

How the City of Bloemfontein did the tango alone in the Inner City Renewal Project

1. Introduction

Since the founding of Bloemfontein in 1846 development has taken place around a market square area which later became known as the Central Business District (CBD). The study of the inner city was done on request by the Mangaung Local Municipality (MLM) and was based on data obtained for a previous study (1983). After a scientific delineation study which proved that due to changed circumstances in the inner city (CBD) the boundary was extended and a comprehensive land use plan for the area drawn up.

Figure 1: New delineation for the CBD Masterplan Project



Source: Potgieter & Steyn, 2005.

This comprehensive land use plan was the culmination of the efforts of a number of people in various disciplines which made up a consortium. The aim of the study was to deliver a product which would enable the Council “to arrive at processes and projects with which the central business district of Bloemfontein can be upgraded to a semblance of its former splendour, is in fact a collection of a number of distinct deliverables.” (Potgieter & Steyn, 2005, 1)

One of the main requirements for success of the study was stipulated in the second part of the study’s purpose which read as follows: “It is however important to note that all of the planning endeavours should be in total harmony with each other to ultimately arrive at a single vision for an upgraded CBD.” (Potgieter & Steyn, 2005, 1) However, this study will show to what extent public participation was manipulated by Council in order to get a quick plan before the election and how the planning profession lost against political power.

2 Public participation in Planning Theory

Arnstein (1969, 216) was one of the first involved in planning who distinguished the term public participation as a scientific label, and in her view public participation could, in reality, mean public power or public control. She contends that participation without the distribution of power represents a process of frustration, which leads to the retention of the *status quo*. Arnstein (1969, 217) identifies eight levels of participation that function in the form of a ladder, from the lowest level of manipulation, therapy, counselling, informing, a policy of placation, characterized by low levels of participation, to the highest level of partnership, delegated power and detailed powers of citizen control, where the citizenry are in charge (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2: The Theory of Participation

Arnstein's Ladder*		Thurlings' Ladder**
Degrees of citizen power	8. Citizen control	Co-decision-making
	7. Delegated power	
	6. Partnership	Co-discussion
Degrees of tokenism	5. Placation	Co-reflection
	4. Consultation	Co-knowledge
	3. Informing	
Non-participation	2. Therapy	
	1. Manipulation	

Source: * Arnstein (1969, 217)
 ** Thurlings (1980, 136)

Nelissen (1980, 2) points out that Sherry Arnstein labels the two lowest levels in her theory appropriately as non-participation. Between the two extremes of decision-making - on the one hand, by the authorities and citizens on the other - Nelissen (1980, 2) and Thurlings *et al.* (1980, 136), distinguish the following levels of participation, namely:

- a) Co-knowledge: Here the policy-forming institutions create the opportunity for citizens to take note of a particular decision or issue.
- b) Co-reflection refers to the degree of participation where policymakers would not only afford the public the opportunity to develop co-knowledge, but also inspire them to co-reflect by requesting oral or written submissions to a policy intention or plan.
- c) Co-discussion denotes the degree of participation where the decision-makers not only allow co-knowledge and co-reflection, but also provide opportunities for discussing and debating intentions and plans.
- d) Co-decision-making refers to a situation where citizens are in a position to take collaborative decisions.

Van den Berg (1981, 418), on the other hand, classifies "having a say" as a term that pertains to a continuum of relations among juridically justified decisions, and those persons affected by them. The continuum varies from complete submissiveness and a positive predisposition to the autocratic exercise of authority to co-partnership in and co-responsibility for involvement in the democratic exercise of authority.

In the eighties, public participation in planning, among other things, as a result of factors such as the NIMBY syndrome (Dear, 1992, 288), the "no-nonsense" politics of Western governments and the recession in the late 1980s, took a back seat. The environment and sustainable development became the key words in planning of the 1990s.

However, another group of planners realized that it is not participation, but power that is at stake. Klosterman (1978, 37) spelled it out that planning could not be value free because planning is essentially political. Healey (1992, 160) thought that through "dynamically critical communicative processes, the democratic project of 'making sense together while living differently' can develop as a progressive force". She realized that many participants are concerned with the qualities of places (Healey 1998, 18). Fainstein & Fainstein (1996, 265) explains the explicit links between current discussions of planning and that of political thought. Meyer & Oranje (2005, 30) refer to the role of planners in the future relationship between 'ought' and 'should.' For Flyvbjerg (2002, 364) it is answering the question "who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power. Is the development desirable? What should be done?" Flyvbjerg (2002, 61) comes to the conclusion that there is no escape from power. Only a strong democracy can guarantee the existence of conflict and that planning is inescapably about conflict.

3. Public Participation in South African Planning Legislation

South African planning legislation and particularly public participation in planning is clearly guided by various acts starting with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). This section of the study will briefly outline the most important aspects pertaining to public participation in the available planning legislation.

- **Constitution**

South Africa is known to have "*one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world*" and public participation forms an integral part of it. Numerous articles or sections in the Constitution address the issue, starting at the first section in which the democratic principles of our society are declared.

According to section 9 (1) everyone is equal before the law and in section 15 (1) everyone's freedom of belief and opinion *inter alia* is guaranteed. Under section 16 (1) (b), public participation is further strengthened through the individual's right to freedom to receive or impart information or ideas.

With regards to planning and sustainable development aspects, section 24 through to section 27, the Constitution states that everyone is entitled to an environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being, are entitled to property and adequate housing, as well as food, water and social security.

In sections 40 and 41 the various spheres of government are stipulated and their responsibilities towards their constituents spelled out.

Specific responsibilities of the lowest sphere, namely "Local Government" or Municipalities, are set out in sections 151 to 154. In these sections particular detailed objects and duties towards co-operative government in order to give "*other interested persons an opportunity to make representations with regards to*" public planning matters. (RSA, 1996, Act 108/1996)

Section 195 is a summary of the basic values and principles governing public administration and sub-section (1) (e) is particularly clear on public participation namely: "*People's needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to*

participate in policy-making.” Further in this regard sub-section (g) orders authorities to “*provide the public with timely accessible and accurate information*” for it to be transparent. (RSA, 1996, Act 108/1996)

Concentrating on these aspects alone, a serious question arises about the correctness of the Councils actions during the study.

- ***White Paper on Local Government (1998)***

This White Paper spells out the framework and programme in terms of which the existing local government system will radically be transformed. It establishes the basis for a system of local government which is centrally concerned with working with local citizens and communities. With the Constitution as its point of departure, this White Paper commits Local Government to create sustainable human settlements which provide for a decent quality of life and meet the social, economic and material needs of communities in a holistic way.

In the pre-amble to the White Paper the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development reiterated the importance of public participation for Government by comparing it to a “mini-Constitution for local government” (White Paper on Local Government, 1998, 6) as it will affect all South Africans. As Local Government is the closest sphere of government to communities, it will be responsible for the services and infrastructure essential to the people's well being, and is tasked with ensuring growth and development of communities in a manner that enhances community participation and accountability.

This document therefore gives municipalities the responsibility to “*work with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives*”. (White Paper on Local Government, 1998, 6)

- ***Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000)***

The act defines integrated development planning as one of the core functions of a municipality in the context of its development function. The plan should be strategic and inclusive in nature. With “inclusive” it is meant that the plan should link, integrate and coordinate other plans, while taking development proposals into account. It should be aligned with the municipality's resources and capacity, while forming policy framework on which annual budgets are based.

According to Chapter 5 (sections 25 - 37) of the Municipal Systems Act all municipalities have to undertake an integrated development planning process to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The act is specific in its components and processes for the draughting of IDPs (RSA, Act 32/2000, 36 - 46).

- ***Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Spatial Development Framework (SDF)***

There are two national policy frameworks which also have a significant affect on Integrated Development Planning - the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR).

The **RDP** provides the context for municipal planning. “The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilize all our people and our

country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future." (MLM, 2003/2004, 3) One of the key elements in the RDP is its emphasis on the developmental role of local government through encouragement of meaningful participation by residents and stakeholders.

In 1996 the national government set in motion a macro-economic strategy known as *Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)*. The strategy seeks to get the South African economy onto a new path, one that will ensure:

- Initiatives to enhance private sector involvement in development through investment;
 - A redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor;
 - Broader investment in infrastructure;
 - More effective local spending;
 - Rationalization of municipal personnel;
 - An environment in which homes are secure and places of work are productive.
- (MLM, 2003/2004, 3)

Through these two growth oriented strategies, integrated development planning in South Africa as an instrument lies at the centre of the new system of developmental local government as prescribed by the White Paper on Local Government. It represents the driving force for making municipalities more strategic, inclusive, responsive, and performance driven in character. The IDP is the principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning, budgeting, investment, development, management and implementation in medium-term decision-making. The Integrated Development Plan must be compatible with National and Provincial development plans and planning requirements

Important for urban planning is the fact that integrated development planning contributes to the transformation of municipalities in order to change the urban environment fundamentally, to integrate towns and cities racially, rural and urban areas, and to stimulate the functional and integrated local economic development as well as the redistribution of income and wealth.

The IDP is a legal requirement, and, after the final approval the Mangaung Local Municipality IDP has attained legal status. It will extend over a five-year period with revisions every year and it will supersede all other plans that have guided development within its area of jurisdiction.

The Municipal Systems Act further stipulates in Section 35(2) that as part of the IDP, a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) must be drawn up. The SDF therefore has statutory power once the IDP is adopted by the Council and will guide all land use management within the municipal area. In terms of section 25(a) of the act, the SDF, as part of the IDP, must link, integrate and co-ordinate plans (projects from sector and service plans) with spatial implications, and takes into account proposals for the development of the municipality and (b) aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan. (RSA, Act 32/2000, 44)

The purpose of the SDF is not to infringe upon existing land rights but to guide future land uses. No proposals in this plan create any land use right or exempt anyone from his or her obligation in terms of any other act controlling land uses.

- **Local Government: Municipal and Performance Management Regulations of 2001**

As indicated by its name this is a tool by which the municipality can gauge the performance of its IDP as well as the management of identified projects and funds allocated to these projects.

- **Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995)**

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) is currently the sharpest tool in the South African planning shed which provides specific principles for the following:

- Facilitating the development of both formal and informal, existing and new settlements;
- Discouraging land invasions without ignoring the reality and history of informal land development processes;
- Promoting efficient and integrated land development that amongst other things
 - Integrates rural and urban areas, integrates poor and rich, black and white areas in towns and cities, and integrates different land uses rather than keeping them strictly separate;
 - Discourage urban sprawl and contribute to more compact towns and cities;
 - Makes maximum use of all available resources and avoids duplicating existing infrastructure and services;
 - Promotes development of housing and work opportunities near to each other;
 - Encourages environmentally sustainable practices and processes;
- Establishing viable communities;
- Protecting the environment;
- Meeting the basic needs of all citizens in an affordable manner.

4. The Bloemfontein Central Business District Masterplan Project

In April 2005, the Mangaung Local Municipality commissioned research into development in the Bloemfontein Central Business District which had to be finished in six months.

In the brief the primary goal which the consortium set itself for this project was the “developing of a vibrant centre for an African Renaissance City.” (Potgieter & Steyn, 2005, 1) The city needed a new image for its inner city which is to be created through an urban experience that is people centered, vibrant, exciting, safe, clean and economically sustainable. In the view of the consortium this can be achieved by providing local residential districts within the inner city, providing access to improved facilities and amenities as well as new services for all the people of the Mangaung Municipal Area. It must be a vibrant 24 hour centre, a centre for residents, workers, tourists, entrepreneurs and learners!

The underlying goals of the study were to articulate the economic choices facing policy-makers and the feasibility and implications of selecting among alternative economic development objectives, and then to suggest how they might go about achieving the preferred objectives. The need was to give effect to the economic aspects of an “Inner-city Vision and Development Strategy.” (Potgieter & Steyn, 2005, 1)

The research was intended to have two stages. The first stage involved identifying, describing and explaining the major changes underway in the city centre. The second stage involved working with the Local Government and stakeholders to formulate a vision and to develop practical, collaborative interventions that would help to achieve that vision.

Stage one was started and completed in July 2005. The demarcation of the study area, the literature review report and the *status quo* report enabled the team to build on data that

could scientifically be proved and empirically verified.

The current perception of the Bloemfontein inner-city is that it is “dead”, unsafe and dirty. As a result of measurable criteria, such as the reduction of vehicles and increased availability of parking in the inner-city, an image of a “dead inner-city” was created.

Working in the inner-city during the survey it became clear that this perception was only partially correct and that the inner-city was indeed NOT dead.

After interpretation of the data acquired, it was established that the theory and practice meet in the city centre in the sense that factors such as “crime & grime” and accessibility has created the idea that the inner-city was dead. However, when pedestrian activities are taken into account, another image emerges, namely a bustling hive of activity. The only deduction that can be made is that the clientele of the inner-city has changed and that business in the inner-city is healthy and strong.

Unfortunately this perception is also not entirely true because everything in the inner-city is NOT healthy and strong!

The current state of decline of the existing inner city can be attributed to various factors which, in geographical terms, were stretched out of proportion due to a westwards shift of former central-city functions. Since the development of shopping centres during the 1970s, and the consequent establishment of other large complexes in and about the city many of the activities which were previously located in the city centre, have moved out.

A feature of this new retail mix is the disappearance of high order type of retail activities or the specialist functions, mainly activities which cater for higher income clientele. Examples of such functions are jewellery and clothing stores which have moved to suburban malls that have relocated to the fringe areas. Another loss from the inner-city was retailers such as curio stores that cater for the tourist market. Well-known establishments have left the inner-city for suburban centres.

These departing retailers were replaced by general dealers who have links with the informal sector. Their main sectors are food trading, clothing and soft goods. Considerable overtrading and sameness of products as well as overcrowding of pavements take place and many city users view this and the accompanying litter generated by these informal traders as a problem. Observations from the surveys also confirmed that many retailers and clients have been robbed or mugged in the inner-city. The economic survey concluded that grime is definitely a contributing factor why traditional retailers have left the inner-city and why clients prefer the relative clean and safe environment of the neighbourhood mall.

In summary, the inner city of Bloemfontein that previously catered for a mixture of commercial and residential developments have made way to a city centre that now caters mainly for government and commercial / light industrial needs whilst the residential land uses that supported the inner city have been displaced further away from the commercial hub in suburbs that now offers convenience and lifestyle shopping centres.

In the past, the inner city catered in all of the needs of the consumer. It offered working, shopping, entertainment and to a lesser degree residential uses at a central locality. However, as the surrounding residential suburbs were converted into commercial / light industrial area and new suburbs developed on the fringe of the town, the distances to access these central land uses were increasing and people had to start making use of private transport. This gave rise to parking problems and many consumers were discouraged to buy here. Today, with both husband and wife working full time, time does not allow them the opportunity to look for goods at different places and struggle to find

parking. The need therefore arose for one-stop shopping centres and the establishment of (16) "large" centres in Bloemfontein have strengthened this perception because many higher order functions and services can be obtained in that relative clean and safe environment. The primary reasons for decay in the Bloemfontein CBD are the establishment of these suburban shopping centres and office parks as well as an exodus of people due to crime and grime.

Due to the political nature of the project, stage two addressed the vision for the revitalization of the inner city and to draw more people back to the CBD. In the final report a number of recommendations were put forward. In brief, these recommendations included inter alia:

- a) An independent controlling body/authority to manage the inner city.
- b) Special measures to combat crime and grime.
- c) Pedestrianization of a number of streets.
- d) Parking and public transport services.
- e) A strong residential component for the CBD.

These recommendations only indicated the broad outlines of the way forward but did not address key questions pertaining to the future of the inner city economy around which a strategy should be crafted.

5 Participation in the Central Business District Masterplan Project

The consultants were first and foremost guided by the public participation process that preceded the draughting of the reviewed Mangaung Integrated Development Plan (the IDP), exploring key issues, trends and policies through discussions with the steering committee and stakeholders. For the purpose of the masterplan study, the following working definition of *Consultation* was adopted: "*preparation of a preliminary action plan to be workshopped in greater detail with key constituencies such as the different departments of Council and property owners.*" (Potgieter & Steyn, 2005, 6)

The process was essentially guided through this series of interactions with the Steering Committee who stated during an early meeting that this study is an outflow of the needs expressed in the IDP and these represent the public choices¹. However, the consultants held numerous meetings and gained important insight from other participants. Many questions were encountered while working with the Steering Committee, for example, aspects surrounding strengths and weaknesses and objectives for inner city development.

The MLM described its IDP process as "*the result of intensive and incremental participation, interaction and planning with 43 wards and other stakeholders over a period of eight months to enhance the 2003/2004 Integrated Development Plan through which wards and stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them.*" (MLM, 2003/2004, 5).

As was the case with the IDP, MLM described public participation in establishing the SDF as follows: "*a process of consultations with the Ward Committees and Ward Councilors to identify the key spatial issues and related strategies that should be incorporated into the SDF.*" (MLM, 2006/2007, 53) Consultations were also held with the provincial planning department, district and local municipalities within the district to identify the regional issues that should be considered in the review. Within the municipality there were consultations with the sector departments and IDP programmes to integrate the SDF with the IDP objectives.

The consultants' approach has been to focus on key problem areas and opportunities, and thus to develop a limited number of key interventions. This approach was an outcome of the city's consultation process, and the budgetary and time constraints imposed upon the

background research and exploration of strategies. The approach has also been fundamentally constrained by the absence of a metropolitan economic development strategy of which it might form a part and to which it might contribute.

6 Was it Participation (Consultation)?

To determine the degree of participation in this project, Arnstein's ladder can be implemented to see whether MLM adhered to the basic theoretical principles of consultation.

The consultation process was not an open public participatory process as the consultants had to report to a Steering Committee representing the Council and were not allowed to discuss matters not approved by them with other parties. Participation was thus essentially controlled by Council.

Although the IDP and SDF processes (as discussed above) have been completed and the revitalization of the CBD is contained in the particular documents, the magnitude of the project necessitates a close working relationship between Council and the relevant stakeholders, particularly the property owners. If an analysis of the project process is made, the following deduction can be made:

- i) A public participation process was followed in the draughting of the IDP and SDF
- ii) A meeting for interested and affected parties (information session) was held on 07 September 2005 to inform participants and property owners of the purpose and findings of the project.
- iii) No partnerships between Council, stakeholders and property owners have been established.

FIGURE: 3 The Level of Participation

Arnstein's Ladder*	
Degrees of citizen power	8. Citizen control
	7. Delegated power
	6. Partnership
Degrees of tokenism	5. Placation
	4. Consultation
	3. Informing
Non-participation	2. Therapy
	1. Manipulation

Source: Arnstein, 1969,217

Theoretically it can therefore be concluded that for this project public participation falls on a Level 5 (Placation) of Arnstein's ladder because limited consultation (Level 4) took place and no public-private partnerships (Level 6) were formed.

7 Current situation

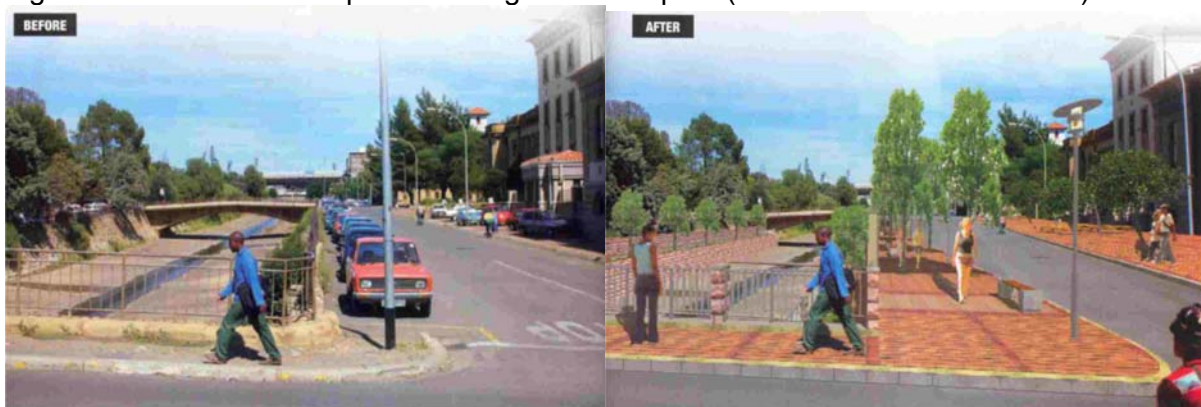
Eighteen months after completion of the "CBD Masterplan Project" the situation is as follows:

- a) Council has adopted the "Masterplan" in its totality. Under the resolution a mandate was given to a sub-directorate of the Directorate of Economic Affairs and Planning to drive the revitalization process. The General Manager: Planning, Mr. W M Machogo, declared that the prioritization of the different projects was done

according to the Masterplan recommendations and considerations for the 2010 world cup soccer tournament. Budgetary facts and implications for the project are unknown.

- b) The consortium's main recommendation namely that an independent governing / managing authority, such as a "Section 21" company (as with the case of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth) is established, has not materialized. The Council has opted to keep it "in house".
- c) CIDs or BIDs have not been demarcated.
- d) Pedestrianization of Elizabeth Street is under way and should be completed in August 2007. This link will play an important role in connecting the CBD with the new Water Front shopping centre on the edge of the CBD.
- e) The Mangaung Activity Corridor is nearing completion.
- f) Funds for the inter-modal transport facility have been made available and tenders for the development will be requested in the near future.
- g) Tenders have been requested for the scheduled, high-capacity public transport service between the city centre and the Mangaung Activity Corridor.
- h) Hoffman Square has been identified as a "potential fan park" for the 2010 soccer world cup matches to be played in Bloemfontein and tenders have been requested for its redevelopment.
- i) In conjunction with the redevelopment of Hoffman Square the pedestrianization of Maitland – and President Brand Street will commence as soon as funds have been made available.
- J) Tenders for the redevelopment of Selbourne and Peet Avenues, along the Bloemspruit, will be going out in the near future.

Figure 4 : Current and Proposed Changes to the Spruit (Selbourne - / Peet Avenue) Area



Source: City of Mangaung, April 2007, 40 - 41

Particular attention is given to this project because of the important link it will play between the inter-modal transport facility and the sport stadiums situated on the edge of the CBD.

- k) Tenders for a "residential development plan" will be going out in the near future. The requirement by Council is for 4 000 units of which only 2 000 must be in the CBD.

8. Conclusion

As was stated in paragraph 4 above, the second stage of the project which addressed the vision for the revitalization of the inner city only indicated the broad strategic outlines of the way forward but did not address key issues around which such a strategy should be crafted. This part of a project of this nature is clearly a political issue where the decision making process, in a democratic country, is controlled at the polling booth.

Patrick Bond (2004, 9) describes the current situation in South African politics as follows:

“Certainly, the African National Congress (ANC) and its two main Alliance partners - the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) - maintain a self-reinforcing political bloc, even though, as back-seat drivers, communists and workers have only fruitlessly signalled a left turn. Beyond that alliance are church leaders, non-governmental organisation (NGO) officials and a section of the community movement. Middle class and wealthier communities have realised that ANC rule is broadly favourable to their interests and provide tacit support.”

Figure 5: “TRIPARTITE” CO-DRIVERS



Source: Bond, P. 2004, 9

Many rumours are currently going around regarding divisions in the ranks and the current public service strike is doing the alliance no favours. The general perception is that the alliance is made up of two groups with the governing ANC who is following the free market oriented lead of President Thabo Mbeki whilst the Cosatu / SACP grouping favours the more socialist views of Mr Jacob Zuma. Referring to the upcoming national conference in a recent newspaper article (City Press, 26/06/2007), this division is clearly evident: “This document is expected to be the target of an all-out attack by delegates from Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, who will be pushing for more radical economic policies and a recognition of the working class as the driving force of the “revolution.” Even in the Free State many examples of divisional tensions in political ranks exist and as recent as 18 June 2007 (Volksblad, 18/06/2007) leaders were accused of not caring about their constituents, favouring their own positions, personal business interests and enriching themselves. There is no telling how these divisions in provincial ranks are influencing municipal politics.

The question that should now be asked is “Who is in control in the Mangaung Local Municipality?”

Currently the council is controlled by the ANC with only limited representation by the other political parties. Out of a total of 86 council votes only 23 are representative of other parties. Of these votes 16 belong to the official national opposition party and 3 votes to a new conservative White party. Only 4 votes jointly belong to three new, mainly Black parties. Decision making can easily be manipulated to favour a particular cause.

An interesting aspect of Council politics is the fact that very little change in representation has taken place since the first democratic elections in 1994.

Decision making in the instance of the Bloemfontein CBD Masterplan Project has taken a number of important turns namely:

- a) The report was accepted in full by Council. How the different parties voted on the matter is unknown.

- b) In essence the above statement means that the recommendations have all been accepted but instead Council decided not to follow the lead of other cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth or Kimberley which have had successfully turned the state of their inner cities around to go with independent controlling bodies. What is important to bear in mind is that it is an initiative from national government to encourage public-private partnerships so the question remains why MLM declined the opportunity offered to it through the Masterplan recommendations.
- c) Up to this point in time no decision regarding the informal trade has been taken.
- d) One of the main reasons for the deterioration of the inner city namely “Crime and Grime” has not been addressed.
- e) The establishment of CIDs / BIDs has not had adequate attention from Council and no progress in this regard has been made.
- f) During the period the project was running, several councillors, including the mayor, city manager and executive manager were arrested on alleged fraud charges totaling approximately R150m (± \$21m US).ⁱⁱ The local newspaper Volksblad (25/06/2007) quotes the ANC’s secretary general Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, as follows (freely translated)ⁱⁱⁱ: *“the rot is total... It is not restricted to any level or any area in the country. Almost every project is contemplated because it offers opportunities for some people to make money.”*

The CBD Masterplan Project has certainly contributed to the knowledge of the inner city of Bloemfontein and much has happened towards the revitalization of the area. Unfortunately it has also led to serious questions regarding the management style of Council. Bloemfontein’s inner city can, and never will, play the same role it has played twenty years ago and changes of our time require a new outlook on the CBD’s function and how it will relate to its surroundings. Forester wrote (Forester, 1989, as in Stein, Jay M. 1995, 437) that if planners ignore those in power their own powerlessness is assured although by playing the “power game” correctly they can empower citizens and community actions. However, how the City of Bloemfontein did the tango alone in the inner city renewal project certainly underlines an important statement Forester makes and which can be directly applied to this study. Whether power in this instance has corrupted, is debatable, but that “*the lack of power*” has frustrated (Forester, 1989, as in Stein, Jay M. 1995, 437) is certain.

In conclusion, a question namely what has the practice movement learnt from the Mangaung Local Municipality, can be asked.

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¹ During the first meeting with Council Fainstein & Fainstein's planning typology as well as the corresponding political theory was spelled out. Council's view on an ideological approach to the CBD project was tested but no answer was obtained. On this point Council was not prepared to take a stand.

² The members were found guilty but the case against them is still not finalized, pending an appeal. (Volksblad, 25/06/2007, 4)

³ "...die verrotting deur die bank... Dis nie beperk tot enige vlak of enige gebied in die land nie. Feitlik elke projek word bedink omdat dit geleenthede bied aan sekere mense om geld te maak." (Volksblad, 25/06/2007, 4)