will be North-South rather than East-West. People see the commercial interaction in a far more positive light. The idea that Bellville-Parow-Goodwood development corridor will be over run and ruined didn't materialise. People are rather more interested at the prospect of improving business interests. In fact, I see that sometime in future it will not only be them [sic] coming to shop here but even better, I can see a day when we will be shopping further South.”

Yet, the IDP is not only filled with "economic" re-imaginings of Tygerberg' spatiality. We can consider other aspects of this re-imagination to denote a more general re-codification of this city's spatiality. In this regard, for example, we find that the urban edge in the Coastal area (Khayelitsha) is now regarded as "midway between Muizenberg and the Strand, Momwabisi on the False Bay coastline provides an ideal opportunity to establish a sustainable interface between city and nature" (Tygerberg, 1998b, no page numbers). Alternatively, the badly neglected open spaces on the city's boundary with Kuilsriver "is seen as one of the greatest development opportunities within the City of Tygerberg...[which could] serve the 1 500 000 people in the surrounding areas" (Tygerberg, 1998b, no page numbers). Michelle Robertson (1998), a consultant regional planner for Tygerberg reports that there is a serious attempt, backed-up with money, to integrate the green belts and recreational areas along the river drainage systems, linking Durbanville to the townships in Khayelitsha. In her view, this council wants to link the north and the south of the city with a continuous recreational green-space to help integrate the two parts of the city, not only economically but as an ecological and recreational system too, extending beyond merely an economic re-spatialisation of the city. As Michelle Robertson (1998) remarks:

"Who knows, if my project is implemented totally, you will be able to walk along a recreational space from the new Tygerberg Waterfront in the north [adjacent to the large-scale Tygerberg Valley developments in Durbanville], to Momwabisi to go for a swim in the sea [the Khayelitsha beach resort on the False Bay coast]."

Robertson's comments demonstrate that the IDP has invoked a re-thinking of the spatiality of this city. The re-imagination of Tygerberg's urban space encompasses multiple layers of

societal activity, thus moving beyond a mere rethinking of economic possibility in this city but also incorporating the re-codification of the meaning of different parts of the city in other respects too. However, the impact of the re-imagination of this particular urban space reaches further and as shall be argued in the following section, shaped and enabled a new understanding of how urban society's benefits ought to be distributed to achieve this "re-imagined" urban vision.

## **6. IDP, local government co-operation and social justice**

The generation of shared urban images and visions, whilst admittedly vague and the language typical of urban planners' "techno-speak" have nevertheless had positive impacts. Whereas there might certainly be deficiencies to this planning system, and some commentators have voiced their scepticism (see for excellent examples, Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998; Watson, 1998), it is important that it has been interpreted to have had a very positive impact upon the management of the city. In particular two important outcomes can be identified. One relates to greater co-operation in the city's decision-making structure whilst another concerns the development of a shared understanding of social justice.

The introduction of the Integrated Development Planning policy framework in 1998 led in Ngcuka's (1998) opinion to, "...a change of mentality...[with] people start[ing] to seek a common goal". Lukas Olivier (NP) interpreted the impact of the IDP as facilitating, "...a golden middle way..." (in Van der Walt 1998b, p.1), whereas Van Zyl (1998), was of the opinion that it facilitated a new consensus on development, in fact "...the fights are [now] in the degree to which these understandings are applied." In their view and this is crucial to our discussion, this is where the IDP process proved central in focusing the council's attention on *what* and *where* the city's needs are, and *how* the satisfaction of those needs can be maximised to serve more people.

Those that monitor, evaluate and regulate the actions of local authorities in the Western Cape Province perhaps see the impact of the IDP even more clearly. Provincial government officials' perceive the management of Tygerberg's current approach to have changed radically since the introduction of IDP. Rob Peterson (1998), the Provincial Director for Local Government Finance, for example argued that:

"The IDP has already brought about much change. It has brought about harmony in the council chambers, as there is a greater understanding of what the main

priorities of the municipality are...things are going better than the first round of budgets. The councillors know far more about the various needs in the community...but importantly they now realise that there are some things that are more important than other. There are far more demands on the budget than the budget can supply. There is an understanding now that there has to be prioritisation in the budget.”

Rudi Ellis (1998), Director of Social Planning in this province supports this view suggesting that the:

“Tygerberg’s IDP has shown things that no one would have thought possible two years ago. I think that if you look at the budget in a few years time you will see a 180 degree turn in terms of spending priorities.”

The impact of the IDP however, goes further than drawing attention to needs and facilitating negotiated understandings of how they might be addressed by a physical re-development of the city. The second impact has been that the re-imagination of the city has enabled a negotiated reworking of how this urban society's benefits and burdens might be distributed to achieve this spatial objective. As the focus of the process has been centred on the re-working of this urban society's benefits and burdens and how local government could bring this about by reshaping its distributive practices, the IDP has underpinned the development of a new understanding of what social justice in the post apartheid city could mean.

Consequently, whereas the Tygerberg IDP process has led to a convergence of what form this city should take on, it has simultaneously led to greater levels of consensus on how local government resources should be distributed, aiding the attainment of these negotiated urban visions<sup>6</sup>. In particular, at the provincial level it has been suggested that as these commentators read the impact of the IDP in Tygerberg, a greater level of consensus has emerged on how the city's resources should be distributed. Although distributive goals – and thus social justice - remain a contested issue, greater emphasis is now placed on “the upliftment of the underprivileged areas as an important issue” (Peterson, 1998). Pointing to the contested, racially and economically differentiated nature of social justice, Peterson (ibid.) notes that:

“The perception of what social justice is will differ between the ethnic groups: Black-Coloured-White. An example of the differences in what is socially just can be seen between the blacks and coloureds...There are differences in how the population feels about history. Past events have influenced their current position.

Blacks feel that they were more disadvantaged than the coloured communities and hence need more in the line of upliftment."

This statement demonstrates that understandings of social justice are located in terms of the racially (and because of apartheid generally spatially and economically) differentiated experiences of the history and geography of apartheid. This view is also relativist, even Hayekian in terms of the contested and differential distributive outcomes he suggests these communities might desire due to their particular and located interpretations of urban apartheid.

Although distributive goals – and thus social justice – are interpreted as a contested understanding of how post apartheid benefits and burdens ought to be distributed, emphasis is also placed on “the upliftment of the underprivileged areas as an important issue” (Peterson, 1998). This view was framed by a notion that social justice could be achieved by means of redistribution. For example:

“I think that they would like to talk about redistribution as a way to get to something more socially just...” (Peterson, 1998).

A Nozickian concern for the rectification of past injustice also arose, in so far as local government has a major role to fulfil in "redressing past wrongs" (ibid.). Yet, he goes on to argue that:

"... I think they are trying to give access to new services and functions which are difficult to obtain...however, social justice is not there when you do things that are not sustainable."

This statement echoes Rawls' concern that social justice could only be found in and be subject to a "just saving principle". Thus, in seeking greater equality in distributive outcomes at the local government level, it was essential that such a distribution had to be sustainable over an extended period. Going on to indicate how these Rawlsian and Nozickian justice statements are relevant to his primary concerns for local government financing, Peterson (ibid.) elaborates that:

“From a [local government] financial point of view the only manner to get something more socially just is redistribution by means of the budget process, the contents, the priorities, have to be fundamentally revised. To facilitate this

process, provincial government has an important role to fulfil. We see the IDP as the process by which this drastic change can be done.”

These interpretations of Tygerberg’s current situation, interpreted to having been brought about by the development of the IDP process, are echoed at "the coal-face", that is Tygerberg's local governance realities.

John Marshall (1998), the Chairman of the Executive Committee managing Tygerberg’s political decision-making body argued that social justice was “something” that was expressed in terms of "what local government does". The abstraction of social justice was “made real”, gaining its meaning from its various services and development programmes enabled by the IDP. In his view, a socially just local government was expressed as one that could:

“First, provide every household with a minimum service so that they can enjoy a healthy and reasonably comfortable way of life. This does not, however, mean that the person who cannot pay must expect the highest achievable standards of service.” Second, “That a common fiscus must pay for such services” and third, “That income of the fiscus must largely be from the more affluent persons but everybody must make a contribution no matter how small.”

Two themes can be identified in this statement. The first relates to a minimum service level. It hints at the idea that regardless of the wealth of a specific community or area, some form of baseline – or lifeline services have to be available to all. The second point is that forms of cross-subsidisation will have to occur to facilitate the delivery of this level of services. This means that contributions made to the city fiscus are not directly linked to resources allocated from that fiscus. In language reminiscent of Rawls, those in the better-off position, i.e. the wealthy, are those who should contribute most.

The NP's Frikkie Knoetze's (1998) central claim echoed Marshall's claims that those worst-off in Tygerberg should be provided with a baseline set of services free of charge, not only because these services are not provided at a desirable level, but because the poor communities have no source of regular income. Thus, we have not only a clearer view of how this NP representative understands social justice but also a view that is very far removed from those of NP councillors, held at the time of the demarcation of Tygerberg in 1994-95. Then, unlike now, the fate of the urban poor was hardly considered.

The views of two prominent ANC councillors, a member of the Executive Committee, Radi Van Zyl and the Deputy Mayor – Vuyani Ngcuka, supported these views, demonstrating

some convergence in their understanding of social justice with their NP political opponents. Van Zyl's understanding of social justice is sober and relativist, echoing Hayek's notion of the multiplicity of social justice meaning in the face of historically located contexts, yet, also reflecting a Nozickian concern for "rectification" and a Rawlsian insistence upon greater equality as fairness. Van Zyl (1998) suggests that:

"Attaining social justice means that you cannot get satisfaction for all...it will always be and become a higher goal...social justice will not be pegged down. Social justice is dependent upon the realities of the moment, you can bring it down to the local level and similarly things would differ from time to time and context to context. The golden thread to me is that, importantly, it would involve equal opportunity and to correct things. Social justice is about fairness and compassion."

Van Zyl goes on to explain how this understanding of social justice was enabled in this particular context, a context shaped by the development of the collectively negotiated urban vision brought about by the IDP:

"There are two important things about the council and the drive for social justice – that is money and energy. In my view it is the energy that is important, not the finance itself...the IDP did to some degree manage to initiate a start...how to apply the money. Thus money must be spent so that the return will lead to something better tomorrow - that something better would have developed (Van Zyl, 1998)."

Important to our discussion is that the mechanism for attaining this interpretation of social justice is intimately linked to the drafting of the IDP. The way to achieve this was to produce planning frameworks, such as the IDP, which could enable the focusing of local government "energy" and subsequently, resource allocation. The statement hints at the "energy" or re-organisation of urban space rather than the "finance" itself that enables the development of shared understandings of social justice. To achieve this, Ngcuka (1998) argues:

"Mental changes are needed...the management structure seeking a common goal...an alignment of ideas to reach consensus on what the city must provide to the constituent and the IDP proved to be very helpful in this regard...in the past they [the white community] wanted to change the running of the city and its economy so that the White communities got the best for the White communities instead of doing any development in the disadvantaged areas. This is changing."

Thus, understanding of social justice, is led by "a change of mind", found in the impact of the IDP and the re-codification of urban space that is at the heart of that project. This change reveals aspects of Hayekian, Nozickian and Rawlsian understandings of social justice. As such the IDP facilitated the convergence of understandings of social justice. In addition, we may (for the moment) conclude that the IDP represents a process that has led to "a change of mind" and that there is some evidence to suggest that understandings of social justice, particularly with reference to resource allocation, are pointing to convergence between the main political communities in Tygerberg. This is not however, only seen in these statements by councillors, but is also beginning to be reflected in the manner in which the City of Tygerberg is applying its finances. Consequently, the following section briefly investigates how ideals reflected in the IDP are evident in the first "post – IDP" budget, in turn aiding the realisation of a "spatially led" understanding of social justice.

## **7. The capital budget and the IDP**

Various commentators have substantiated claims that local government change has been slow (Bond, 1998; Lemon, 1997; Lohnert, *et al* 1998; Oldfield, 1998). Zziwa's (1997), analysis of the municipal budgets of Cape Town has for example, argued for little shift in the fiscal management arrangements from the pre-democracy form. But "economistic" readings (such as Zziwa's) can fail to capture the positive moments of this budget in the context of the history and geography of a city such as Tygerberg and its impact on the search for a more socially just post apartheid city. In this section, the objective is to briefly analyse aspects of Tygerberg's first post- IDP budget. The discussion also aims to place this budget in the context of its reception by the city council and its links to the IDP. This analysis therefore elevates the significance of the budget beyond plain spending figures and aims to communicate and broaden an understanding of this "moment" in which Tygerberg's political representatives aimed to bring the previously separate entities of this particular urban society together. This represents the first efforts to implement its IDP and its spatialised visions of social justice.

The capital budget is that part of the municipal budget that addresses all capital and development programmes and projects of a local authority and represents the fiscal expression of the IDP goals. As such, this is the budget set aside for various programmes and/or projects which generally include civic amenities, electricity transmission systems, construction of community health service centres, housing schemes and street works. Thus, it

is that portion that directly affects the socio-economic development of the local authority's many communities and best reflects what a council “really does” about social justice.

In addition to funds raised internally, the local authority's income for capital expenditure are primarily the following (Table 1):

- Consolidated Capital Development and Loans Funds;
- Cape Metropolitan Council transfers;
- National Government transfers;
- National Housing Funds Loans; and
- External agencies.

The capital budget (Table 2) for Tygerberg amounted to R262 021 595<sup>7</sup> for the year 1998/99 and represented a R82 506 565 or 23,9% decrease<sup>8</sup> (in real terms) in the capital budget from the previous year (Tygerberg, 1998a). However, this budget represented the first consolidated account of the capital budget for Tygerberg and cannot really be used in a comparative manner. Nevertheless, despite the fact that direct comparisons with past budgets are not possible, the point is that there are some interesting resource allocations which are different in form (the projects) and locations (service areas), to what might be expected from a local authority that did not have the developmental needs of the poor communities in its jurisdiction in mind (as suggested by Zziwa, 1997).

**Table 1.**  
**Budgeted Operating Income 1997-1999 (in Rands)**

Description	1997/98	1998/99
Property Rates	217 740 510	262 655 491
Electricity	294 506 150	315 000 000
Water	88 091 410	96 165 690
Refuse	34 265 180	38 351 190
Sewage	56 892 460	38 857 560
Health	17 057 390	20 875 634
Housing	37 910 340	17 095 312
Miscellaneous Income	91 029 830	99 029 000
Reserves	24 704 840	51 882 836
Contribution: CCDLF	15 090 030	17 471 833
Subsidies – Other	2 818 630	7 740 600
IGTS	28 738 950	22 030 000
CMC Contribution	79 404 040	60 389 600
<b>Total</b>	<b>988 249 760</b>	<b>1 047 544 746</b>

Source: Tygerberg (1998b, p.7)



**Table 2.**  
**Capital Budget 1998/99 (in Rands)**

Description	Budget 97/98	Budget 98/99	Variance(R)	Percentage Inc/(Decr)
<i><b>Rate &amp; General Services</b></i>	250 844 680	167 822 130	(83 022 550)	-33.1
Community Services	89 004 170	42 808 535	(46 195 635)	-51.9
Corporate Services	4 388 480	6 388 060	1 999 580	45.6
Civil Engineering	86 604 200	86 066 550	(537 650)	-0.6
Urban Planning & Economic Development	67 805 780	26 029 805	(41 775 975)	-61.6
Electrical Engineering	2 357 000	5 900 415	3 543 415	150.3
Chief Executive Officer	0	65 320	65 320	-
Finance	685 050	563 440	(121 610)	-17.8
<i><b>Housing</b></i>	47 741 680	51 286 325	3 544 640	7.4
<i><b>Trading &amp; Economic Services</b></i>	45 216 800	42 663 140	(3 053 660)	-6.8
Water	6 424 000	6 606 000	182 000	2.8
Electricity	18 414 300	21 551 240	3 136 940	17
Refuse	5 412 000	7 310 000	1 898 000	35.1
Sewerage	14 966 500	6 695 900	(8 270 600)	-55.3
<i><b>Special Funds</b></i>	725 000	750 000	25 000	3.4
<i><b>Contingencies</b></i>	0	1 027 740	1 027 740	-
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>344 528 160</b>	<b>262 021 595</b>	<b>(82 506 565)</b>	<b>-23.9</b>

Source: Tygerberg (1998.p.8)

Analysing the breakdown of the total capital budget per area (Table 3) derived from all sources of income, it becomes evident that the council (in terms of budgeted figures at least) attention is focused on those areas in the worst-off position. From the capital budget it is evident that the vast majority of funding for projects in the six service areas of the council is dedicated to the City's most needy areas i.e. Khayelitsha (Coastal Service Areas), Mfuleni (Southern Service Area), Belhar and Delft (Eastern Service Area). For example, the service area focused on Khayelitsha (Coastal Area) received R50 513 265 (37,2%), of the funds (R135 503 670, in total) allocated to the six service areas in the capital budget, whilst the wealthiest areas (Central and Northern Service Areas), received just under R24 million (about R12 million, or 10% respectively). To support this statement further, should the capital

budget be analysed in relation to per capita allocation, the following general conclusion may be made. There are approximately 740 000 people living in the Coastal, Eastern and Southern Service areas. A total (excluding the amounts allocated to housing) of R91 198 685 was assigned to these areas, or 67,3% of the total budget went to 59% of Tygerberg's population. The remaining service regions received R44 304 985 or 32,6%. This meant that in the former service areas (Coastal, Eastern and Southern) R123 per person was spent, whilst R87 per person in the latter (i.e. the Central, Western and Northern service areas).

The largest spending item was housing, with R51 286 325. It is currently estimated that between 80 000 and a 100 000 social housing units are required. Considering this shortage of housing, however, this appears grossly inadequate, as the most basic housing units will cost in the region of R15 000 each, which leaves the council with only enough capital to build about 3400 houses. Furthermore, housing is funded from National Housing Funds and Loans and is not really an indication of how a particular local authority has changed its spending priorities. Rather it points to the ability of the council to mobilise and support those eligible for the housing subsidies (Oldfield, 1998). Consequently, the second largest spending item (more reflective of the reorientation of the councils own spending priorities) is that of civil engineering. With a budgeted total of R86 066 550 for the city as a whole, the Coastal service area (Khayelitsha) was awarded R38 606 265 or 48,5% of the total.

**Table 3.**  
**Total Capital Budget per Service Area 1998-1999 (in Rands)**

Directorate	Head Office	Central Region	Coastal Region	East Region	North Region	South Region	West Region
Electrical Engineering	10 320 105	0	0	11 320 750	0	574 000	5 236 800
Urban Planning	7 394 805	705 000	7 955 000	6 490 000	510 000	1 510 000	1 465 000
Civil Engineering	18 996 305	8 493 480	38 606 265	10 398 900	12 094 000	5 492 500	12 597 000
Community Services	84 723 910	1 404 250	3 877 000	166 000	204 300	4 324 500	144 900
Finance	563 440	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corporate Services	4 454 040	1 124 255	75 000	408 770	326 000	See Coastal	See Central
Chief Executive Officer	65 320	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals Per Area</b>	<b>126 517 925</b>	<b>11 726 985</b>	<b>50 513 265</b>	<b>28 784 420</b>	<b>13 134 300</b>	<b>11 901 000</b>	<b>19 443 700</b>

Source: Tygerberg (1998a, no page numbers)

Delving deeper it becomes evident that the bulk of these funds were dedicated to ten projects, including: eight crèches, seven customer services centres; new administration offices; upgrading of Spine (the North-South link, or movement corridor) and Landsdowne Road intersection; rehabilitation of roads and upgrading of streets and storm water drainage; bulk water supply points; etc. These projects are integrated with other large capital projects in the adjacent South (with the Helderberg TMS) and Central service areas (CCTC) that include Delft, Mfuleni and Airport Industria, respectively (see Figure 1). In these areas funding was committed to water network extension and the upgrading and extension of the sewerage pump stations and networks. Overall, these projects are seen by the council as manner in which to extend basic service delivery in order to provide at least a minimum level of basic goods that can sustain basic urban living. In addition, a number of traffic related projects linked to signalling, lane extension and constructions are underway. In this case the intention is to better physically integrate the city, as well as to increase and enable greater north-south flows of traffic and people within the TMS and with neighbouring TMSs (Tygerberg, 1998c; 1998d). These projects are also directly related to the stimulation of a development corridor linking the CBD of Bellville and Durbanville to the embryonic CBD of Khayelitsha.

A further point relates to a substantial amount of funding set aside for the development of detailed development programmes (indicated in the Head Office spending of close on R19 million) in the various service areas, many of which relate to the construction of transport, sewerage, water and storm water networks in those areas most in need of better infrastructure. Likewise the city's Department of Environment, which primarily aims at developing and maintaining open spaces, as well as providing landscape development services to create a better quality living environment, is investing heavily in the poorer parts of Tygerberg. Although Khayelitsha and Delft have not had the benefit of cumulative investment in their urban environments in the past, they were the main focus of this department's budget. No less than 88% (R2 888 620) of the capital budget dedicated for this purpose was spent on projects in Delft (R1 209 000) and Khayelitsha alone (R1 336 840), with less than 2% (R50 300) going to neighbourhoods in the wealthy north and north western reaches of the City. Depending on precisely how "the poor" are defined, which is not mentioned in the budget, about 70% of the 1998/99 budget was spent in the poorer communities through service rendering, provision of facilities and general upgrading of infrastructure (Tygerberg, 1998e).

The main point to be made is that on the whole, the capital budget has in its first attempt, managed to give credence to the IDP initiatives through the capital budget. More importantly to those living in the disadvantaged areas, this budget does focus attention on the needs of the less developed areas of the City and appears to be searching for ways by which to “physically” integrate these areas into more developed parts of Tygerberg and the CMA. The above discussion however, provides only a brief technical summary of the city's first consolidated budget. As such these numbers say little of what is really changing. In fact, Zziwa's somewhat pessimistic statements can so easily flow from such analysis - the progress, change and rethinking of the budget is seen in spending figures. Yet, it is in the meaning of this budget itself and how it was developed, negotiated and re-worked that is inscribed the impact of the IDP that facilitates a fresh interpretation.

What is striking about subsequent meetings and the formal passing of this budget was the prevailing mood when it was presented. There was visible excitement during the presentation of the document and a real sense of achievement at the "Budget Speech" (Tygerberg, 1998e). During these deliberations, more of what has changed in thinking about the post apartheid city and social justice was visible than dry allocations could ever convey. The NP's Gerald Smith (Chairman of the Finance Committee) presented "his" budget and the opposition ANC had the first opportunity to remark upon it. "A good job was done" and "Congratulations" prefaced the responses of nearly every ANC representative that took the stand. Prior to any claims by these speakers (generally that their respective constituents did not receive adequate benefits), was a sense of achievement at the development of a budget that included the opinions of all. The budget was a "first step" towards the realisation of the IDP. It was "not perfect" but it was "better than the previous year" said ANC Councillor Jada (Tygerberg, 1998e). The "budget reflect [ed] a development minded government policy", specifically "economic development which is very important", whilst "we must deal with the problem of poverty but not at risk of fiscal balance...as good credit rating has to be sought" reminded another (Tygerberg, 1998e). The IDP was never far from the surface and the ANC and NP councillors repeatedly drew attention to the urban vision the IDP had set out. The focus on the budget was not led by its ability to "allocate" funds to the poor communities *per se*, but these followed when the IDP objectives were addressed. Consequently, the focus was on whether there were resources for the development corridors, the Airport project and its industrial parks, which had to create jobs close to the poor of Khayelitsha who needed the employment. The remarks were primarily focused on the ability to facilitate the creation of the Tygerberg negotiated urban vision set out in the IDP.

This was not to say that this budget and its connection with the IDP were not unproblematic and some representatives felt that their particular areas' needs were ignored. Perhaps one of the most interesting (and distressing) observations was the "competition" between communities to be the poorest. The "poorer you are the better the chance to get help", was shouted across the floor at one stage (Tygerberg, 1998e). But more formal presentations were forthcoming in which a community organisation from a former Coloured neighbourhood – Elsies River SANCO, a civic organisation – documented their frustration with the budget (Elsies River SANCO, 1998). This organisation argued that too much emphasis was placed on poor Black's communities and not on poor Coloured ones. In addition, it was suggested that too much money was spent on the rich wealth generating areas, while Elsies River was neglected. However, even in this critique, the IDP – budget link was apparent.

"The IDP is effected through the application of the budget. By itself it is merely visionary. It is only when the budget meets this vision that aspirations are realised" (Elsies River SANCO, 1998, p.3).

Yet, perhaps the budget was an expression of the IDP and Elsies River was not thinking of the city as a whole, which is the focus of the IDP (Ngcuka, 1998). Perhaps the IDP is "correct" in arguing that most has to be made of the existing facilities by integrating and increasing the flow of people across this urban space to "share", in Ngcuka's words, rather than to have their "own". Perhaps it is the IDP that illuminates, as Van Zyl (Tygerberg, 1998e) suggested that the need of a road to connect the township to the work place, is more urgent than the upgrading of a swimming pool. And these were the issues that arose repeatedly in this meeting. The important point is that the resolution of the debate was found in returning to the IDP and its particular expression of distributive goals. These representatives returned to their negotiated understanding of social justice.

## **8. Social justice in post apartheid cities**

Drawing on Miller (1992) and Swift *et al's* (1995) arguments presented in terms of exploring what social justice in an empirical sense means to decision-makers in the post apartheid city of Tygerberg, a contemporary understanding of social justice is illustrated. What is clear from this exploration is the repeated echoes of liberal social justice understandings found in both the IDP policy framework and decision-makers interpretation thereof. There is an acceptance

of the notion that there are multiple potential understandings of social justice in the city. It is never presupposed that there is only one correct distribution of urban society's benefits and burdens, but that there are many different types of socially just distributions. The notion that there are no unitary understandings but multiple and geographically and historically located understandings of such a concept, is a clear reflection of Hayek's project that aimed to destabilise the notion that only one type of distribution is just. However, unlike Hayek, the contributors to the IDP bring to fruition a negotiated position on social justice. Thus, the classical liberal notion that no single distribution frames the delivery of social justice to diverse communities appears to be recognised but a negotiation of a collective project of redistribution is simultaneously supported too. This means that a shared understanding of social justice is possible albeit, with the proviso that a particular rendition thereof is only temporary, located in the realities of the present and potentially variable in future.

These notions are also framed by a judgement of present distributive realities – there is an underlying agreement that the apartheid city form and its possibilities are not socially just and not capable of delivering their negotiated understanding of social justice. There is an active acknowledgement that the current distribution of this urban society's benefits and burdens arose out of an unjust (apartheid) system of resource allocation. This led to the support of a programme to rectify these distributive realities (i.e. the structure of the apartheid city). The central theme of rectification, in the light of historical processes leading to the current distribution, reflects a key aspect of Nozick 's understanding of social justice. Whereas the resultant action does not in any sense echo the resolutions Nozick proposed, it is the judgement of a current distribution relative to a distributional process, that is seen as unjust and needs rectifying action, a position that stands central to both his theory and Tygerberg's post-IDP development actions. Finally, the end-state supported by the IDP is linked to a key aspect of Rawlsian interpretations of social justice. This theory argues for a distribution of society's benefits and burdens that place the worst-off in the best-off position relative to all other distributive actions and in keeping with a just savings principle. Again, the realities of Tygerberg have demonstrated support for this theoretical position, both in the re-imagination of urban space and the manner in which it dispenses of its resources.

The paper has also illustrated how a collectively constructed urban vision – an imagined urban space - has come to function as a device by which a shared understanding of social justice is enabled in the post apartheid city of Tygerberg. These negotiated and imagined spaces have facilitated greater consensus on how the post apartheid urban form ought to be constituted and how its benefits and burdens could be distributed in a manner

currently interpreted as socially just. Important is that the socially just distribution of urban society's benefits are interpreted as negotiable and relative to the needs, desires and possibilities of contemporary Tygerberg and mediated by a shared spatial imagination of the future city. By developing shared visions of the city in which all concerned are seen to benefit, urban citizens and particularly their representatives are willing to subscribe to an allocation of resources that they were unable to identify or agree upon in the past. Thus, it was demonstrated that the spatial imagination, enabled and developed through Integrated Development Planning, has generated a negotiated and temporary understanding of social justice in Tygerberg.

## **9. Some preliminary conclusions**

This investigation provided a different focus to the manner in which urban theorists approach the social justice debate. The "grounded", empirical interpretations of social justice reported here suggest a different understanding of this concept than those prevalent in contemporary geographical social justice discourse. This case study illustrates that social justice encompasses multiple, diverse and even theoretically incompatible distributive ideals. Despite these incompatibilities, imagined urban space, enabled by the IDP process has given expression to an interpretation of social justice that encompasses divergent liberal understandings of this concept. These observations, I believe, hold implications for future planning practice and research in South Africa.

For "ordinary people" to accept and follow a particular understanding of social justice as presented in current geographical and urban planning practice, they have to be provided with reasons for acting in support of particular political programmes. They must, as Swift *et al* (1995) argued, be furnished with reasons which are reasons for them. Should geographers choose not "to come to grips" with what social justice means empirically, thus if theoretical social justice "guidelines" are not seen to reflect a more general understanding of this concept, the geographical social justice project is doomed to failure no matter how sound or desirable it might be on philosophical grounds.

This point is important to geographers, particularist or otherwise, who draw upon the prevailing social justice perspectives in the spatial sciences. This observation implies that geographers need to search beyond the narrowly focused structuralist, broadly defined egalitarian (i.e. universalist interpretations of social justice) and post-structuralist (i.e. particularist) theories of social justice and engage for example, with liberal understandings

of this concept too. In the face of what "ordinary people" think about the socially just society in South Africa, the paper demonstrated that liberal formulations thereof are interpreted as desirable. Thus even if geographers aim to suggest universalist understandings of social justice, they should at the very least also consider those of Rawls, Hayek and Nozick in a more direct manner. Notwithstanding a geographical tradition in which there is a central concern with growing inequality, exclusion and a feeling that liberal theorisation of social justice neglects these concerns (Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996), it might be strategically justified to seriously consider and attempt to implement views generally not popular in geographical discourse, for the sake of achieving, on balance, better societal outcomes (also see Swift et al, 1995). The boundaries of political possibility, and this is equally true for the impact of geographical knowledge upon society, is to a large extent set by popular opinion. So judging what can be done politically (and also geographically) requires that geographers equip themselves with the knowledge of those popular opinions about social justice in particular spatio-temporal settings.

In demonstrating the relevance of liberal formulations of social justice, geographers will thus have to contend with the notion that different and even theoretically incompatible distributive ideals operate simultaneously in urban space. For geographers (and social scientists generally), the simultaneous support of Hayekian, Nozikian and Rawlsian interpretations of social justice presents a supreme challenge. None of these theorists ever considered their interpretations of social justice to be compatible or capable of being subsumed in one coherent statement about social justice. On the contrary, the very fact that three liberal theorists have proposed alternative social justice theories illustrate that each felt that a key aspect of liberalism was undermined in the others' theoretical statements. In this respect, geographers (and philosophers) are presented a formidable challenge. Whereas philosophy has to date been unable to capture the diverse interpretations of social justice reflected in competing liberal understandings of this concept – this study has demonstrated that they do, nevertheless, simultaneously operate in particular historical and geographical circumstances. In particular spatio-temporal contexts the incompatibility of Hayek, Nozick and Rawls' distributive principles are apparently transcended. In this attention to spatio-temporal specificity and to spatiality geographers are presented with an extraordinary opportunity to change social justice theorisation beyond its disciplinary concerns. In demonstrating the profound impact of space on how "ordinary people" understand social justice, geographers are presented with a unique opportunity to contribute to the development of new, spatially informed social justice theories.



A related theme of investigation hints at potentially different geographical engagements with social justice – focusing upon the role of differently located interpretations of urban space in structuring what social justice is understood to mean. Social justice as a located, changing and contested understanding of how a particular urban society's benefits and indeed burdens ought to be distributed, needs to be reflected upon in the geographical theorisation of the social justice concept. Thus engaging in this empirical understanding of social justice there have been persistent hints that interpretations of urban space take an important role in moulding, changing and re-shaping the meaning of social justice. Geographical studies that are attuned to the linkages between interpretations of space and the meaning of social justice can re-direct research endeavours, providing new avenues in which to develop the social justice debate and ultimately theoretical frameworks for urban planning practice. Consequently, a future social justice research agenda might suggest a clearer focus on how different interpretations of urban space shape understandings of social justice and how these insights might be incorporated into planning practice.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Social justice in this paper builds on the generalised notion that this concept focuses on the distribution of societal benefits and burdens and how this comes about (Smith, 1994a).

<sup>2</sup> At the most general level Rawls' theory of social justice argues for a distribution of resources that would place the least well-off in society in the best-off position relative to all other distributive possibilities, and subject to a just savings principle (i.e. it has to be sustainable) (Rawls, 1971). The Nozickian (1974) view of social justice suggests that we identify an initial state of affairs which can be accepted as just and to argue that any outcome will also be just providing that it arises from a just process of property transfers. Thus, no particular distribution is just in itself. Where the transfer of property was not agreed to by the holder of the that property, the rectification of this position is sought by retracing the line of ownership and re-instating ownership to the most distant legitimate owner of that property. Hayek's (1976) view of social justice is that its meaning is multiple and diverse, located and bounded to multiple interpretations of the human condition. Consequently, he challenges the notion that there can be a theory of social justice that captures this diversity.

<sup>3</sup> The National Party (NP) was the political party that introduced and maintained the Apartheid policy from 1948-1994.

<sup>4</sup> The ANC was the tradition political opposition group resisting Apartheid and is currently the ruling political force in South Africa.

<sup>5</sup> This is, however, not intended to mean that political party conflicts have been removed due to constructing the IDP or supporting the process. It is only suggested that the IDP has been instrumental in focusing the debate on issues concerning the future development of a city that is perceived to be more socially just.

<sup>6</sup> R1 = approximately £0.10 (1998)

<sup>7</sup> This decrease has occurred because the CMC has severely cut the amount of funds it pays out directly to the TMSs in the Cape Metropolitan Area. Certain central government funds, connected to the previous WLAs have been withdrawn after the amalgamation of the White

Local Authorities and Black Local Authorities. A new funding formula is, however, to be introduced by the central government by the 2000/2001-budget year which should positively effect this position.

## 10. Bibliography

Abbot, J. (1995) *Sharing the city*, Earthscan, London.

Abedian, I., Ajam, T. and Walker, L. (1997) *Promises, Plans and Priorities: South Africa's emerging fiscal structure*, IDASA, Cape Town.

Alves, W. and Rossi, P. (1978) 'Who should get what? Fairness judgements of the distribution of earnings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, pp. 541-564.

Barry, N. (1996) *Classical liberalism in the age of post-communism*, The Shaftesbury Papers, 6, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.

Beall, J., Cranshaw, S. and Parnell, S. (2000) 'Local government, poverty reduction and inequality in Johannesburg', *Environment and Urbanisation* (in Press).

Bechofer, F. (1974) *Sociology: an Introduction to Major Trends in British Sociology*, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, London.

Beedle, P. and Taylor-Gooby, P. (1983) 'Ambivalence in choice of distribution rules', *Journal of Personality*, 45, pp. 379-394.

Bell, W. and Robinson, R. (1978) 'An index of evaluated equality: measuring conceptions of social justice in England and the United States', in Tomasson, R. (ed.) *Comparative Studies in Sociology*, pp. 235-270, JAI Press, Greenwich.

Berstein, A. (1995) 'Trends in local government: A summary of new approaches to government and urban management adopted internationally', in Graham, P. (ed.) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, pp. 4-7, IDASA, Cape Town.

Bond, P. (1998) Basic infrastructure for socio-economic development, environmental protection and geographical desegregation: South Africa's unmet challenges. Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Cameron, R. (1996a) 'The demarcation of South African local government', *Local Government Studies*, 22(1), pp. 19-39.

Cameron, R. (1996b) 'Local government boundary demarcation: the case of the Western Cape Metropolitan Area sub-structures', *Politikon*, 23(1) pp. 42-65.

Cape Metropolitan Council (1996) *A guide for spatial development in the Cape Metropolitan Functional Region: Technical Report April 1996*, Cape Metropolitan Council, Cape Town.

Cape Metropolitan Council (1996) *A guide for spatial development in the Cape Metropolitan Functional Region: Technical Report April 1996*, Cape Metropolitan Council, Cape Town.

Chambers, R., Shah, T. and Saxena, N. (1989) *To the hands of the poor: water and trees*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last*. Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

City of Tygerberg (1998a) *Tyergberg Integrated Development Plan*, City of Tygerberg.

City of Tygerberg (1998b) *Spatial Development Framework*, City of Tygerberg.

City of Tygerberg (1998c) *Tyergberg Budget 1998/99*, City of Tygerberg.

City of Tygerberg (1998d) *Budget Speech 1998/99 delivered by the chairman of the Finance Committee Councillors Gerald. J. Smith on 30 June 1998 for the city of Tygerberg*, City of Tygerberg.

City of Tygerberg (1998e) *Budget Speech 1998-1999*, 30 June 1998, Parow Civic Centre, City of Tygerberg.

Cloete, F. (1995) *Local government transition in South Africa*, J.L. Van Schaik, Pretoria.

Cloete, F. (1994) 'Local government restructuring', *Politikon*, 21(1) pp. 42-65.

Coetzee, J.K. (1989) *Development is for people*, Southern Press, Johannesburg.

Coetzee, K. (1995) 'Councils and their employees', in Graham P (ed) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.

Coovadia, C. (1995) 'Developing a culture of participation', in Graham, P. (ed.) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.

Corrigan, T. (1998) *Beyond the Boycotts: Financing Local Government in the Post-apartheid Era*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

Corulobu, E. (1998) 'Urban Management and Social Justice', *DPU Working Paper* no. 92, The Development Planning Unit, The Bartlett, University College London, London.

- Dear, M.J. (1988) 'The postmodern challenge: reconstructing human geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 12, pp. 262-274.
- Dyantyi, R. and Frater, W. (1998) *Local economic development initiative in Khayelitsha*, Foundation for Contemporary Research, Cape Town.
- Elster, J. (1992) *Local justice: How institutions allocate scarce goods and necessary burdens*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Elster, J. (1995) *Local justice in America*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- England, K. (1994) 'From 'Social Justice in the city' to women-friendly cities? Feminist theory and politics', *Urban Geography*, 15 (7) pp. 628-643.
- Fainstein, S. (1996) 'Justice, politics and the creation of urban space', in Merrifield, A. and Swyngedouw, E. (eds.), *The urbanization of injustice*, pp. 18-44, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Gotz, G. (1995) 'Cracks in the Edifice: Local Government Elections 1995', *Indicator South Africa*, 12(3) pp. 11-17.
- Harvey, D. (1992) 'Social justice, post modernity and the city', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16, pp. 588-601.
- Harvey, D. (1993) 'Class relations, social justice, and the politics of difference', in Keith, M., and Pile, S. (eds.) *Place and the Politics of Identity*, pp. 41-66, Routledge, London.
- Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of difference*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, MA.
- Hayek, F. A. (1976) *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Heymans, C. (1995) 'Cities: Engines of prosperity or sites of decay?', *Indicator South Africa*, 12(3) pp. 47-53.
- Hochschild, J. (1981) *What's Fair: American beliefs about distributive justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- International Labour Organisation (1994) *Visions of the future of social justice: essays on the occasion of the ILO's 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*, International Labour Organisation, Geneva.
- Jenks, C. (1972) *Inequality: a reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America*, Basic Books, New York.

- Kahn, F. (1998) 'A commentary on Dark roast Occasional Paper no.1: Developmental Local Government: The second wave of post apartheid urban reconstruction', in Parnell, S and Pieterse, E. Developmental Local Government: The second wave of post-apartheid urban reconstruction. Dark Roast Occasional Paper Series no.1, pp. 28-41, Isandla Institute, Cape Town.
- Katznelson, I. (1996) 'Social justice, liberalism and the city: considerations on David Harvey, John Rawls and Karl Polanyi', in Merrifield, A and Swyngedouw, E.(eds.) *The urbanization of injustice*, pp. 45-64, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Kluegel, J. and Smith, E. (1986) *Beliefs about inequality*, Aldine de Gruyter, New York.
- Lane, R. (1962) *Political Ideology*, Free Press, New York.
- Lemon, A. (1996) 'The new political geography of the local state in South Africa', *Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography*, 27(2) pp.35-45.
- Lohnert, B., Oldfield, S. and Parnell, S. (1998) 'Post-apartheid social polarizations: The creation of sub-urban identities in Cape Town', *South African Geographical Journal*, 80(1),pp. 86-92.
- Maharaj, B. (1996) 'Urban struggles and the transformation of the apartheid local state: the case of community and civic organisations in Durban', *Political Geography*, 15(1), pp.61-74.
- Maharaj, B and Ramballi, K (1998) 'Local economic development strategies in an emerging democracy: The case of Durban in South Africa', *Urban Studies*, 35(1), pp.131-148.
- Mansfield, P. (1995) 'Strategic management in local councils' in Graham, P. (ed.) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.
- Massey, D. (1995) 'Space/Power, Identity/Difference: Tensions in the City', in Merrifield, A and Swyngedouw, E. (eds.), *The urbanization of injustice*. pp. 1-17, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Massey, D. (1999) 'Cities in the world', in Massey, D., Allen, J and Pile, S. (eds.) *City Worlds* pp. 99-156, Routledge, London.
- Mcclosky, H. and Zaller, J. (1984) *The American ethos: Public attitudes towards capitalism and democracy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

- Merrifield, A. (1996) 'Social justice and communities of difference: A snapshot from Liverpool', in Merrifield, A and Swyngedouw, E. (eds.), *The urbanization of injustice* pp.1-17, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Miller, D. (1992) 'Distributive justice: what the people think', *Ethics*, 102, pp, 555-593.
- Moosa, M.V. (1995) 'The process that brought about democracy at local level', in Graham, P. (ed.) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.
- Moser, C. (1989) 'Community participation in Urban Projects in the Third World', *Progress in Planning*, 32(2), pp.134-159.
- Murphy-Berman, V. (1984) 'Factors affecting allocation of needy and meritorious recipients: A cross-cultural comparison', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, pp. 1267-1272.
- Nozick, R. (1974) *Anarchy, state and utopia*, Basic Books, New York.
- Oldfield, S. (1998) 'Embedded autonomy' and the re-creation of non-racial South African local government. Department of Environmental Studies, University of Cape Town.
- Olver, C. (1999) Mapping the final phases of the local government transition – a review of the political and institutional change process for local government in South Africa, Paper presented for South to South: Urban environmental policy and politics in South Africa and Brazil conference, University of London, 25-26 March 1999.
- Padayachee, N. and Elliot, R. (1995) 'The relationship between councils and citizens', in Graham, P. (ed.), *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.
- Parnell, S. and Pieterse, E. (1998) Developmental Local Government: The second wave of post-apartheid urban reconstruction, Dark Roast Occasional Paper Series no.1, Isandla Institute, CapeTown.
- Pratt, G. (1993) 'Reflections on poststructuralism and feminist empirics, theory and practice', *Antipode*, 25, pp. 51-63.
- Pugh, C. (1997) 'The World Bank's Millennial Theory of the State: Further Attempts to Reconcile the Political and the Economic', *Third World Planning Review*, 19(3), pp. iii-xiv.
- Rawls, J. (1993) *Political liberalism*, Columbia University Press, New York



- Rawls, J. (1971) *A theory of justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Republic of South Africa (1998) *The White Paper on Local Government, Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development*, Government Press, Pretoria.
- Robinson, J. (1998) Planning the post-apartheid city; comments on the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework – MSDf (Cape Town). Department of Geography, London School of Economics.
- Robinson, R. and Bell, W. (1978) 'Equality, success and social justice in England and the United States', *American Sociological Review*, 43, pp. 125-143.
- Schmidt, D. (1995) 'Managing the integration of towns and cities', in Graham, P. (ed.) *Governing at local level: A resource for community leaders*, IDASA, Cape Town.
- Smith, S. (1993) 'Social landscape: continuity and change', in Johnston, R. (ed.) *A changing world: a changing discipline*, pp.564-575, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Smith, D. M. (1994a) *Geography and Social Justice*, Blackwell Press, Oxford.
- Smith, D. M. (1994b) 'Social Justice and the Post-Socialist City', *Urban Geography*, 15 (7), pp. 612-627.
- Smith, D. M. (1994c) 'Social justice', in Johnston, R., Gregory, D. and Smith, D.M. (eds.) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, pp. 563-566, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Smith, D. M. (1995a) 'Redistribution and Social Justice after Apartheid', in Lemon, A (ed.) *The Geography of change in South Africa*, pp. 45-64, Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
- Smith, D. M. (1995b) 'Geography, social justice and the new South Africa', *South African Geographical Journal*, 77, pp.1-5.
- Smith, D. M. (1999) 'Moral progress in human geography: transcending the place of good fortune', The Progress in Human Geography lecture, paper read at the RGS-IBG conference, University of Leicester.
- Soja, E. (1989) *Postmodern geographies*, Verso, New York.
- Soja, E. (1996) 'Margin/ Alia: Social Justice and the New Cultural Politics', in Merrifield, A. and Swyngedouw, E. (eds.), *The urbanization of injustice*, pp. 180-199, Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Swelling, M. and Boya, L. (1995) 'Local governance in transition', in Frizgerald, P., McLennan, A and Munslow, B. (eds.) *Managing sustainable development in South Africa*. pp. 168-194, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Swift, A., Marshall, G., Burgoyne, C. and Routh, D. (1995) 'Does it matter what the people think?', in Kluegel, T.R., Mason, D.S. and Wegener, B. (eds.), *Social justice and political change*, pp. 15-48, Aldine de Gruyter, New York.

Swilling, M. (1997) 'Building democratic local governance in Southern Africa', in Swilling, M. (ed.), *Governing Africa's Cities*, pp. 211-274, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

Visser, G.E. (1998) 'Social justice and local government finance in post-apartheid cities' in Bekker, S. and Dodds, M. Institutional dynamics relating to the production of the South African nation – a progress report on work undertaken within the Franco-South African Research Programme Occasional Paper no.5, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch. pp. 22 – 30.

Watson, V. (1998) 'Planning under political transition – Lessons from Cape Town's Metropolitan Planning Forum', *International Planning Studies*, 3(3), pp. 357-366.

Wooldrige, D. and Cranko, P. (1995) 'Transforming public sector institutions', in Frizgerald, P. McLennan, A. and Munslow, B. (eds.), *Managing sustainable development in South Africa* pp. 339-349, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Young, I. M. (1990a) *Justice and the politics of difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Young, I. M. (1990b) 'The ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference', in Nicholson, L. (ed.), *Feminism/ Postmodernism*, pp. 300-323, Routledge, New York.

Zziwa, F. (1997) 'Fiscal management and the balancing of growth and socio-economic development in South Africa's new local authorities: The case of Cape Town Municipality', Discussion Paper no. 18, School of Economics, University of Cape Town.

## **Interviews**

Prof. Simon Bekker, Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch, 8/5/98.

Mr. Mike Brewis, Director, Department of Constitutional Affairs, Western Cape Provincial Government, 18/5/1998.

Dr. Johan Burger, Lecturer of Public and Development Management, Department of Public and Development Management, University of Stellenbosch, 6/7/1998.

Prof. Rob Cameron, Member of the Western Cape Demarcation Board, Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, 11/5/1998.

Dr Piet Classen, Member of the Western Cape Demarcation Board, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Stellenbosch, 13/5/1998.

Prof. Fanie Cloete, Chairman of the Western Cape Demarcation Board, Department of Public and Development Management, University of Stellenbosch, 8/7/1998.

Mr. Remo Ciolli, DP Councillor, City of Tygerberg, 29/6/1998.

Mr. Koos de Jongh, Advisor, Department of Constitutional Affairs, Western Cape Provincial Government, 18/5/1998.

Mr. Rudi Ellis, Director, Department of Social Planning, Western Cape Provincial Government, 26/6/1998.

Mr. Frikkie Knoetze, NP councillor and former Mayor of Parow Municipality, City of Tygerberg, 19/6/1998.

Mr. John Marshall, Chairman of the Executive Committee, City of Tygerberg, 31/7/1998.

Mr. Vuyani Ngcuka, ANC councillor and Deputy Major, City of Tygerberg, 31/7/1998.

Mr. Rob Peterson, Director, Department of Local Government Finance, Western Cape Provincial Government, 1/7/1998.

Ms. Michelle Robertson, Town Planner, OVT, Cape Town, 12/5/98 and 15/5/1998.

Mr. Andries van Rooyen, Department of Public and Development Management, University of Stellenbosch, 20/4/98.

Dr. Hannes van der Merwe, Department of Geography, University of Stellenbosch, 21/4/98.

Mr. Robert van Zyl, Advisor, Department of Constitutional Affairs, Western Cape Provincial Government, 21/4/98.

Mr. Rudi Van Zyl, ANC councillors, City of Tyergberg, 16/7/1998.

Ms. Pauli Weidemann, Urban Planner, Department of Constitutional Affairs Western Cape Provincial Government, 18/5/1998.

Ms. Amanda Younge, Director, and Member of the Western Cape Demarcation Board, Department Urban Planning, Cape Town City Council, 10/7/1998.

---