

# BETWEEN ZEVENFONTEIN AND HILLBROW: ALTERNATIVES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN PLANNING\*

Alan Mabin

Associate Professor, Department of Town and Regional Planning  
Director, Programme for Planning Research  
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Recent events on the periphery and in the inner cities of the central Witwatersrand and other metropolitan areas point to great changes under way in the process of urban expansion in South Africa. For several decades the highly controlled system of private suburban development accounted for most geographical extension of our cities, with public development of low-income black areas making up much of the rest. But conflict over the residential place of poorer citizens, as in the Zevenfontein-Chartwell-Diepsloot-Bloubaarsand saga, indicates that the historical processes of expansion may not persist for much longer.

Such conflict suggests that new processes are at work in the expansion of our cities. It also indicates that our existing planning system does not respond terribly effectively to these new processes. As present planning frameworks decline, so the new urban processes may be expected to reveal themselves more fully. Of course planners and politicians interested in planning recognise that they now confront a different urban situation, and a number of initiatives both official and unofficial are emerging to consider the future of our cities and the future of urban planning in South Africa. This paper reports on research into four aspects of planning frameworks applied in South Africa and various other parts of the world. The key question posed is *whether it is possible to develop a consistent planning framework which will apply both to highly formal (which some call 'first world') areas of our cities and to mainly informal (which some name 'third world') settlements.*

The four aspects of inquiry in the paper are:

1. What processes are driving change in our cities, and how adequate is our present planning sys-

tem to encouraging, managing and directing urban growth and change?

2. What is the international experience of urban planning, particularly under conditions of population growth and of distributions of income and productive capacity similar to our own?
3. What are the key issues in reshaping planning frameworks in South Africa?
4. By what processes can planning frameworks adapt?

The paper concludes, not by adding to the profusion of definite proposals for a new planning system, but by summarising the issues confronting the construction of such a new framework. In sum the argument of the paper is that our understanding of our changing cities must be deep, our conception of the role of urban planning broad and our appreciation of the difficulties of accomplishing 'the better city of tomorrow' profound, if urban planners are to make a signal contribution to the shaping of the emerging South African city.

1. **What processes are driving change in our cities, and how adequate is our present planning system in encouraging, managing and directing urban growth and change?**

From the jungle of complex processes at work in our cities, a few examples will have to suffice to illustrate some directions of change. These examples examine aspects of change in the central Witwatersrand, specifically at Zevenfontein, Hillbrow and Bertrams; obviously detailed knowledge or research in other metropolitan areas would yield other types of change.

An informal settlement at Zevenfontein, a small rural land holding some 5 kilometres north of the

Johannesburg urban edge, illustrates the decay of the existing land conversion systems. The residents originally rented small sites on which to erect shacks from the landowner. While such a practice would have been illegal under racially based land legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Lands Acts, and since the poor people at Zevenfontein are overwhelmingly black and the area was 'white', once those laws had been repealed in 1991 the legality of the settlement became confused. Since the land had not been subdivided for sale (a 'township' in terms of the various relevant pieces of legislation) but had been informally subdivided for rental, development took place in 'limbo'.<sup>1</sup> Had the original owner not sold the land, the situation might have continued indefinitely; but the new owner wished to evict his tenants. Into the crisis of forced and possibly illegal eviction stepped the authorities, who arranged a temporary settlement site on adjacent land with minimal services, and offered the prospect of removal to a more secure site. However, the process of finding a site anywhere nearby in an area historically reserved for middle class, white residential expansion, confounded the authorities; unfamiliar as they are with such activities. Under intense pressure from the nearest low-density, formal, middle class, white area (Chartwell), authorities chose first a site (Diepsloot) at much greater distance from the city, but faced strong opposition from the Zevenfontein community. At much the same time - in November 1991 - the Provincial Administration and the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council also agreed, propelled by strong civic movement opposition, to place the development of a large new, distant and 'low income' area known as Rietfontein (south of Grasmere) on hold.

The implication seemed to be that the

authorities were prepared to contemplate a significant turn in the long-standing practice of supplying land for poorer, black people only at the most remote and well-segregated sites. Indeed, supported by the Randburg Town Council, the Provincial Administration then plumped for a site closer in, at Bloubostrand to relocate the Zevenfontein people, only to face well-organised and potentially violent opposition from the neighbouring middle class settlements. Some suburban developers also reacted negatively: one large firm stated that it would not proceed with a new 'middle class housing tract' in the general area of Bloubostrand because 'the risk is simply too immense'; another suggested that the Bloubostrand case would have 'major repercussions on property development countrywide, as developers would be wary of undertaking projects on land next to open spaces'.<sup>2</sup>

After a fairly cumbersome attempt at crisis management,<sup>3</sup> the Provincial Administration settled on moving the Zevenfontein people to two sites - one the original Diepsloot area, the other a site at Nietgedacht a little closer to the city. This decision represents a retreat from mixing medium and low income residential uses at a fairly coarse scale, and a return to wide separation between monofunctional medium and low income residential areas. However, landowners (again white and relatively wealthy) successfully used the courts to block the creation of the proposed new ordered but informal settlements. At the time of writing the issue remains unresolved and symptomatic of many other similar cases, the occurrence of such irregular settlements accelerating greatly at present.

By way of contrast, in the inner city of Johannesburg, a variety of highly urban residential environments exists in which a range of other changes have occurred. In Hillbrow, the collapse of the Group Areas Act from about 1982 onwards allowed large numbers of supposedly disqualified black people to move in to this area and to rent flats. Thus Hillbrow continued to be an area of mainly reasonably employed and perhaps less transient household units than it had been in the heyday of Group Areas: an area in which rents are generally paid and buildings generally maintained.

In some specific buildings, of course, the extreme shortage of rental accommodation accessible to ordinary working black people, and in locations close to employment centres, allowed unscrupulous landlords to capitalise on the changes taking place and to reap the benefits of tenementing of their buildings, rack renting while cutting maintenance. Thus some buildings did deteriorate, and some flats were occupied by rather more people than their architects had imagined suitable. In general, however, buildings in Hillbrow continue to be reasonably maintained, and conditions are far from the scary images painted as urban myths are traded over dinner in the low density white suburbs.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, so intense is the shortage of reasonably priced, vaguely secure and moderately well-located accommodation that many well-employed people have located themselves at the Zevenfonteins of the Witwatersrand.<sup>5</sup> For households with lower but reasonably regular incomes, subdivision of houses and even of rooms, and the return of tenementing and backyard shacks (slumyards in the thirties) to neighbourhoods such as Bertrams, close to the inner city, yields situations so extreme that in some cases over 100 people share the facilities of what was previously a single family dwelling on a 450 square metre lot. In so doing, and despite their rent of R165 per month *per head*, most claim that their circumstances are superior in financial and security terms to their previous situations, for example in shack areas in and around townships, such as Phola Park at Thokoza.<sup>6</sup> Substantially poorer people, or those who wish to conserve resources for investment in 'rural' or even other urban areas, will not be found in such places. Hostels, backyard shacks, rented rooms at extreme peripheral locations like Orange Farm, or newly emerging shack areas in townships, or - just emerging - within the fabric of the city itself (so far, usually well protected or well hidden):<sup>7</sup> such is the lot of the poorer or less urban oriented population.

The major forces driving these patterns of change in our cities can be divided into two: one a primarily economic demand for reasonable urban space, the other a mainly non-economic need for access to urban environments, backed

up by minimal economic capacity. Very little supply, on the other hand, is on offer to meet these demands and needs. Where it is, in the shape of flats in Hillbrow, rental sites at Zevenfontein, shack sites on the mine dumps east of Johannesburg's CBD, or state-subsidised sites at Orange Farm and Ivory Park, the space available is taken up with alacrity. Supply and demand curves intersect at surprisingly high levels as a result.

Our planning system has in general functioned in isolation from most of this demand and need for the past generation or more. The duality which emerged from early in this century, or perhaps long before that, in which planning of residential areas for black South Africans was conducted as a separate enterprise from planning for the remainder of the cities, reinforced by ever-stronger segregatory legislation, ensured that township establishment and indeed town planning schemes were isolated from the demand and need to which I have referred.<sup>8</sup> The prime example of the protection of planning from such forces may be seen in the township establishment process, which is really our official jargon for rural-urban land conversion.

The legal provisions and apparatuses surrounding township establishment are complex and create a highly regulated environment. Two main features have characterised that regulation system. Racial reservation of land is one of them. Control of subdivision is the other.

With some exceptions, racial reservation of land no longer exists. However, its effects have obviously been profound, and will be present for the long term. At the bureaucratic level, public authorities would not in general approve the establishment of new privately-initiated townships (which had to be for designated groups) in areas not designated for those groups. A most significant feature of the past racial reservation of land lay in the nature of racially-defined policing of its provisions. Rather than the general validity of, say, landlord-tenant contracts in small holding areas outside towns and cities, the racial classification of tenants provided the basis for state action in removing the disquali-

fied - thereby protecting the official township establishment process.

The most important effect would appear to have been the minimal demand for small, very low-cost residential and business sites in those zones reserved for white racial occupation. The reason for this was quite simply that while a large proportion of whites could afford larger, higher-cost sites, the vast majority of blacks could not; and their effective exclusion from white racial zones created a specific type of land market in those zones, especially in those areas where rural land underwent conversion to urban uses. The prohibition of selling or letting to blacks outside the reserves in the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936; the freezing of all racial change in land ownership and occupation under the initial proclamation of the Group Areas Act in 1951; the gradual extension of Group Areas proclamations around existing urban areas; and the Guide Plan system of demarcating areas for racial occupation; all reduced the demand for small cheap sites in white-reserved space around the cities to negligible proportions, especially between 1951 and 1991.<sup>9</sup>

There have been times at which a significant threat did emerge to the regulation of rural-urban land conversion through the township establishment process. For example, in the late thirties, the state appointed two commissions to enquire into rural-urban land conversion processes - one generally (the Thornton commission) and the other more geographically specific (the Cape Flats commission).<sup>10</sup> The reason for these commissions was the emergence of substantial demand and supply of subdivisions outside the regulation system: mainly black people coming to occupy irregularly subdivided land on the periphery of urban areas, creating what were sometimes called 'black belts' which, among other things, seemed to threaten the process of suburban expansion.<sup>11</sup> However, more vigorous policing, more drastic application of the Natives (Urban Areas) Acts and the Group Areas Acts, and the expenditure of very large sums of public money on housing after the second world war diverted this demand into other areas (mainly the black, coloured and Indian townships) and reestablished the effectiveness of the

regulation system.

More recently, while the regulation system has continued to function effectively in most long-zoned white areas (such as those due north and south of metropolitan Johannesburg), an increasing part of the conversion of rural land to urban uses has occurred outside the system. The conversion of small cane farms to shack areas in the Inanda area outside Durban is one well-known case; the extensive conversion of tribal authority land to informal townships around many towns is another and the invasion of land either by organised action (as at Wattville in Benoni and Mangaung at Bloemfontein) or by infiltration (as at Rabie Ridge) is another, if as yet less significant numerically.

Two related factors have significantly altered the context within which the township establishment system operates, however. These factors are the repeal of racially-based land measures and the emergence of a political environment in which powerful political forces are beginning to contest issues closely related to the land conversion process.

The State's initial response was to create an 'ordered informal settlement' process of expansion, evidenced at Khayelitsha, Motherwell, Orange Farm, Ivory Park and Zonkezizwe. This 'new' land conversion process, however, originated within racial land planning and has perpetuated it. In its present form it involves the provincial administrations in the 'identification' of land for 'low income settlements' - which, as the Zevenfontein and Rietfontein cases illustrate, is far from being a simple affair. Apart from the authorities' dilemma, caught between the political and economic mobilisation in new legal circumstances of both the disenfranchised on one hand and the propertied classes on the other, a major difficulty lies in the costs of subsidised services. If the State cannot meet the costs of subsidising infrastructure and transport services for remote settlements, the 'identification of land for low income settlements' cannot work.

Meanwhile, an enormous demand has been accumulating for smaller, cheaper sites. Much of that potential demand is presently absorbed in a range of informal housing circumstances, including

ex-hostels, backyards in old and new 'white' areas, rooms and outbuildings on formal black township sites, backyard shacks in similar circumstances, and freestanding shack areas in or adjacent to townships. But there are profound limits to the absorptivity of these options: as residents of informal settlements such as Zevenfontein often say when interviewed by the media, 'the townships are full' and in any event the social and economic situation in the townships and existing informal areas makes them very unattractive, in general, to new family units or new arrivals.

If there is a demand, is there - or will there be - a supply? It would appear, on the available sketchy evidence, that there is indeed a tendency for a supply to emerge in the private sector under these circumstances. The rental of pieces of land at Zevenfontein and Swanieville is indicative of the *potential* for such a supply to emerge. This supply is outside the formal township establishment process, and the 'new' less formal township establishment routes may not offer the prospect of regulating it.

Thus far the focus of the paper has been on the breakdown of the existing regulation of expansion at the urban edge, in response to the changes in the processes of expansion themselves. Comments have also been made about the changes in processes operating in more central city environments. This section of the paper has attempted to illustrate the point that our existing planning systems may not be adequate to regulate such changes. Racial legislation and practice restricted demand and planning legislation and practice restricted supply. Racial restriction having gone, the high levels of demand may bring forth a supply which would break the planning system's continued attempt to restrict that supply.

A peculiar result of the protection of white-zoned areas was that land prices remained low since the areas thus reserved were large in relation to any potential demand. It has been remarked that land prices in SA cities are therefore very low by any international standards.<sup>12</sup> One of the incentives to undermining the previous exclusionary system, far from the notion that the entry of low income people will drive

down land prices, is that opening up a supply to meet a huge pent up demand could allow prices in presently low-density areas to rise very rapidly - if existing density and use restrictions were ignored or removed. That is, in a sense, precisely what has happened in Bertrams in Johannesburg and at Zevenfontein, where the land rents achieved by breaking restrictions are much higher than those accomplished by exclusionary zoning: landlords in Bertrams have been known to collect 25 per cent or more of their investment in rents *per month*.

In other words, the planning system may no longer be relevant to the processes at work in the political, social and economic environment. If this is true of the provision of new residential land, how does it affect other aspects of planning?

In brief, zoning systems are similarly under stress. Recent legislation, such as the Cape's Land Use Planning Ordinance and the amendments to the Transvaal provisions, recognise this stress and have tried to move towards more flexible provisions. Both at provincial level and at national level, exploration of new legislative systems is under way (see section 3 below for more details). As the cities have become legally accessible to people who the planning system as a whole until recently sought to exclude, the dynamics of property markets can be expected to change. And as the processes of expansion at the urban edge move in quite new directions, especially under new political dispensations, possibly more responsive to those previously excluded, so the implications for urban change and for planning systems attempting to direct change will gather force. To put the question succinctly, in the face of the political demand to integrate rather than to segregate the city, does the 'town planning system' work? The South African hybrid of centralised legislation on the British model and reasonably rigid zoning on the American pattern may be expected to experience difficulty under such stress.<sup>13</sup>

If the typical practices of township establishment and town planning schemes come into question, the additional concern must surely arise: what of the planning profession which has

grown up primarily around those practices? Can a planning system and indeed profession which enthusiastically implemented the fragmentation of our cities really contribute to their reintegration? After all the spatial reordering of our cities required spatial planning, and the notion that group areas planning was just like other forms of urban planning seems to have been widely accepted. For consultants, group areas generated work. Floyd's report to the East London City Council in 1953 shows how eagerly some town planning consultants set out their qualifications to plan group areas: 'It is essential that [racially mixed] areas be studied by persons with long town planning experience who understand the implications of [group areas].'<sup>14</sup>

In some quarters there appears to be a tendency to proceed as though nothing fundamental has altered. But we cannot simply stick the label 'low income settlements' over the previous 'black settlements' as though the substitution is as simple and the power to make it stick as complete as in those previous substitutions of 'black' for 'bantú' and 'bantú' for 'native' - as the TPA and many other authorities have tended to do.<sup>15</sup> The scale and pace of demographic growth, the changing political environment, and the sluggish economy with massive unemployment means that planning confronts quite different challenges from those of the even recent past. The evidence suggests that present planning systems face severe difficulties in the search for efficient, economically effective and socially stable cities. We clearly need major changes if planning is to contribute positively to the achievement of any significant goals in this area. Part of the difficulty, it has been suggested, lies in the origins of our planning system's antecedents: i.e. in the rather different distributional, productive and growth conditions of England and America.

These are not the only problems, however. Detailed study of earlier phases in South African planning practice shows that political circumstance, limited levels of personal competence, and responses to a variety of vested interests have contributed to narrowing the planning remit in this country to a high degree.<sup>16</sup> The challenges which confront the cities at this point will be addressed by others if planners continue to con-

ceive of their practice as narrowly as they have been wont to do in the last half century. The next section of the paper proceeds to examine international experience with a view to discerning such models as might inform our search.

## **2. What is the international experience of urban planning, particularly under conditions of population growth and of distributions of income and productive capacity similar to our own?**

It is not the intention of this paper to propose a specific model for future directions, but rather to indicate that there is indeed a range of other models which may well be more suited to our situation. Bad models will not work; the question which remains is whether a model of regulation can be created which will have an effect on the reshaping of our cities.

Relating available knowledge of international experience to South African issues is a difficult exercise: indeed, all such attempts to 'learn from other countries' face substantial problems of comparative method.<sup>17</sup> The most significant lessons for South Africa are surely to be drawn from countries with very similar growth, capacity and income distributions to our own. As it happens, these are generally not the countries of Western Europe or North America from which most of our planning approaches have been drawn in the past. Rather, though no direct parallel is necessarily possible, several countries in Latin America suggest much closer comparison: with income per head and distribution roughly similar, urbanisation levels not wildly different (though the African extent of circular migration may be a significant departure in this continent), and, compellingly, a recent experience of democratisation.

For the purposes of this paper, attention will be focused on Brazil, and within Brazil on Sao Paulo, although many other cities and some other countries would enable us to explore similar questions. Various parallels between Brazilian circumstances and our own deserve notice. One lies in the general similarity between the distributions of income and levels of economic capacity in Brazil and South Africa. Prices

and processes, for example in construction, are remarkably similar. The other concerns the extent to which a decent urban life is enjoyed by the population. City planners in Sao Paulo speak of the existence of reasonable services for only 55 percent of the population. The comparison may not be exact, but very similar proportions of the populations of Sao Paulo and, say, the PWV enjoy extremely limited access to sewage treatment, adequate roads and parks, electricity and the other things which make the foundations of a livable urban environment.

Striking differences do, of course, exist between these sisters of the southern hemisphere. The PWV is a much bigger and lower density area on average than greater Sao Paulo, and presumably will retain this distinction for the foreseeable future. But the significant questions for comparative analysis lie in the types of processes which have marked Sao Paulo's growth and which may, or may not, point to likely trajectories for development in our metropolitan areas in the future.<sup>18</sup>

Sao Paulo has historically demonstrated the unsurprising truth that most of the poor in third world cities live in poorly serviced peripheral localities, separated by long and expensive journeys on usually inadequate public transport from access to most jobs, casual labour markets and a majority of the really urban facilities enjoyed by the wealthier residents who can afford the shops, theatres, museums, restaurants and experiences of a livable city. This section, as did the first, focuses on land conversion processes at the urban periphery, yet one interesting aspect of Sao Paulo's recent changes is the relative rise in the importance of more centrally located areas as important zones of residence for the poor.

Unsurprisingly, over the last few decades of colossal population growth, generated both by high internal birth rates and substantial in-migration from rural areas and smaller centres, the growing Sao Paulo population has found accommodation in different circumstances according to income.

The international notion of Brazilian cities is coloured strongly by the image of the favelas, areas into which poor people have infiltrated or which they have invaded, and which are neither

properly serviced nor subdivided. Within the city of Sao Paulo, which contains 11 million of the 18 million population of the metropolitan area, about one million live in favelas. Most of the favelas have been in existence for over ten years, and most are now fairly secure if still often strictly illegal or squatter settlements. The result of rising relative security is that about 60 per cent of houses in favelas are not the anticipated packing case and makeshift material iron shacks, but brick and mortar structures. The favela population is still growing, but nowhere near as rapidly as it did in the sixties and early seventies.

More significant now is the growth of *irregular subdivision and sale of land*. This pirate form of urbanisation, usually at the fringe of the metropolitan area, involves the sale of the right to occupy land by landowners or other agents, giving those who come to occupy the subdivided sites a sense of security even though the formal, legal processes of approved subdivision are not followed. Authorities have become reluctant to enforce the subdivision rules in the past two decades because of the limitations which they place on land supply for a population growing at about 400 000 people a year - and consequently the rapidly rising real land prices. The more significant the potential votes of the poor have become during the period of democratisation, the more tardy has been the enforcement of subdivision rules.

Turning a blind eye to irregular subdivision may mean lower land prices, but it also results in settlement forms with little road and other access space, no parks, few school sites, minimal or non-existent services and other problems which the approved subdivision process is meant, like our townships board approval system, to avoid. Planners in Sao Paulo must address the difficulties faced by two million people resident in these *loteamentos irregulares*.

By way of stark contrast, many people of middle income in Sao Paulo have increasingly found accommodation in high rise, well serviced buildings, produced by the major construction companies over the past decade or two. Many of these buildings represent conversion to much higher densities in

existing middle class areas of the city - a process of 'verticalisation.'<sup>19</sup> Some new construction of these highly formal urban environments, of course, takes place at the urban fringe - where essentially rural land is converted through the legal system to new complexes of high rise middle class apartments at substantial distances (e.g., 40km in Morumbi) from the central city core. In general, however, by far the greater amount of rural land converted to urban use in recent years has been irregularly converted for use as lower income settlements. Furthermore, the political context is such that the same processes are likely to continue more or less indefinitely.

The key reasons are not far to seek. Not only does the rising relative price of land, especially within convenient distances of the city centre, make single family dwellings increasingly prohibitive in price but costs of insurance policies and of securing one's detached house property have risen to exclude all but the wealthiest from entry into and even continued residence in, single family areas like the Jardim American some 6 kilometres from the centre. While some older upmarket areas have been redeveloped as office zones, most middle income areas are in the midst of a long-established and now very rapid process of conversion to very much higher densities.

This middle class flight to high rise buildings has left large areas of the inner and intermediate parts of the city open to relative decline in property prices and to the inmovement of many poorer people into areas which were formerly solidly middle class. The results include the subdivision of former single family dwellings into tenements; the erection of much additional shelter in backyards; a growing low income proportion of the population in many inner and intermediate city census tracts, called *cortiços*.

In summary, what has happened in Sao Paulo's growth from the South African PWV scale to its immense size today - a period of growth which Johannesburg's wider metropolitan region can expect to approximate over the next 20 years -<sup>20</sup> is that at the periphery, the most significant process of land conversion is by irregular subdivision, while non-ownership forms of tenure predomi-

nant now in the inner zones of the city.

As Sao Paulo, Bogota and other Latin American cities have moved into an era of greater democracy, so control over the process of subdivision has become more and more difficult to enforce. Today a high percentage of these cities' inhabitants live in illegal subdivisions, mainly though not exclusively at the urban periphery. In the Sao Paulo case, it might be argued that land costs to the poor have been substantially reduced by the process of illegal subdivision.

Furthermore it might be argued that the much earlier stage of democratisation in South Africa than in Brazil alters the value of the comparison. However, the implications of a period of democratisation in land and housing markets may begin years before fully enfranchised elections. Gilbert, for example, notes that much change occurred in processes by which poor people gained access to land in Sao Paulo over the period from the late seventies - after the movement towards democratisation had distinctly developed but had not yet reached its culmination in Brazil.<sup>21</sup>

What is most significant, perhaps, is in how planners and politicians in countries such as Brazil have attempted to respond to circumstances which, as argued here, are by no means remote from our prospects.

Planners in Sao Paulo now officially suggest that the zoning scheme, which is not terribly different in its provisions from our town planning schemes, 'reinforces inequality.' To address this position, proposals have been formulated for a new 'master plan', not by way of a spatial proposal but in terms of new principles for relationships between uses and actors in the city's land pattern. The key proposals to control development in relation to available infrastructure while allowing the market to demonstrate the fundamental pattern lie in the definition of a standard floor area ratio (FAR) of 1 for the city as a whole, with the provision that any excess density must be paid for - a form of 'betterment' which would contribute to an urban development fund intended to supply infrastructure for densification where needed, and to aid the improvement of areas suffering from near-total lack of suitable urban infrastructure, such as the

irregular subdivisions and favelas. Specific proposals to address the problems of undesirable impacts in sensitive areas are also included, as well as provisions to transfer development rights from one area to another.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, the present planning proposals for Sao Paulo involve moving away from the 'scheme' approach to development control and to combining the provisions of management of building development with provisions for environmental preservation and for service enhancement. The former divisions in planning approaches - or planning and non-planning approaches - to various areas of the city are thereby being broken down. As with innovative planning in a range of Latin American cities which face problems similar to, or even considerably worse than, our own - in material and political circumstances not wildly removed from ours - there are compelling conceptions of the remaking of planning which arise from this type of experience. They involve flexible policies to shape densification, for example by selling and trading density rights; urbanisation programmes in shack areas through community based organisations; and regularisation programmes and instruments in irregular subdivisions. In short, these are approaches which seek to overcome the fragmented nature of the city in once-colonised middle income countries, and they have much to suggest to the reshaping of South African planning. They may even suggest ways of making planning relevant to the new challenges of the South African urban environment.

The above exposition is not meant to suggest that there is nothing to be gained from an examination of other international experience. For example, from the great variety of control types which can be identified in development control in Europe and North America, some South African authors suggest features of the English precedent system as relevant to our circumstances;<sup>23</sup> one could draw attention to innovative systems for handling of complaints and disputes in land use, through special courts and mediation procedures;<sup>24</sup> the development of new systems for providing 'basic' protections - for health and safety and from environmental nuisance, as recently adopted in Florida, USA;<sup>25</sup> or the development of perfor-

mance criteria as a means of regulating land use.<sup>26</sup>

However, the limits of our very meagre capacities in South Africa, by comparison with wealthier jurisdictions: the limits of the available competencies included: suggest that some of these complex approaches are unlikely to work in this environment. Further research and discussion will be necessary before any suitable models can be suggested in any detail, but perhaps the key points to be made are:

- \* that the issues which confront planning systems in countries such as Brazil are far more similar to ours than those of, say, California - which requires that we critically re-examine what the key issues which confront us are; and
- \* that we are already accumulating a wealth of local experience of mechanisms which can suggest the processes by which our planning systems can be transformed - in dispute resolution committees, negotiation and mediation, for examples - which requires that we turn, after consideration of the relevant issues, to noting the processes which may help to reshape planning in South Africa.

### 3. What are the key issues in reshaping planning frameworks in South Africa?

One of the clearer and more persistent attempts to influence our intellectual appreciation of the challenges facing urban planning comes from Professor David Dewar of the University of Cape Town. At least since the publication of his three-part article 'Urban poverty and city development' in 1984, Dewar has sought to identify the critical issues which he argues planning must confront in order to make a serious contribution to reshaping the cities in efficient, liveable directions. In his most recent published work, Dewar argues for a plan of action to correct some of the ills of the cities, and the issues which he adumbrates are:

- \* the need to compact the cities;
- \* restructure and integrate the city; and
- \* create qualitatively fine spatial environments.<sup>27</sup>

It may be safe to suggest that Dewar's

major issues have broad support among those concerned with the shape of our cities tomorrow. One certainly hears much support expressed for such ideas in conferences, seminars and negotiating fora.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, not terribly much action is yet taking place in attempts to achieve the types of change indicated by these issues. Dewar emphasises the need for a range of urban projects, drawing together public and private actors, in some cases together with communities, to pool resources in ways directed to advancing the three directions of change he identifies. We have as yet few examples of such activity, though the emergence of the Cato Manor Committee, the District 6 project and the Central Johannesburg Partnership suggests that the possibilities may widen.

Some support for Dewar's ideas comes from both the Urban Foundation's publications on 'a new urban future', which to some extent note similar concerns.<sup>29</sup> More significantly the World Bank's three 'urban sector missions' to South Africa, which have examined preliminary questions with a view to eventual funding of projects after the installation of non-racially-based government, isolate remarkably similar issues to those which Dewar mentions - excluding the concern for 'qualitatively fine environments.'

In their two Aides Memoire thus far produced, with a third to follow imminently at the time of writing, the World Bank missions have identified physical separation of city components and associated 'not insignificant inefficiencies ... probably comprising a significant fraction of the GNP' such as 'significant urban transportation costs', 'a depressed housing sector', 'large disparities in income levels', 'alarming fiscal deficits' and 'inefficient bulk infrastructure requirements'.<sup>30</sup> The issues identified in more detail show strong parallels to Dewar's concerns. Perhaps the starkest conclusion offered is that 'the old hierarchy of planning tools is obsolete'.<sup>31</sup>

If substantial agreement about the critical issues exists, an important question for urban planning is whether current initiatives to restructure planning frameworks - including legislation, profession and practice - are based on similar concerns. For this reason it is

worth examining the major initiative concerned with planning legislation, that being conducted under the auspices of Dr CJ van Tonder. Other similar initiatives have generally been placed on hold until the Van Tonder inquiries develop: an example would be the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission's project in this area, begun in 1991 but presently in abeyance.<sup>32</sup>

Dr Van Tonder, who is the Director of Local Government in the Cape Provincial Administration, was appointed by FW de Klerk in 1991 to investigate existing and propose new national township establishment legislation. Later his brief grew to include the entire area of spatial planning. He is engaged to do this work as a private individual, in addition to his normal employment as a civil servant.

Dr Van Tonder's background includes writing a thesis at UCT on land use planning in the Cape, in 1981, which informed his drafting of the Land Use Planning Ordinance for that province which, after much amendment, came into effect in 1986 (now usually referred to by the acronym LUPO). He subsequently wrote a PhD thesis for Stellenbosch, entitled 'A new system of land use administration for South Africa'.<sup>33</sup> His research was informed by travel and interviews in several other jurisdictions, notably New York City, Houston, California, England and Wales, and Israel. Notably absent from his research was any detailed consideration of planning systems in countries of similar GNP to ours. All the other examples come from much wealthier societies.

By early 1992 Dr Van Tonder had produced detailed outlines of his proposed new legislation, and indeed drafts (which I have not seen) had been prepared for a proposed new Act on 'Spatial Ordering'. However, the process of developing this legislation had been placed on hold pending progress towards interim government.<sup>34</sup>

The intended legislation would begin with 'certain principles which, similar to a bill of rights, will have to be interpreted when decisions are taken' - principles which 'should' inform the handling of 'applications for development.' Some do indeed appear to correlate with the types of issues identi-

fied by Dewar, such as those which seek to achieve:

integrated, balanced urban environments with full range of uses and facilities for self-sustaining communities and efficient urban systems, and optimal use in new developments of existing infrastructure and its most economic extension.

The problem would appear to be that while applications supporting these approaches would be favoured, the types of projects which Dewar argues should be undertaken by community-private-public partnerships cannot possibly be achieved unless the planning system becomes very much more enabling of those approaches. There is little in Van Tonder's principles to support the hope that such development will occur under his proposed legislation - rather, the implication is that interventionist planning powers should be restricted and minimised.

One may also find, in Van Tonder's two theses, lists of normative principles which he believes should inform the construction of a new planning system. However, the listed norms would not appear to identify many contradictory forces in South African society. For example, the norms proposed are exclusively supportive of promoting individual home ownership, not rental or communal tenure. They also fail to address the question of accomplishing integration of function in the cities, and would appear to support rather the maintenance of large mono-income-group residential areas. To suggest developing independent communities rather than integrated urban systems could place the emphasis on costly dispersal of pseudo-garden city or Rietfontein<sup>35</sup> types.

The norms proposed do not parallel typical value systems suggested by (a) many community-based organisations in South Africa nor by (b) most planning theorists. For example, under (a) we might suggest that such items as contributing to community development or widening options within the urban system might predominate; while in (b) planning theory, one example of a frequently quoted though by no means universally supported 'norm' would be the Rawlsian principle of maximising justice for the greatest possible number.<sup>36</sup> Both these exam-

ples suggest a more interventionist and more collective approach than the Van Tonder normative principles do.

Planning however is often about the 'mediation of territorial politics' - about power, profit and wealth, not about the achievement of value systems, and the appropriate frame of evaluation of existing systems - or of reference in constructing new ones, if indeed the two frames are to be the same - might be more concerned with evaluation of how each of many sectional interests are affected by, or are likely to be affected by, planning under particular systems.

There is certainly nothing positive in Van Tonder's principles to support the breaking down of existing mono-functional areas, in particular the well-defended low density suburbias of South Africa. The sorts of tools which might facilitate project action to do so seem to be excluded by some of Van Tonder's principles, which rule out financial endowments, planning agreements of at least two types - those requiring low-cost development to balance upmarket development, and those struck on similar lines to endowments but by negotiation rather than fiat; and betterment, or a payment to authority (the State) for the rights conferred by a planning scheme or policy, such as the addition of business rights to a previously residential stand. Carefully used betterment provisions - not necessarily blanket, and perhaps with exemptions in the case of negotiated agreements - might provide a powerful tool in reintegrating our fragmented cities - by for example raising the cost of land ownership in low density but inner city suburbia to high levels. The Sao Paulo solution could not be envisaged in terms of the principles enunciated by Van Tonder. Overall, Van Tonder's principles begin to set out an approach to a **policy** rather than merely the elements of a planning system. While parts of that policy approach would probably be acceptable to many actors, as seen in the overlap with Dewar's concerns, it seems probable that others might actually directly contradict the policy approaches which would flow from different constituencies than those (provincial planning institutions, part of the governing party, and some private property interests) to which Van Tonder must perforce mostly

respond.

The lists of principles quoted here should therefore be subjected to searching critique and debate. One approach is to articulate an alternative set of principles rooted in the central demands of the democratic movement in South Africa. Such an approach tallies with the results of the Houw Hoek workshop held in March 1992 by the planning section of the national local government and planning policy research project (commonly known as Logopop), but would require much more refinement.<sup>37</sup> Some of the principles articulated in that workshop included according priority to deconstructing apartheid, emphasising access and accessibility, maximising efficiency in production and in use of resources, and empowerment through constructing new forms.

The ready acceptance of simplistic notions of future urban form was questioned at that workshop. It was pointed out that arguments for compact, integrated, mixed use forms need to be backed up - or subjected to scrutiny through - considerable calculation of possible costs and benefits - a type of research which is in its infancy in South Africa, but which agencies such as the World Bank will thrust upon us if we fail to undertake our own programmes in this area. The issue is that we simply do not know whether, for example, deconcentrated, freeway-linked, suburban industrial location provides for the greatest productive efficiencies, or whether even if it does that result would contradict the case for concentrated residential location in order to save on servicing costs.<sup>38</sup>

Since the underlying issue for our cities, identified in many forums including the Houw Hoek workshop referred to here, is the pace of economic growth and the extent of reasonably paid employment, we also need to extract lessons from the recent experience of growth facilitation and management in other environments. Indeed, we need to be brutally honest about what the planning issues are - for example, the existence of a vast number of people who cannot afford any kind of decent housing (access) is not something that planners can do much about directly (though it may emphasise the need to make land use deci-

sions as economically efficient as possible). Is District Six really to be the place for the poorest Capetonians? Or must we recognise that the socio-economic profile of Capetonians has changed radically since 1973 - not just because it has changed radically in a 'racial' sense, but because many, many more people, proportionately let alone absolutely, are out of work. Or is the mining land to be the location of the poorest of the Witwatersrand? Here it is appropriate to remind ourselves of a point made in the first section of the paper - that areas like Hillbrow are not the place of the poorest in the city. On one extreme the issues are economic, and on the other, they resemble Dewar's concern for development of the qualitatively fine, truly liveable, really urban, places.

If the issues begin to be defined in this broadening way, we will find that we do not need to exclude concern for developing and indeed improving what we now conceive of as suburbia. Many will want to live in suburbia even when other models are offered - though some will rail against pavilion mentality. Suburbanisation has clearly played a fundamentally important role in various patterns of economic growth, in cities as diverse as Los Angeles and Benoni. To fail to recognise the strong forces at play in that regard would be as foolish as to disregard how much the forces of change at work in our environment have altered in recent years. However, the attempt to fulfil the American dream with IDT subsidies will hardly lead to leafy suburbia, but rather to trashy shack deserts slightly healthier than the many which we already have. Once again, we need careful calculation of costs and benefits - which we can be sure, will be of as much interest to private developers as they will be to spatial planners.

The need is to produce a planning system which can address the widening range of issues, not one which is obsolete, to use the World Bank terminology, before its time. How can such a system become reality in South Africa? Certainly the imposition of a pre-given model will not contribute much to the process. The last section of the paper addresses some of the possibilities of a successful development of new planning frameworks.

#### 4. By what processes can planning frameworks adapt?

As noted earlier, many initiatives have emerged in the recent past in which many South Africans are now engaged in attempting to restructure planning frameworks. Some of these are initiatives generated by local authorities themselves, authorities as diverse as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and the East Rand Metropolitan Transport Board (ORMET). To illustrate, in Cape Town new approaches to metropolitan planning and to the management of land use development have emerged from the proactive work of the City Planner's Department.<sup>39</sup> In Port Elizabeth the Council's Strategic Initiative Group has developed new ways of sorting out implementation problems, particularly in poorly-resourced areas subject to considerable conflict.<sup>40</sup> ORMET has applied itself to developing a number of initiatives not normally undertaken by transport authorities, such as engaging in identifying possible areas for new, lower income residential areas, without assuming that those must be outside the existing urban fabric or even be very large.<sup>41</sup> All these cases, and many more, illustrate that local authorities in South Africa are able to contribute to the reshaping of planning in ways which may be appropriate to the key issues facing the society.

But it seems less likely that they, or any existing authority, could do so on their own. Just as the Cape Town initiatives have run into difficulties on the community front, or the Port Elizabeth team has faced severe difficulties in the face of existing legal structures, or the ORMET approach in the end suffered from a lack of conceptual creativity - concluding that there were no opportunities since the definitions of the problems and needs was so rigid - so it becomes clear that more interactive environments will be vital to the reworking of planning frameworks.

It is for this reason that the experience of some local negotiating fora becomes so compelling, for in those structures official and unofficial players are brought together and begin to face the real difficulties of matching their concerns and capacities in new ways.

One such forum, the Greater Benoni Joint Negotiating Forum, which brings

together the civics from the major townships (Wattville and Daveyton), the Provincial Administration, servicing agencies and the Benoni Council, demonstrates the extent to which progress can be made. In bringing services to Tamboville, a land invasion adjacent to Wattville but on land owned by, and under the jurisdiction of, Benoni, the GBJNF has intervened in ways which saw a measure of security extended to what remains a strictly illegal settlement; a planning process for the actual layout and servicing of the 600 odd sites which demonstrated a very high degree of community participation, to the degree that several iterations were considered in detail by community meetings; and a process in which it has at length become plain and been agreed that reorganisation of departments and staffing of authorities, amongst other matters fundamental to the actual practice of planning, must be considered in detail.<sup>42</sup>

At a still broader scale, the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber has also managed - despite all its difficulties - to make substantial progress on the revision of planning processes. One of the spurs to this progress came through the crisis which occurred in the conflict between civics, widely represented in the CWMC, and the Provincial Administration - a founding party - over the development of Rietfontein. The suspension of this development has been referred to above; it was conditional on the undertaking of a detailed investigation of land availability in and around the central Witwatersrand. This study, which has now been completed, was conducted through a highly unusual process, funded by the RSC (an observer to the CWMC) and based in the offices of its private consultants, but supervised by a committee representing most parties to the Chamber and carried out not only by the consultants but also by two appointees of the civic associations of Johannesburg, who worked at the RSC's expense in the offices of the consultants. Thus not only was a widely legitimate result arrived at, but the process itself was shaped by the direct participation of previously excluded parties and demonstrates that community involvement can now begin to advance way beyond the tepid exercises in attempting to secure approval of

plans, to the participation of communities, when suitably resourced and empowered to do so, in the process itself.<sup>43</sup>

Further, the CWMC is now engaged in discussions about the reorganisation of the metropolitan planning process, in which - without undercutting the immediate responsibilities of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Planning Department, which has direct responsibilities to the RSC - a new approach to the genesis of understanding the planning environment, production of a vision of the future, organisation of resources and involvement in the process - especially on the part of communities - is being negotiated.

From this initial account, it may be discerned that the experience of restructuring planning under the auspices of various forums for the negotiation of local government structures has begun to make significant advances in South Africa. A new political environment is creating opportunities for planning, notwithstanding the constraints which the social and material circumstances impose and the considerable uncertainties which face us.

Among the concerns which will face the adaptation of planning to our new circumstances will be the staffing of our planning agencies, both public and private. Perhaps the most urgent issue concerns the underrepresentation of black planners, about which much more could be said - and about which some black planners are beginning to comment.<sup>44</sup> Overcoming this obvious form of division in our society will require much effort, and possibly even foreign assistance. Many aspects of planning ideology will have to be altered in the process, not least the very notion that our cities comprise 'first and third world elements' - a theme of the 1992 SAITRP conference - since, as Sharp puts it, such a representation 'serves political purposes'<sup>45</sup> which could hardly be said to accord with the principles and visions which inform much of our discussion of the planning future - concerns with integration, overcoming division, and so forth.

In conclusion, the paper has summarised the issues which confront the construction of a planning framework which, in an uncertain environment, can succeed in generating a vision of

the future, a legal system, an organisational structure and a method which will lead towards more effective urban places. The critical thread which informs the paper is that our understanding of our changing cities must be deep, our conception of the role of urban planning broad and our appreciation of the difficulties of accomplishing 'the better city of tomorrow' profound, if urban planners are to make a signal contribution to the shaping of the emerging South African city.

Our planning has long been narrowed by a certain tunnel vision: a vision affecting process, profession, legality and all other aspects of the process. Perhaps aware of the problems which were already emerging, EH Waugh, a man who perhaps more than any other had initiated the first large planning exercise under new legislation, noted in 1934 that representation in planning

exercises should be as broad as possible.<sup>46</sup>

In Waugh's comments, made nearly sixty years ago, lies a message of hope for many planning initiatives of today, for they definitely do represent many interests. Bodies such as the Physical Development Working Group of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, and other examples in diverse regions of the country, bring together officials from many public authorities, development agencies, business organisations and civic associations from poor communities, in efforts to contribute to reshaping the cities at this critical time of change in South Africa. Their achievements, though limited thus far, already demonstrate the wisdom of Waugh's words. Nevertheless the possibility exists that these optimistic efforts will result in new but inappropriate forms

of planning. The lesson of the WJTPC, above all else, is that tendencies to narrow the field of planning vision should be resisted at all levels - structures, staffing, method and profession included.<sup>47</sup>

If a wider vision can be adopted we may yet realise a planning framework which copes with - or better, helps to shape creatively - all aspects of our city form ... indeed, a planning system and practice which overcomes the division into 'first' and 'third worlds' which pollutes the mind of planning and the structure of our cities today.

\* This paper was adjudged as the best paper presented at the SAITRP Conference held in Port Elizabeth, October 1992 and is reprinted here at the request of the Council of the SAITRP.

#### NOTES

1. The Administrator of the Transvaal has indicated that this type of settlement does not constitute an illegal township under relevant legislation. However, there may be little real difference at least in early phases between conversion of rural land to rented residential and illegal subdivision for sale.
2. Managing Directors of Schachat Cullum group and of Gough Cooper homes. quoted in *Business Day* 03.02.1992, p. 1.
3. See Reports issued by Transvaal Provincial Administration in 1992: Report on the investigation into identification of land for low cost housing in the northern part of the Central Witwatersrand, Midrand... for the permanent settlement of the Zevenfontein community, PG Waanders, March 1992; and Investigation into urbanisation in the area north-west of the Central Witwatersrand, with specific reference to low-cost housing, PG Waanders, April 1992.
4. 'This is nothing like conditions in most high density inner city neighbourhoods in American cities', remarked one foreign planning scholar on a visit to Hillbrow in August 1992. Detailed information may be obtained from O Crankshaw, et al, *Report on 3000 household inner city survey for Johannesburg City Council* (Johannesburg: Environmental Studies Division, National Institute for Personnel Research, Human Sciences Research Council, 1992); cf. also A Morris, personal communication regarding survey in progress, August 1992.
5. cf. results of survey of Zevenfontein residents contained in Waander's report of March 1992.
6. For these observations I am grateful to Japie Hugo and other staff of the City Planning Department, Johannesburg.
7. I am grateful to Jocelyn Maker and third year B.Sc. (TRP) students at University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for these points. See also *Sunday Times* Metro section (Johannesburg), 30.08.1992, p. 3, 'The Hidden People'.
8. A Mabin, Origins of segregatory urban planning in South Africa 1900-1940, *Planning History* 13(3) 1991, pp. 8-16; A Mabin and D Smit, Reconstructing South Africa's cities 1900-2000: a prospectus (or, A cautionary tale), *Occasional Paper* 3, Programme for Planning Research (Proplan), Univ of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, May 1992; S Parnell, Creating racial privilege: South African public health and town planning legislation, 1910-1919, paper presented to 8th International Historical Geography Conference, Vancouver, August 1992; A Mabin, Comprehensive segregation: the origins of the Group Areas Act and its planning apparatuses, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(2) 1992, pp. 405-429.
9. For elaboration of these points, see A Mabin, Changing patterns of urban expansion in South Africa, *Planning* 120 (1992) pp. 109-114.
10. *Report of the Committee to investigate the administration of areas which are becoming urbanised but which are not under local government control* (Thornton), UG 8-1940.
11. P Maylam, The rise and decline of urban apartheid in South Africa, *African Affairs* 89 (354) (1990), pp. 57-84.
12. A Bertaud, World Bank, Washington DC, personal communication, July 1992. See also, for background, Fitzwilliam Memorandum 1991 International research workshop: land value changes and the impact of urban policy upon land valorization processes in developing countries, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, July 1991, in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 15(4) 1991, pp. 623-628, and M Mattingley, Urban land use controls, land prices and low income housing, paper discussed at Fitzwilliam College research workshop July 1991.
13. B Myrdal and Development Action Group, Towards an enabling framework for the formulation of an appropriate system of development control, unpubl. paper, DAG, Cape Town, February 1992.
14. Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town (CA), 3/ELN 137, 50/1148/9 vol. 1, TB Floyd of Bowling, Floyd and Richardson in 'Preliminary Report on Proposed Group Areas' to the Mayor and Councillors of East London, 06/07/1953.
15. cf. changes in titles of draft policy documents of TPA from 'Bykomende grond vir Swart dorpsdigting', 07.05.1990, to 'Bykomende grond vir lae koste behuising', November 1991. Documents in personal possession of the author.
16. e.g., A Mabin, The Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee 1932-1940: of rigour and morris, paper presented at Planning History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, August 1992.
17. cf. J Masser and R Williams (eds), *Learning from Other Countries: the Cross-National Dimension in Urban Policy-Making* (Norwich: GeoBooks, 1986).
18. For elaboration of arguments and information see A Mabin, Is this our future? Learning from Sao Paulo, *Urban Forum* 2(2), 1991, pp. 81-89; R Rolnik, L Kowarik and N Somekh, *Sao Paulo: Crise e Mudanca* (Sao Paulo: Brasiliense/Prefeitura de Sao Paulo, 1990); N Somekh, Transformacoes na legislacao de zonamento em Sao Paulo: uma perspectiva historica, and HH Barreto, Terra urbana e programas publicos de habitacao, papers presented to the Bartlett International Summer School, Sao Paulo, 1991.
19. The term if from Somekh, Transformacoes...
20. Urban Foundation, *Urban Debate 2010: 1: Population Trends* (Johannesburg: Urban Foundation, 1990).
21. A Gilbert, Third world cities: part one: housing, infrastructure and servicing, review forthcoming in *Urban Studies* 1992.
22. Secretaria de Municipal de Planejamento de Sao Paulo, *Plano Diretor de Sao Paulo: Ao Alcance de Todos* (Sao Paulo: City of Sao Paulo, 1991).
23. cf. Myrdal, Towards an enabling framework...
24. Dr C J van Tonder's proposals, of which more below, for new legislation, include proposals for a special court to resolve disputes borrowed from international experience; the key problem here may be the prohibitively expensive legalism which tends to surround many such processes.
25. cf. B Stephenson, Saving Eden: the merging of ecology and planning in Florida, paper presented to ACSPAESOP conference, Oxford, July 1991.
26. V Watson, The promotion and regulation of multifunctional urban land use: international trends and practices (Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town, 1992).
27. D Dewar, South African cities: a framework for intervention, *Architecture SA* 5.6 (1992) pp. 16-19. See also D Dewar and R Uytendogaard, *South African Cities: a Manifesto for Change* (Cape Town: Urban Problems Research Unit, UCT, 1991), and D Dewar, Urban poverty and city development: some perspectives and guidelines, *Architecture SA* 3.4, 5.6 and 7.8 (1984), pp. 27-29, 48-51 and 49-52.
28. cf. discussions in the author's presence at SA institute for Housing conference, East London, August 1992; SAPOA seminar in Johannesburg, May 1992; IDASA Port Elizabeth City Futures conference, March 1992; and frequently expressed views at the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.
29. Urban Foundation, *Policies for a New Urban Future* series (Urban Foundation, Johannesburg).
30. World Bank Urban Sector Reconnaissance Missions to South Africa, Aides Memoire, dated 10.05.1991 and 06.12.1991 (Washington: The World Bank, 1991), quotations from the latter, pp. 4, etc.
31. Aide Memoire 06.12.1991, Section II Part 2, p. 3.
32. cf. *Monitor* (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission), 1992, and Interview with R Pistorius by A Mabin, *Pietermaritzburg* 22.01.1992.
33. CJ van Tonder, An evaluation of land use planning in the Cape Province, unpubl. MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1981, and A new system of land use administration for South Africa, unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ of Stellenbosch, 1990.
34. Dr CJ van Tonder, Interview with A Mabin, Johannesburg 10 June 1992.
35. Rietfontein refers to the large area of proposed informal development south of Johannesburg, which - according to the relevant planning reports - was intended to be developed precisely as an independent community - a rather hopeless proposition for an area located where it is. Cf. Memorandum on planning for residential development in the 'Rietfontein' area, prepared by A Mabin and L Royston, Programme for Planning Research, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for meeting of the Joint Technical Committee of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, 11 November 1991.
36. cf. S McConnel, *Theories for Planning* (London: Heinemann, 1981), esp. pp. 173-197.
37. Programme for Planning Research, *Prospects for urban planning and reconstruction*, Report to Logopop (Proplan, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, forthcoming October 1992).
38. For a British example of the importance of posing such questions, see MJ Breheny, Sustainable development and urban form: the contradictions of the compact city, paper presented to ACSPAESOP conference, Oxford, July 1991.
39. Voluminous information is available from the Department. Also sourced from discussions between the Department and A Mabin, 13.03.1992.
40. J Horenz, interview with A Mabin, Port Elizabeth, 05.03.1992.
41. R McKinnon, interview with A Mabin, 17.02.1992.
42. The author's experience of this process comes from occasional limited involvement with the Forum, a student-based research project and extensive discussions with the Wattville civic and with its service organisation, Planact.
43. See *Reports of the Land Availability Study* (Johannesburg: CWMC, August 1992): the discussion is informed by the author's chairing of the Land Task Team under whose auspices the study was undertaken.
44. L Gwagwa, The role of the African planner in South Africa: a short history, paper presented at Planning History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, August 1992.
45. J Sharp, Two worlds in one country: 'first world' and 'third world' in South Africa, in E Boonzaier and J Sharp (eds) *South African Keywords: the Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), pp. 111-121.
46. Previous city engineer of Johannesburg, past president of the Transvaal Town Planning Association, member of the Townships Board and former member of the Transvaal Town Planning Commission of 1929.
47. Amongst other things this is a theme of the monograph which Dan Smit and I are presently writing. Thanks to Inga Molzen, Tshespo Mashini, Japie Hugo, Lauren Royston, Mark Swilling, Lawrence Boya, Pascal Moloi, Johann van der Merwe, Thulani Goabashe, Ahmed Vawda, Graham Reid, Dan Smit and others for contributions to this piece - although the responsibility remains my own - and to the National Local Government and Planning Policy Research Project, University of the Western Cape, and the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, for funding.