

## Conclusion

It thus appears that the decisions to provide a developmental input and 'regional centre' at Saldanha and a "growth point" at Mamre face severe implementation difficulties and may well aggravate already severe regional problems.

At the heart of the problem is the fact that there is a fundamental conflict between the concepts of a 'growth point' and a 'decentralization centre' in the way in which they are being applied in the Western Cape. The problem is confused by terminological difficulties.

The 'regional centre' concept at Saldanha is similar to the 'growth point' concept, in the international meaning of the term — the introduction of a developmental input at a particular point, with the potential for overcoming regional problems and improving regional and sub-regional levels of welfare.

The 'growth point' at Mamre is in fact a decentralization point and is primarily concerned with the redistribution of economic and population growth from an existing metropolitan area.

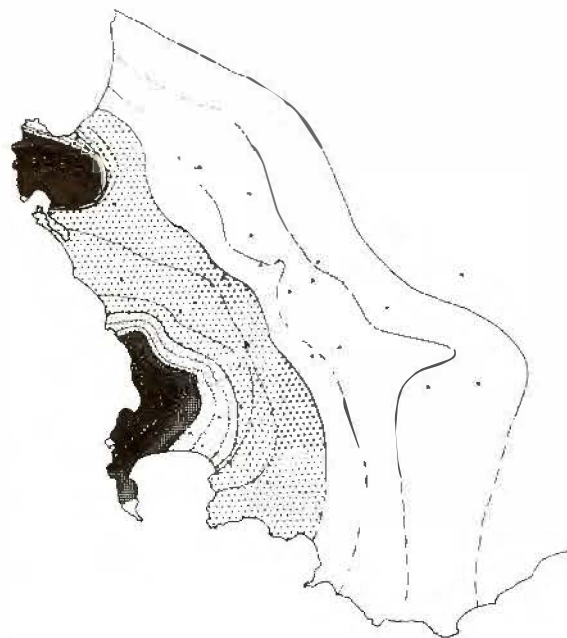
The concepts are not inherently conflicting, but they become conflicting when pursued in isolation. The Mamre concept is not primarily concerned with regional problems, but with metropolitan and ideological concerns. However, the implementing mechanisms being applied to achieve these limited ends are likely to be strong enough to siphon off many of the intended benefits of the Saldanha scheme. If this occurs, it is likely to worsen, and not alleviate regional problems. There is thus an urgent need to co-ordinate the ends of decentralization and growth. This can only be achieved by concentrating the mechanisms designed to achieve both on one centre.

From the point of view of regional problems and processes, a growth point at Saldanha has a higher potential for success than one at Mamre. However, there is no guarantee that a growth point will emerge, simply through the introduction of a raw material, some basic processing activities, and the application of certain incentives. Moreover, even if Saldanha did grow to a size of one million people, it will not succeed in overcoming the basic problem of the Western Cape, which is the primacy of Cape Town. The iso-potential model shows the establishment of a fairly weak outlier of dominance around the pole but the basic pattern remains unchanged. (Fig. 5).

If the growth point idea is to succeed, it must be built into a comprehensive regional development strategy. The base of the pole must be carefully planned and implemented; contradictions between Mamre and Saldanha must be eliminated and developmental and infrastructural patterns throughout the entire region must be considered in the light of diffusion and other processes.

Finally, it must be emphasised that physical planning actions *per se* will not be sufficient to overcome regional problems and raise levels of welfare. Policy decisions which have a fundamental effect on the distribution of income and other factors must be taken concomitantly (Dewar and Cort, 1974).

Figure 5  
ISOPOTENTIAL MAP  
All towns as at 1970 except Saldanha — 800 000



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## Urban Renewal and the Needs of the Coloured Community — Part One

— Background Paper prepared for a symposium organised by the Cape Chamber of Commerce, 6th November 1973. —

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### Introduction

In view of the problems associated with the city of today, there is a tendency to decry city life as unnatural, undesirable and degrading, and a recent phenomenon in civilization. This is very far from the truth. Urban man and urban life has, for a very long time been central to civilization and human existence.

Yet in recent times there have emerged new types of urban problems of a magnitude and quality not encountered previously. Furthermore, these problems are not universally the same. According to Philip M. Hauser of Chicago University,

"Urban problems and the problems of rapid urbanisation are quite different in the economically advanced and the economically underdeveloped areas of the world respectively. In the economically advanced nations, urbanization is both an antecedent and a consequence of high levels of living. It both makes possible and is a manifestation of great increases in division of labour and specialization, in technology, in skill, and in productivity. In the economically underdeveloped areas, it does not usually have these properties. There, large concentrations of urban population are only to a

minor degree symbols of man's mastery over nature — they represent more the transfer of underemployment and poverty from an overpopulated rural countryside to an urban setting. In consequence, the social, economic, and technological problems of rapid urbanisation must be considered separately for the underdeveloped and the developed areas of the globe respectively" (P.M. Hauser: "The Social, Economic and Technological Problems of Rapid Urbanisation", in B.F. Hazelitz and W.E. Moore: *Industrialization and Society*, 1963, p. 201.)

What, then, are the most important problems under circumstances of rapid urbanisation in economically underdeveloped and advanced areas of the world respectively?

The problems identified by Hauser in the essay referred to above, may be summarised with additions as follows:

## 1. Physical problems:

### (i) Underdeveloped Areas.

The decadence of the urban environment, as is evidenced by shanty towns and tenement slums; inadequate urban services, including housing, water supply, sewage, utilities and transport; uncontrolled land use; excessive population densities; deficient educational and recreational facilities; and marketing services; a deteriorating urban environment.

### (ii) Advanced Areas

The need for urban renewal and urban maintenance; urban blight, slums, obsolescence, substandard housing; road congestion, (add: Pollution).

## 2. Social Problems:

### (i) Underdeveloped Areas

Problems associated with the transition from the traditional to urban society; the adjustment of the in-migrant to urban living; problem of providing vocational training; (add: high crime rates, lack of community structure, violence, etc.).

### (ii) Advanced Areas

Intergroup relations; provision of urban services; local government structure; role of government.

South Africa occupies a complex position somewhere between the advanced and the underdeveloped areas. In some respects we are in line with the advanced areas, while in other respects our position is similar to those in underdeveloped areas. The result is that we are simultaneously confronted by both sets of problems, and have to deal on the one hand with the problems typical of urbanisation in advanced areas. At the same time we are also faced with the physical, economic, social and political problems typical of urbanisation in underdeveloped areas.

In the advanced countries urban growth, and especially urban concentration in growing megapoli has in recent times been largely a function of the high economic growth rates in such urban centres. In the rest of the world, there has recently, as was indicated above, also been a similar tendency, but due to a different cause. Here, urbanisation has largely been due to population pressures in the rural areas.

In South Africa, we are subject to both sets of forces. On the one hand, Whites and a section of the rest of our population are being drawn to the metropolitan centres by economic forces of concentration. On the other hand, more and more people, especially Coloureds and Africans, are being forced off the rural areas by population pressures.

Recent experience has also proved that the large metropolitan areas in an industrialising country such as South Africa are the generators of economic growth. In our own case, the almost disastrous effect of efforts to limit the economic growth of such centres at the end of the sixties by means of a strict application of the Physical Planning Act has proved this beyond any doubt. While the positive value of economic decentralisation is universally accepted and pursued, it is clear that continued economic growth must at the same time be allowed and planned for in the existing industrial centres.

The position in the Cape, and more particularly in the Cape Town metropolitan area, must be viewed against this background.

The Cape Town metropolitan area has grown more rapidly than any of the other areas, but primarily as a result of the very high growth rate of its large Coloured population. Here, the growth rate of the White population has been well below the general growth rate of urban and metropolitan White populations.

This is partly due to a low rate of natural increase, but also to the fact that the Cape has not been able to draw White in-migrants at the same rate as the metropolitan complexes of Transvaal and Natal. The White population of the Cape area increased by only 24% in the inter-sensus period, compared to a 34,9% increase in the Durban-Pinetown area and a 34,4% increase in the PWV metropolitan area.

On the other hand, the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula increased by a massive 43,3% during the same period, compared to a total national Coloured increase of 33,7%. From this follows that there must have been a very large in-migration of Coloured persons into the area. In real numbers, the inter-census (60-70) increase of Coloured persons in the region amounted to 181 071 persons. My own calculation is that at least 45 000\* of these ( $\pm 25\%$ ) were due to gains in in-migrants. The overwhelming majority of such migrants probably had no other assets than their potential earning capacity. To this should be added the increase of 45 110 in the number of Africans in the region, and of 2 342 in the number of Asians. Reports and observations indicate that the rate of in-migration of Coloured persons have been increasing rapidly since the time of the 1970-census, and there appears to be no reason to assume that this will be reversed in the near future. An analysis of the census returns according to age and sex reveals that a very significant proportion of them consist of young female adults — particularly between the ages of 10 and 29. This is strictly in accordance with what can be expected in terms of demographical knowledge concerning the phenomenon of urbanisation.

The Cape Peninsula therefore evinces the population growth pattern typical of city growth in underdeveloped areas, i.e. a very high rate of increase in that section of the population with a relatively low socio-economic standing and therefore unable to make an equitable contribution to the provision of the social, cultural, physical and economic infrastructure required to cope with the needs of a rapidly growing population. The responsibility for the provision of social services, housing, education and cultural and recreational facilities must therefore increasingly be shouldered by the public sector under circumstances where those for whom this provision has to be made cannot contribute directly in significant measure to the costs of these facilities.

A very large proportion of the total population of the Cape Town Metropolitan area is in such a position. As was shown above, Whites constitute only 34,5% of the total population, and this ratio is declining as a result of the slow growth rate of the Whites in comparison to that of the rest of the population. The generally low economic standing of these other groups in comparison to that of the Whites is shown by the fact that in 1970 the median incomes of Whites and Coloured persons in the region were as follows (taking into consideration only those individuals with a reported income at the time of the 1970-census):

White males	: R2939
White females	: R1295
Coloured males	: R 755
Coloured females	: R 404

It should further be noted that 60,84% of the Coloured population were reported to have no income, as compared to only 48,75% of the White population. This indicated the high dependency ratio of the Coloured population, implying a low potential for economic and social upgrading and a low propensity to save and thus to contribute to the capital-formation required for an expansion of the economy of the region in order to cater for the fast-growing population.

It must further be expected that the population of the region will continue to grow very rapidly for the foreseeable future. There are indications that the birth rate among the Coloured population has started to decline significantly as family planning is being implemented. However, since the infant

\* This estimate is based on the reasonable assumption that the rate of natural increase for the region was somewhat lower during the inter-census period than that of the Coloured population of the Republic. If we assume that the rate of natural increase was the same as that of the Republic, the number of migrants was 39 262.

mortality rate is still almost unreasonably high and is therefore bound to decline significantly, especially since health services are being expanded rapidly, this should in the medium term counteract the effect of a decline in the birth rate. Furthermore, there are indications that the rate of influx into the area will in short term, at least, increase rather than decrease. The only factor which could alter the situation is the Sishen-Saldanha development. However, it should now be clear to anyone that this scheme will not alter the situation significantly during the present decade. The ore export scheme will, except during the construction period, not require significant labour once it comes into operation, and will not in itself generate much growth. \*\* Other schemes, such as the proposed ship-building yards and the proposed ore-reduction plant, have yet to be decided upon, and will take a number of years to become a reality, once agreed upon. Furthermore, the relative proximity of Saldanha to the well-established Cape Town area will undoubtedly result in a spill-over of much of the growth generated at Saldanha into the Cape Town area.

Finally, note should be taken of the proposed Mamre-Darling complex for Coloured people. Apart from the fact that its location is very near to the Cape Peninsula, its ability to draw people will depend upon the economic opportunities offered in the area. Except for a limited amount of light industry, it will have to look to either Saldanha or to the Cape Peninsula for economic opportunities for its population. At present, virtually the whole of the economically active population of Mamre are employed in the Peninsula, and transport is provided by a private bus company. If a large population is to be settled at Mamre as commuters to Cape Town, considerable changes — at very great expense — will have to be effected in our transport system. However, there is a serious shortage of accommodation in the Cape Peninsula and adjacent areas, as will be shown below. If the Mamre-Darling scheme is to be implemented while the expansion of provision in the Greater Cape Town area is retarded, it may have the effect of siphoning off some of the expected population increase in the area mentioned last. To do this would, however, be most inadvisable, since it will add to the already heavy burden of passenger transportation, since those to be accommodated here will have to work primarily in the Cape Peninsula.

In view of the preceding it would not be unreasonable to assume that current population growth rates will be maintained at least for the present decade. On this assumption, the White and Coloured \*\*\* populations of the Cape Peninsula can be expected to grow as follows:

	Whites	Coloureds
May 1970	378 505	598 952
December 1973	402 881	686 653
December 1975	416 833	739 788
December 1980	452 862	891 318

The White population will by 1980 form an even smaller proportion of the total population than in 1970. The major implication of this is that a rapid upgrading of the occupational level of the Coloured population will have to be implemented if the economic growth rate of the region is to be maintained. Developments during the very recent past indicate that this is already happening at an increasing rate. As will be shown below, this in itself has significant implications for urban renewal and planning.

#### Ecological Structure:

Cape Town, as a relatively old urban settlement with an early history as the primary port of entry into the evolving Southern Africa, developed an ecological structure typical of harbour cities. This consists of a major central business district in close approximation to the port, which is also the point of termination of the transport and communication network. As industry started to develop, industrial areas came to be located

close to this nexus, with industrial and white collar workers being accommodated in close proximity to this nexus. A gradual expansion occurred along the major communication and transport lines from the central nexus.

On the one hand there was an extension along the seafront around the Peninsula. On the other side of the central business district, V shaped development occurred originally, one leg of the V extending in a southerly direction eventually to link up with Simonstown on the other side of the peninsula. The other leg which developed at a later stage, extends in a northerly direction towards what is now Bellville, where a secondary split has recently developed, one line heading through Kraaifontein towards Paarl and the other through Kuilsrivier in the Strand-Somerset West direction.

While recent commercial and industrial development tended to cluster along these main lines, residential areas arose further away along the main lines, again with working-class residents originally in close proximity to the industrial and commercial clusters.

During the past two decades, a radical change has been implemented in this pattern. The huge conglomeration of Coloured people are, according to the pattern of urban and township development at present being unfolded in the area, largely being concentrated on the Cape Flats between the northern and southern suburbs of the metropolitan area. Already thousands of households have been accommodated in this area, and large and growing residential areas are emerging. This pattern of urban development was largely accelerated as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The latest legislation relating to local government implies that this pattern of segregation as between the various racial groups is to be extended to the area of local government, and envisages the involvement of Coloured local authorities. The zoning of land for industrial and other purposes in the Peninsula is, in terms of the Group Areas Act, being executed in such a way that industrial activities — whether they be the result of White or Coloured enterprise — will largely draw its labour from this emerging Coloured urban conglomerate.

From the above it follows that already a very definite pattern of residential settlement and industrial location has evolved for the Peninsula, which allows for residential separation as between White and Coloured, but aims at locating industry strategically in proximity to especially the Coloured residential areas. The residential relocation of especially the Coloured population is of course not occurring without a certain amount of strain and hardship for both employees and employers. Established industrial enterprises have in some cases experienced labour problems as a result of the relocation of workers to newly established residential areas, and inadequate transport facilities and added transport costs have added to the hardships endured by employees. Research has shown that the program of resettlement has been one of the factors contributing to high labour turnover rates, loss of production due to late arrivals at work and absenteeism. The social structure of communities which had been uprooted has been destroyed, while the layout and design as well as the absence of a social infrastructure in the new housing estates and townships has not been beneficial for the development of new community structures.

Much less clarity exists with reference to the future of commerce under this emerging pattern. At present, commercial, financial and services activities in the Peninsula are congregated mainly along the central urban thoroughfares extending from the heart of the central business district of Cape Town through on the one hand the southern and on the other hand the northern suburbs. The newly emerging Coloured urban concentration, located largely between the two arms of the V on the Cape Flats has hardly yet shown signs of the development of a centre of commercial, financial and service activities of its own, and are at present only huge sprawling dormitories. This, of course, is not due to a lack of enterprise on the part of the business community of the Peninsula, but is primarily a function of the restrictions of the Group Areas Act, which prohibits new white enterprise within these Coloured areas. However, considerable expansion of business activities on appropriately zoned sites bordering on these Coloured residential areas are emerging. This is a poor and inadequate substitute for a proper central downtown business district which forms ecologically the hub of any urban settlement, but it serves at the same time to combat the possibility of such development.

\*\* This assessment has now been confirmed by the Syfrets-UAL sponsored study of the Bureau of Economic Research, University of Stellenbosch.

\*\*\* In view of their small numbers, no calculations are made for Asians. In the case of Africans, administrative controls over their freedom of movement renders projections relatively meaningless.



The policy of separate development envisages, so we have been told, the development of fullscale and diversified separate urban settlements for Whites and Coloureds. In a metropolitan complex such as the Peninsula this implies in fact the evolution of so-called "double-cities" side by side to one another. The established economic and ecological structure of the city, however, militates very strongly against such development. The extent to which industrial decentralisation through borderarea development in our country is being countered by the economic advantages of the established large industrial centres in our country should serve to illustrate the difficulties to be expected in developing fullscale "double-cities". The problem is compounded further by the fact that the Coloured population are much less advanced than the White group at virtually all levels. Furthermore, the development of a fullscale "double-city" would imply a large-scale withdrawal of Coloured manpower as well as buying power from the established commercial and industrial centres in the metropolis. The implications of this for the economy of the region can hardly be conceptualised and is at this stage virtually incalculable.

On the other hand, a degree of commercial and industrial development in the dormitories must evolve, as has happened in the expanding White suburbs. All local communities require a certain degree of economic services and balanced urban development simply requires that the present formulae for the stimulation of such development must be amended to allow for more rapid growth.

Apart from purely economic forces, the planning and provision in these dormitory areas appear also to have militated against the development of a balanced economic infrastructure. An analysis of the situation will show that with the possible exception of Athlone, hardly any provision was made in these townships for proper modern shopping centres. It would appear that there has been up till now a tendency to approach the planning and development of these areas in terms of a housing scheme concept rather than anything else. Quite clearly a complete "re-think" on all aspects of the whole issue is overdue.

The zoning of land use in urban areas is generally regarded as one of the primary instruments to attain a rational location of people and activities. In South Africa, the Group Areas Act adds another dimension to this instrumentation. A review of the history of Group Area delimitation will indicate that general assumptions have been made with regard to the kinds of activities in which particular population groups are mainly involved. In the case of the Coloured people, an examination of Group Areas allocation in the centres of main concentration for this group indicates that the assumption was that this population group is and will continue to be primarily involved in industrial activities, and largely as employees.

Since, especially in the Western Cape, the Coloured population traditionally did provide the main source of labour for industry, it follows that the location of at least some Coloured residential areas in reasonable proximity to industrial areas, was a reasonable and sound planning practice in a early phase.

While this is true, it should at the same time be noted that the economic structure of especially the Western Cape has in recent times, and especially during the immediate past, undergone dramatic changes.

This is a function on the one hand of the fact that the growth rate of the White population of the area has tended to slow down considerably under circumstances of a steady, though not spectacular, economic expansion. On the other hand, the economy of South Africa has in recent years tended to modernise at an increasing rate. Economic modernisation calls for a rapid expansion of job opportunities in the technical, commercial, administrative, professional and semi-professional fields. This has resulted not only in a rapid upgrading of the general occupational standing of the White sector of the population, but has also opened up increasing numbers of such types of job opportunities in these fields for especially Coloured workers.

It is noteworthy that such types of job opportunities everywhere tend to be located in and around the central business and administrative districts of major urban centres. This has led to the tendency for the workers in these fields to concentrate on finding accommodation on the outskirts of these central areas, resulting in the emergence of high-density middle and lower-middle class accommodation developing in such areas.

It appears that these processes were not fully understood and/or anticipated at the time when the basic patterns of Group Areas were delimited, especially in the Cape Metropolitan area.

The net effect of this has been that, while Coloured residential areas have increasingly been located in favourable juxtaposition vis-a-vis industrial areas, inadequate provision was made for the residential location of the rapidly increasing masses of middle and lower-middle class white-collar Coloured workers. Specifically in the central Cape Town area, only Schotse Kloof (Malay quarters), Walmer (as yet undeclared) and District Six are areas which on the basis of their nature and previous history, could possibly be considered for this purpose. Schotse Kloof has been redeveloped to maintain its historical character; Walmer Estate houses a stable middle class community and is not due for early redevelopment.

This leaves only District Six, which is in the final stage of preparation for redevelopment as a White area. It is clear from early planning that at least 50 000 and possibly a much higher number of people can be accommodated in this area.

The central business district of Cape Town is suffering increasingly from congestion resulting from large numbers of increasingly Coloured workers having to commute to and from work, thus making the area less and less attractive to the public on whose support this area is dependent. It is therefore essential that urgent reconsideration be given to the residential location of such workers in relation to their place of work, and that in this regard specific attention be given to the stifling effect of Group Area Delimitations on the dynamics of the economic structure of especially larger urban areas such as Cape Town. As a specific recommendation it is proposed that urgent consideration be given to the possibility of rezoning District Six or part thereof for occupation by Coloured persons, and to its redevelopment as an area for high and medium density occupation suitable for white-collar workers.

An added but equally important result of such rezoning, will be to make available an area within reach of central Cape Town where social amenities can be provided for the rapidly growing number of Coloured white-collar workers in this area, for whom at present hardly any amenities are available within reasonable access from their place of work.

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The second part of this article, dealing primarily with the housing problem, will appear in the next issue of this journal.

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