

Inter-city cooperation in South Africa: Planning Implications for the City of Johannesburg

Introduction

The twin processes of globalisation and rapid urbanization are transforming all dimensions of economic, social and political life in the developing world. Whilst they have facilitated the achievement of high rates of economic growth and new patterns of consumption in some countries, they have brought the scourging misery of unemployment, poor housing quality, polluted environments, and exposure to social pathology, inadequate health care, vulnerability to natural hazards and political marginalisation. "Evidence suggests that globalisation processes are spatially concentrated in the advanced capitalist economies, whilst the vast majority of the Third World remains marginal in both investment and trade terms" (Briggs and Yeboah 2001 p19). For example, between 1990 and 1993, sub-Saharan Africa received only 1.4 per cent of global foreign direct investment (Hirst and Thompson 1996, 66-7) and this share has not increased since then.

As such peripherisation of the developing world and its cities persists way into the 21st century. This has made the cities (capital cities) in poor countries, which provide both the material and spiritual links to the world economy (Briggs and Yeboah 2001) to respond by competing for investments. However, competition has not always brought virtues. Douglass's (2002, p56) analysis of the Pacific Asian experience show that it becomes "so high-risk and short-term in its horizons that it risks the long-term economic resilience and viability of cities and regions." He argued that competition could lead to an inefficient duplication and oversupply of infrastructure, facilities and service. For example, Vietnam constructed industrial zones to attract investors in about 30 provinces; yet 90% of all non-energy FDI goes to Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi while the vast majority of the remaining zones was heavily under-utilised or empty.

Competition also lead to more switching among regions, as localities rather than corporations bear the social, economic and political costs of relocation and this heady atmosphere of competition can produce an overriding urgency to devote scarce public resources to economic growth through global investment and divert attention away from the environment, social welfare and other social concerns (Douglass 2002, p56).

Cities are therefore now exploring the process of intercity cooperation (ICC) and this paper seeks to look at the dynamics around inter-city cooperation in South Africa and how its future may reward a city like Johannesburg in its quest to become a world class African city. The paper explores this issue for the first time in South Africa and most strikingly, from a planning perspective.

Motivation for Inter-city Cooperation

Inter-city cooperation has evolved from a number of converging forces from both international and national spheres of development. These can be viewed from a number of perspectives – not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Phenomenological perspective

There is the urban phenomenological perspective that argues on the bases of the observed complex dynamics of urban problems. The urban problems such as: economic growth, poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS, spatial imbalance, etc. can no longer be dealt with efficiently by one territoriality of local government as these problems cut across local, national and even international boundaries. It is evident that cities working on their own and in isolation would fail to grapple with these challenges successfully since these problems are inter-territorial and cross-boundary in nature, hence the need for inter-city cooperation.

Growth/sprawl perspective:

Some scholars who argue that the city is a myth support the phenomenological perspective. For one, Andrew Kirby (2000, p1-4) has questioned and dismissed (admittedly on the basis of his working notes rather than fine insights) the whole existence of 'a city,' 'a suburb,' 'edge cities,' urban form, 'sustainable cities,' and 'communal cities as myths. He (ibid) argued that, "one can identify Los Angeles (any city) from space as a city – but that does not mean that we know what it is, other than in the most general sense... we cannot define it but we know it when we see it." This has to do with the fact that "urbanization is not one process: rather, there are many, many processes that together create things that we recognize as cities" (Harvey in Kirby 2000). Kirby (ibid) argued, that, "most cities are, in reality, large assemblies of small cities, counties, special districts, school districts and so forth"..."

To this end, Mazzoleni (1993) argued that the city can not be demarcated by (physical) boundaries nor known in terms of place-boundaries. Increasingly, city spaces are conceived of as 'placeless' or, as Mazzoleni put it, "It was the visual field, in some respect, which defined the city dimensionally: in the metropolis there is no longer panorama (the vision of all), because its body overflows beyond the horizon." (p297 quoted in Robins 1995, p49).

Virtually, there is now recognition of metropolitan –regions often presented as part of new regionalism. Scott, et al (2001) argued that the trend towards a 'new regionalism' could be understood partly in terms of the changing nature of productive activity. City regions, often stretching across national boundaries, have thus become 'territorial platforms from which concentrated groups or networks of firms contest global markets' e.g. Euroregion, transmanche region, etc. Peirce asserted, "Across America and across the globe, city-states are emerging as a critical focus of economic activity, of governance, of social organization for the 1990s and the century to come" (Peirce: 1993, p1).

Since the 1990s, it has been recognized that "The rural-urban divide is becoming blurred" (Bryceson and Bank, 2001:19; Garvin and Visaria, 1997; Jamal and Weeks: 1988) even in the developing world. Jamal (2001) noted that "the rural-urban gap is now impossible to measure and there is little by way of reliable measurable economic and social indicators providing a statistical base for spatial planning in Sub-Saharan Africa."

Governance perspective

It is the unfathomable growth of urban areas that have implied that a new form of urban governance should emerge especially at a meso-government scale to deal with the cross-boundary issues. This has been also motivated by the policy shifts towards neo-liberalism with its package of privatization, partnerships, openness, etc which has effected the government and management of the urban environment. As privatization occur, more partnerships have been created across tiers and borders in order to be cost-effective and compete effectively. The partnerships between cities, between cities and organizations and associations have been created in order to deal with cunning competition (Douglass 2002); forge collaboration e.g. (Menjiu in Alger 1995) establish integration, mobilise political support (Newcombe: 1983) develop technical support e.g. (Tomino, 1993), cross cultural support (Alger 1999), spatial integration, solicit financial support (Schep et al:1995), etc. Now in many respects, cross-border problems are now widely managed by cut-crossing administrative structures. Alger (1999, p199) noted the expanding role of various international reliefs, international organisation of municipalities, and municipalities in the United Nations systems in influencing of civil society across all political tiers.

Technology perspective

The transformation of governance is heavily influenced by the widely perceived shift of the economy, society and culture due to the pervasive applications of computer, media and telecommunications technologies. "Social scientists regularly now talk of a new, emerging 'digital age', an 'information society', or a 'network society' (Gosling 1997; Castells 1996). Graham and Marvin (1999) noted that "As part of this shift, cities, and the corridors between them, are being permeated with widening arrays of telecommunications grids –conventional telephones networks, wireless and radio system, cable networks, satellite systems, internet, data and video networks. These silently and (usually) invisibly underpin booming flows of voice, data, video and images across all walks of city life and development." Now there is recognition of information highways, tele-villages, digital growth centers, 'innovation milieux', Cyberspace (Graham 2002, p35), e.cities and smart homes - (Dabinett 2002).

The fabric of many cities and human settlements is becoming so intimately mediated with (information and Communication Technologies) ICTs and other technological systems that some now characterize them as 'cyborg cities' (Picon 1998). Others talk of the 'infinite city', made up of transnational urban corridors (Graham (2002). Yet others talk of a 'mobile city' since "Cities now are turned into mobile communication environments, where streets and specifically public indoor and outdoor spaces have been changed" (Kopomaa 2002, p224). This made Bertolini (2000, p460) to argue that "the city is increasingly spatially discontinuous, it emerges and disappears at different times, and some of its functions are being transferred to virtual networks, such as the Internet." In this sense, any form of parochial governance is bound to falsify its needs.

Urban sociology perspective

As such, there is a strong sense that society has become more fragmented and diverse. Hampton (2002) observed that "Cities are extremely heterogeneous, residents are highly mobile, and people regularly come into to contract with diverse others in a variety of social settings. As Fischer (1975) suggested in his 'subcultural theory' individuals in an

urban environment are not limited to those who are close at hand, but seek out social ties based on shared interest and mutual identification. Graham (1998) noted that there has been creation of circuits of networks due to the use of technology. Kopomaa (2002) recognized 'social efficiency' referring to the ability of technology to reorganize work, leisure, through increasing information flows, enabling more efficient mobility and making time schedules more flexible as well as the creation of 'instant connections' (p242) and 'instant communities' (p243) through electronic communication.

However, the use of technology segments society in two major divisions of center or "networked" and marginalized or 'peripherised.' Whilst one group is "one click away," within the electronic space, the other group is 'off-line' (Graham 1998). As Erik Swyngedouw argued, far from being a universally liberating stampede on-line, "the changed mobility, and hence, power patterns" associated with new information technologies " may negatively affect the control over space of some while extending the control and power of others" (Swyngedouw 1992, p322). Graham (2002, p35) reiterated, "Dominant logics of ICT-based change seem to underpin urban polarization, the 'disembedding' of dominant economic, social and cultural activities, and the social and technological distancing of the powerful from the less powerful." Whilst on one hand the digital economy is destroying the 'place-based community', it is creating the so-called 'premium network society' or 'virtual community' (Hampton 2002). The organizational behaviour and lifestyle is often referred to as 'the information society'(Castells 1996)

Globalisation perspective

Therefore, "globalisation conveys the widely accepted idea that we are living in a borderless world," (Jordan 2001, p80) which signifies "the end of geography" (O'brien: 1992). According to Veseth (1998, p21), notice is no longer taken of distance or national policy and national government must accommodate what global markets dictate. "On the political map, the boundaries between countries may be very clear, but on the competitive map that show the flows of financial and industrial activity such boundaries have largely disappeared. National economies are no longer immune to external influences and cannot be insulated from global effects" (Jordan: 2001, p80).

Growing cross-national economic activity has resulted in new supranational financial and business arrangements (G7/8; OECD; the World Bank, IMF, World Trade Organisation); the formation of multination blocs (EU; NAFTA; ASEAN; APEC, CARICOM, SADC and more recently, NEPAD/ AU); the de-bordering of economic sectors and the emergence of region-based forms of economic and political organisation, sometimes referred to as *global city-regions* therefore, intercity cooperation becomes the next pragmatic form of governance to handle global issues.

Cohen (2001, p56) noted that the focus on markets has meant for example, that location, urban form and spatial patterns are no longer perceived as central to urban policy decisions. He argued, "It is becoming commonplace that established representation of the city and suburbs do not hold. Our capacity to describe or theorise the social and spatial organization of the contemporary metropolis is manifestly inadequate to what we know of the metropolitan experience" (Thomas: 2001, p70). This has changed the way we under land use, physical form, urban design and transport (Graham and Marvin 1996). This discourse of the 'information society' tends to imply that local municipalities, policy agencies and planners might even be little more than irrelevant distractions in this exciting and epoch-making transformation driven by private

media, communications and property interests (Graham and Marvin 1999, p90). Thus, the political clout of globalisation now influences the restructuring of local governance and its policies in the developing world.

Urban Context of South Africa

Although, South African cities are relatively small by global standards, with the only megacity (10m+) being located in the Gauteng urban region (a combination of the areas of Johannesburg, Pretoria and the East and West Rand), they have increasingly become enmeshed into the global economic dynamics. In 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was developed to provide a framework of guiding all aspects of development. In it, the concepts of partnership, integration, participation and collaboration already widespread in international literature on Local Economic Development were fervently articulated. This was largely widespread and *ad hoc* in its application and proved fragmented in its implementation.

Contributing to this difficulty was that the existing laws governing planning and development did not allow for the effective delivery of much needed development to areas disadvantaged by apartheid. One of the abiding and most visible consequences of past apartheid policies (1948-1994) is that South African towns and cities continue to be characterised by:

- ? Spatial fragmentation;
- ? Political, racial and social division;
- ? Heavy reliance on subsidies (particularly public transport);
- ? Urban sprawl and poor land use management;
- ? Weak land and housing markets;
- ? Inadequate planning for urban growth; and,
- ? environmental degradation

(Source: Minister FS Mufamadi)

Therefore, a national legislation in the form of the Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995, (DFA) was promulgated as an interim measure to bridge the gap between the old, apartheid era planning laws and a new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of the democratic South Africa (DFA update April 2000). One of the main reasons for promoting integrated development planning was to ensure that municipal strategies, policies and programmes are consistent with the needs of foreign investors and the formal business sector *and* the needs of local residents, in particular, the poor and the marginalised. Also, the economic policy was unattractive to international investments in the country.

The neo-liberal policies known as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR associated with Reaganism in the USA and Thatcherism in the UK during the 1980s) was adopted in 1996. This set a centre-stage for globalisation forces to ensue. It created the framework within which local government policies would be developed as the heavy influence from international organisations such as the World Bank and USAID lend a hand in the shaping of urban policies. Most strikingly, the Urban Foundation (formed by Anglo American and Rembrandt in 1976) (1990-1991) released a series of documents on policies for a new urban future that were typically neo-liberal.

Following this paradigm, Johannesburg initiated a series of strategic plans. Egoli 2002 initiative was launched in 1998 to create a Unicity and to overhaul its governance. This is a three year plan that established an Executive mayor with executive powers, to run the city, to take overall strategic and political responsibility and lead a local cabinet. It involved the delivery of lifeline services and redirection of resources to under-served areas. This was intended to provide the foundation for professionally run utilities, agencies and corporate units (Booklet released February, 1999).

In the long term, the IGoli 2010 plan was developed to create a world-class city by 2010. The plan drew on international experts experienced in transforming major cities around the world into world class, globally competitive cities. The plan is broadly based on the overall vision for the city:

- ? Johannesburg the pulse of Africa;
- ? A city for living that has culture, sport, health and education;
- ? A city for business that is safer has excellent services and clear rules;
- ? A city for people that provides housing, services and recreation;
- ? A city for the millennium wired and mobile, fast and connected.

In 2001, Johannesburg launched a vision of iGoli 2030 that will gradually reshape the city's economy and transform it into a world-class business centre with services and standards of living on par with the capital of the developed world. The plan seeks to boost investment, raising economic growth in order to provide residents with a suitable increase in wealth and quality of life and Council with increased revenue for service and delivery. The vision hopes to help the city grow into an export-oriented hub closely integrated into the globally economy with the emphasis on trade, transport, financial and business services, information and communication technology and business tourism.

Meanwhile, a Local Government White paper was produced in March, 1998 to establish a uniform local government system that would serve the social justice in terms of providing a mandate for developing Local Integrated Development Plans (LIDPs) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs). In order to realize the objectives of this white paper, there was the further need to produce the Local Government Municipal Structures Act of 1998 to restructure local government into integrated entities. Complementing this was the Demarcation Act of 1998, which made possible to re-demarcate local authorities and combine areas of marginality with those of privilege in an attempt to iron out disparities.

In 2000, the Systems Act 32 was promulgated to make a rigorous demand on Municipal Managers to form and develop an economical, effective and accountable administration equipped to carry out municipal LIDPs. The Act states that each municipality must have an IDP for its area, which is influenced by Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The SDF of the municipality must reflect in spatial terms the goals and the future plans of the municipality.

From a fragmented and disjointed city (with some "rich" suburbs with well-established amenities and neighbouring areas lacking even the most basic services), eleven regions have been created through demarcation and mandatory restructuring of the management system through the new legislations above. The regions are now smaller than previous mega-suburbs - each being home to about 300 000 people. The smaller size of the regions allows ward councillors to be more in touch with their constituents and keep tabs on local issues/hot spots. The new structure promises:

- Increased public participation and interaction
- Delivery of services that reflect local needs and conditions

[Region 1:
Diepsloot](#)

[Region 2:
Midrand/
Ivory Park](#)

[Region 3:
Sandton/
Rosebank](#)

[Region 4:
Northcliff](#)

[Region 5:
Roodepoort](#)

[Region 6:
Doornkop/
Soweto](#)

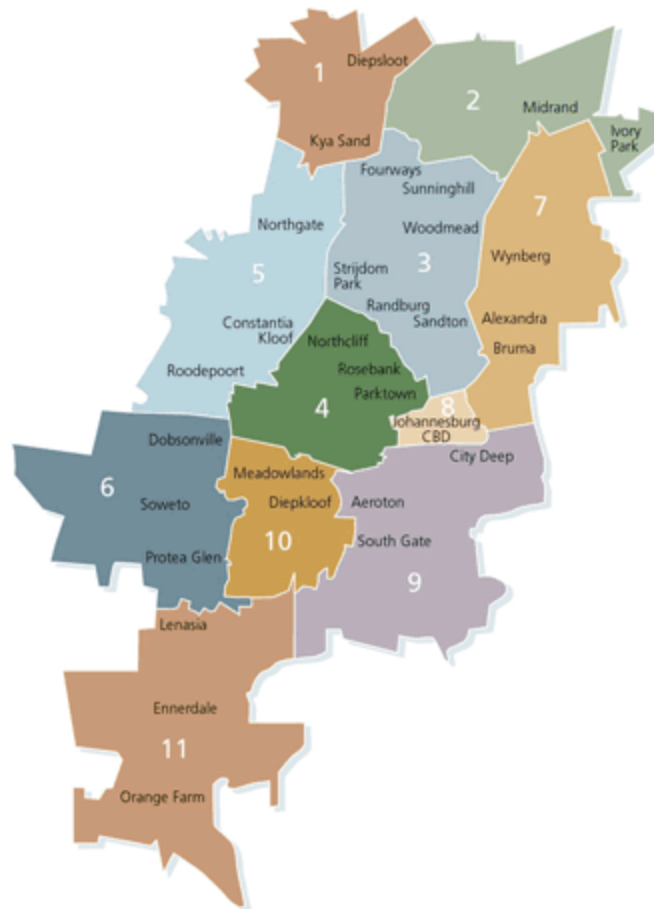
[Region 7:
Alexandra](#)

[Region 8:
Inner City](#)

[Region 9:
Johannesburg
South](#)

[Region 10:
Diepkloof/
Meadowlands](#)

[Region 11:
Ennerdale/
Orange Farm](#)



LIDPs are plans for the development of a specific area. An LIDP guides a region's future development. For this reason, the LIDP zones closely follow the boundaries of the regions. However, in certain cases where suburbs are cut in half by the new region boundaries, the entire suburb may be covered in only one of the regions. LIDPs deal with city development, management and growth over a five to 10-year period. While they deal with local issues, they take an integrated approach to issues such as transportation, housing and environmental management. An overall Metropolitan IDP looks at the bigger picture and ensures that LIDPs don't conflict or lead to wasted resources. LIDPs will be revised annually so as to respond to changing conditions both locally and at a city level (City of Johannesburg website).

The integrative role of LIDPs is forging a cooperative response between the various parts of the city in as far as the dual nature of cities and towns: the formal and the informal, the employed and the unemployed, the insiders and the marginalised, the wealthy and the poor, juxtaposed and often worlds apart. However this is far from being realized because behaviours in one jurisdiction are having an impacts in others and beyond that such behaviours transverse through boundaries of the local, district, national and trans-national governments. Consequently, words such as “spillovers” and “externalities” are common and suggest the need for cooperation between cities.

Move towards intercity cooperation

In a conference on “*Challenges of City Governance - African Cities in Change*” in Johannesburg on 15-17 October 2001, Andrew Boraine, Special Advisor to the Minister for Provincial and Local Government and the Minister of Minister of Provincial and Local Government noted that:

- Large cities face multi-jurisdictional and cross-sectoral issues that go beyond the powers and functions of municipalities. Therefore, closer co-operation between cities and other spheres of government is needed to ensure integrated service delivery and sustainable urban development
- Municipalities can play a central role in a multi sectoral integrated approach to economic development at city level since the requirements of global economic competitiveness at city level include a mix of hard and soft infrastructure such as highways, high-speed telecommunications, container ports, schools and universities. As such, a regulatory framework for a land and housing market; effective municipal institutions; and, financial services e.g. micro credit is crucial.
- The process of globalisation has led to a blurring of national boundaries. Trade, finance and investment are no longer just state-to-state, but also city to city. In particular, the information revolution brings cities together in a complex global system of interaction and interdependence.
- Many cities in different regions of the world join together into networks and create consortiums in order to share information on policies, strategies and best practice, to benchmark their performance and to increase their connectedness to the global economy.
- ‘No city is an island’:“ Local government moves the world”, meaning that cities should play a central role in addressing key socio-economic challenges such as alleviating poverty, providing basic service as water, electricity and sanitation. But cities working in isolation cannot meet these challenges successfully.
- The inter-relationship between the cities and surrounding towns and rural hinterlands is profound due to the complex and continuous interaction. This is impossible in the absence of a commonly shared and understood framework for metropolitan economic development.

- Many municipalities had parallel and even competing strategies in place, i.e. a market-led approach of business development and/ or a market-critical approach of community development. Integration and alignment of sector strategies with local strategies is key.
- The challenge to grapple with the divide between the formal and informal economies, while recognising that there is only one economy in a fragmented framework cannot be overcome.
- There is need for co-ordination and alignment between national departments for sector support. For example, support for the ICT sector involves co-ordination between Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Tourism, provinces and cities.
- National challenges cannot be addressed at the city level alone, but a collaborative approach between cities, and between cities and different spheres of government is necessary.

City-to-city cooperation

In October 7, 2002, the Southern African Cities Network (SACN) was launched during the "World Habitat Day" whose theme was "City-to-city co-operation." The *goals* of the SA Cities Network are to:

- To promote good governance and management of South African cities;
- To analyse strategic challenges facing South African cities, particularly in the context of globalisation and the development of the national economy;
- To collect, collate, analyse, assess, disseminate and apply the experience of large city government in a South African context;
- To promote a partnership between different spheres of government to support the governance of South African cities.



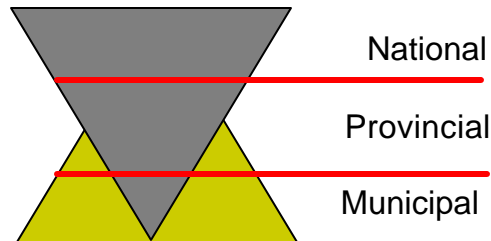
The *linking modality* of the SA Cities Network is twofold: *horizontal* city-to-city (C2C) networking between municipalities governing the main metropolitan economic regions, and *vertical* city-to-national (C2N) networking between city government and other spheres of government.



The SACN is a network of South African cities and partners that encourages the exchange of information, experience and best practices on urban development and city management. It is an initiative of the Minister for Provincial and Local Government and nine city municipalities, in partnership with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA), national and provincial government departments, and several global city networks. The members of the SACN are Buffalo City; Cape Town; Ekurhuleni; eThekweni; Johannesburg; Mangaung; Msunduzi; Nelson Mandela and Tshwane. The cooperation between the cities themselves, and the three spheres of government, occurred due to the political initiative of the Minister working closely with the Mayors of the nine cities, and a process of extensive consultation.

City development strategy: Inter-governmental alignment

Bulk of leverage and resources required from above,



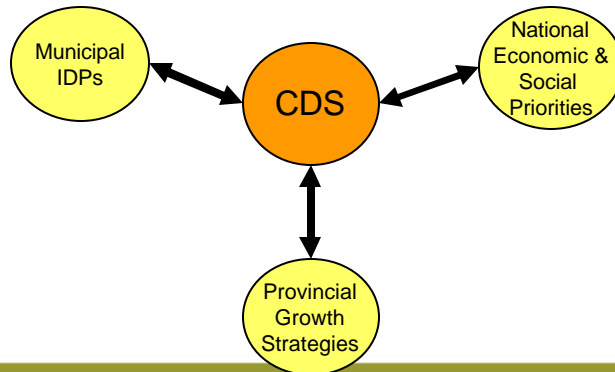
Bulk of effort and drive from below

The establishment of the SACN is based on an analysis of the impact of global economic integration and the changing role of cities. Increasingly, cities and regions are the new units of competitiveness and productivity within the global economy. The activities of the Cities Network are designed:

- To update leaders from all spheres of government on current and emerging changes and trends in urban policy across the world and in South Africa;
- Promote innovation and strategic thinking between cities and other spheres of government;
- Foster cooperation and exchange of best practice; generate options and make recommendations to members;
- Mobilize the capacity of cities to support local government and national development; and, strengthen linkages between cities and their hinterlands.

The SACN's core programme focuses on city development strategies. This includes building the capabilities of South African cities, in partnership with other spheres of government, to analyse their comparative competitive advantages in the global economy, adopt a 15-20 year development plan for the city, and mobilise stakeholders and resources for implementation. Municipal plans and city development strategy are not synonymous. A core element of city development strategy focuses on the way in which the sum total of all public sector policies, programmes and investments, including those of parastatals and public entities, can be aligned and coordinated within any given city area.

City development strategy: Inter-governmental alignment



Knowledge sharing methodologies include information exchanges, training and capacity building, frameworks and guidelines, research, electronic exchanges, peer review, best practices and benchmarks, networking and technical support. SACN knowledge sharing partnerships operate both horizontally (city to city) and vertically (intergovernmental):

The Key Activities for SACN are:

- Development Planning and Local Government Poverty Research Project
 - Further Develop CDIs and Core Set of Urban Indicators
 - Liaise with national agencies
 - Web-enabled Database
 - Link to other SACN themes and programmes
 - Programme of Shared Learning Audit and Peer Review
 - Programme of workshops and seminars
 - Increase use of information
 - Showcase projects of member cities and Placement programmes
- A Membership of UN-Habitat GUO

(Source: Urban Indicators Programme Presentation at SA Cities Network Launch 8 October 2002)

While the SA Cities Network focuses on the full scope of the urban management process, five *thematic focus areas* have been identified:

- City Economic Development;
- Institutional Restructuring for Service Delivery;
- City Responses to HIV/AIDs;
- Urban Indicators; and,
- UrbanTransport.

The SA Cities Network Economic Development Programme has identified a number of strategic issues:

The role of global city-regions in the global, regional and national economy, and the implications for coordination of the South African regional and urban policy agenda;
The notion of 'globally competitive cities' within the context of global inequalities and the limitations of promoting inward investment through place marketing and competitive bidding wars;

Re-conceptualising local economic development (LED) policies and strategies;

Re-conceptualising the economic development function of municipalities;

The development of explicit social cohesion and poverty eradication strategies as part of economic development policies, both locally and nationally, in order to promote equity, socio-spatial integration, participation and inclusion within cities.

(Source: Andrew Boraine, Advisor to the Minister of Provincial and Local Government, South Africa)

Urban Planning Challenges for Johannesburg

This however cannot be taken for granted since it has certain challenging implications.

- The South African Cities Network will assist cities to think globally as they continue to act locally. Deeply embedded in this science is the belief in the inevitable influence of the market given the neo-liberal policy framework of GEAR and the cunning influence of the global economy in such a sophisticated urban economy as that of Johannesburg. For that reason, the heavy handedness of national neo-liberal policies, and the position of Johannesburg as a leading example in the country can subject smaller cities onto the abrasive route of marketeering and undermine other profound issues of social concerns. Instead of cooperation working for the people it may work for capital only.
- Johannesburg would be rewarded in terms of total resource management of intergovernmental and multi-sectoral business plans, budgets and programmes. But the looming danger is that this may marginalize less organized and capacitated cities in the group. As well Johannesburg will have to be cautious is preventing itself becoming an agent neo-liberalism in its dominating position.
- Johannesburg's status could benefit from the links with the rest of the cities in as far as strategically exposing its well advantaged position and benefit from links and networks of both hard and soft infrastructure, business networks, collaborative networks and partnerships.
- Through cooperation, Johannesburg stand a chance of drawing from the experience of cities in the country and as well as in the southern African region and widen its horizons and earnest ideals to become an African city as indicated in its iGoli 2030 vision. Cooperating with the cities in the continent will boost its image as an African city not only in terms of infrastructure but perceptively.
- Therefore, a process of "interlocalism" as opposed to "parochialism" or "isolation" between Johannesburg, its peri-urban interface and other cities in the country is certainly advocated but, its vision to become a World Class African city raises the challenge of extending its network to the rest of the cities in the Southern African region which has not happen yet.

- The SACN is occurring outside a strategic framework and a national policy on Urban and Regional Planning. Its operation is also not backed up by legislation (notwithstanding – SALGA is mandated by the constitution). Powerful cities stands to take a center-stage in mobilizing other cities politically and further improve its lobbying power and support in the country. In due course, this might to enhancement of its local government powers.
- Johannesburg can dign and integrate its sectoral policies and programmes, within municipality and within government so that both vertical and horintal integration is realized.
- An integrated economy is likely to balance out migration tends and “zero sum” effects in the long term and ease the tension creation by a high influx of people into Johannesburg. In a way cooperation has the potential to have redistributive effects in the national urban equation.

Conclusion

One need to be careful though. Inter-city cooperation should be avoided from becoming another layer of neo-liberalist control on an already ‘market’ overburdened agenda of development which may further marginalize the majority of poor black people. An attempt should be made to foster a planning process and principles that support the realization of planning that is sensitive to the disabled, endangered environment and marginalized people away from the perception that the market is a fossilised determination. This perception is bound to make any cooperation of meso-government to become a ‘transmission belt for economic globalisation.’

Paramount amongst all, is the objective of reducing dependency of cities on others and ensuring that cooperation deals with the negative legacy of the city in South Africa. This might mean that the competitive interests and cooperative interests are balanced in such a way that cooperation does not have a ‘zero-sum effect’. Ultimately, "The central challenge of the 21st century will be how to make both globalization and urbanization work for all the world's people, instead of benefiting only a few." - UN-Habitat, June 2001.

Andrew Boraine, Advisor To The Minister Of Provincial And Local Government, South Africa

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