

# **The language game of South African urban and regional planning: A cognitive mapping from the past into the future**

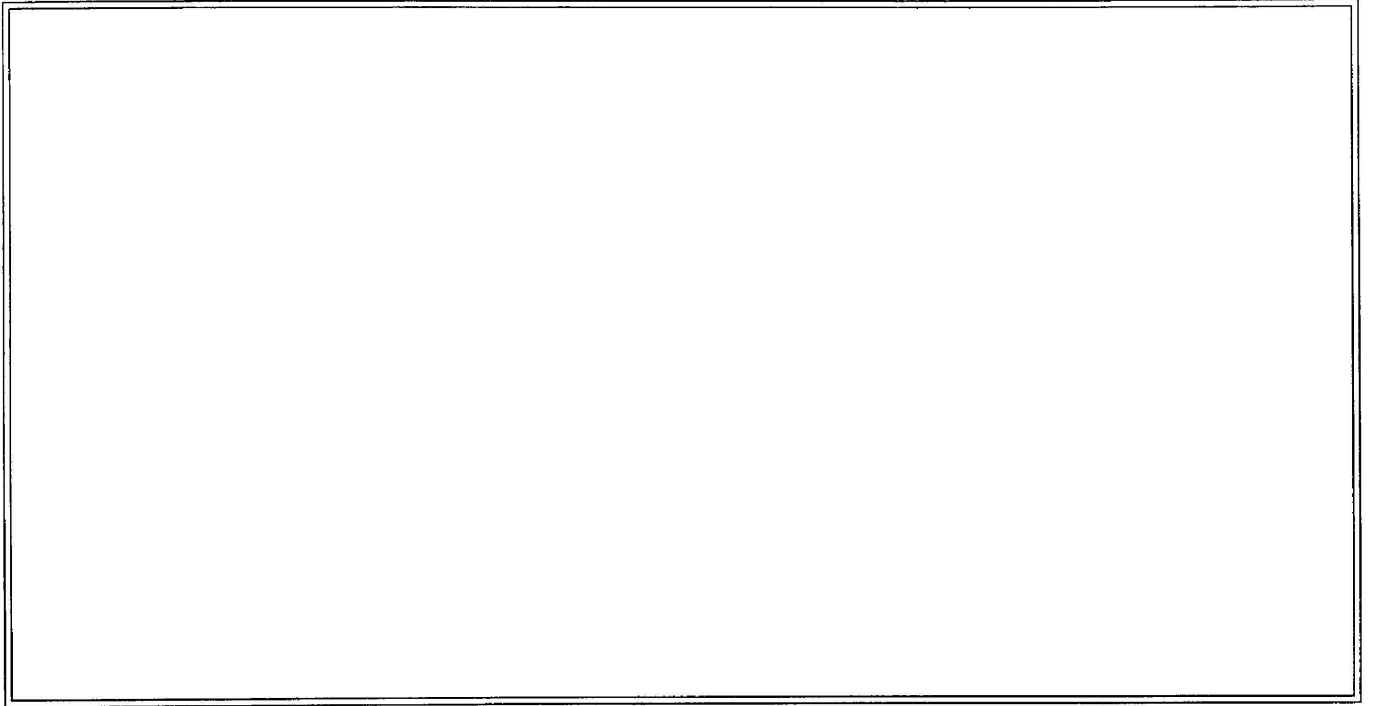
by

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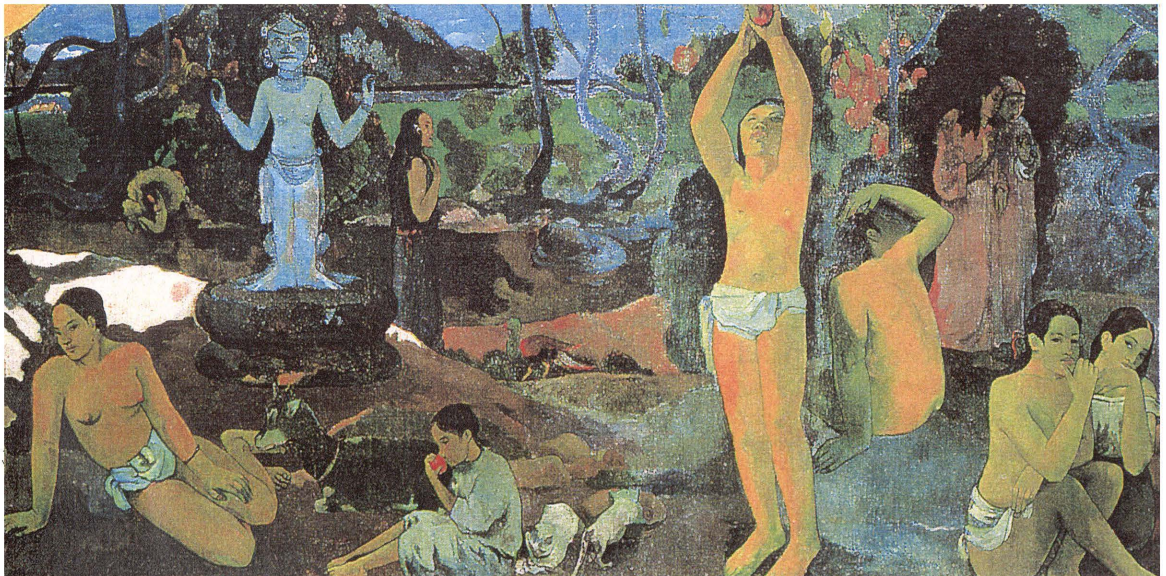
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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree PhD in Town and Regional Planning  
in the Faculty of Science,  
University of Pretoria  
Pretoria

November 1997



*"Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?"* (Paul Gauguin, 1897)



*for Simon*

# THANK YOU

## TÓ

*My wife, Marianne, and son, Simon, for putting up with me, waiting up for me and for keeping me going.*

*My mother and my dearly missed late father for their endless support and interest.*

*My brother, Reinoud, for urging me on in his own way.*

*The other members of both my families for being interested and understanding.*

*Professor Badenhorst for all his wise assistance, engrossing conversations and his flexibility, intellectually and otherwise, without which this thesis would not have come about.*

*My colleagues, for allowing me six months study leave, for creating a wonderful working environment and for assisting with academic chores.*

*Professors John Muller, Wilfred Mallows and Alan Mabin, for being willing to share their experiences with me and for supplying me with hard to come by material.*

*My assistants over the past three years, Riëtte Oosthuizen, Christelle Beyers, Engela Meyer and Jozaan von Straatte, for helping to locate the material used in this thesis and for being such helpful, involuntary sounding boards.*

*Philip Harrison for absorbing conversations on postmodernity and postmodernism and other less intellectual topics.*

*All those who gave up their time and allowed themselves to be interviewed.*

*The Directors of the firm of Ferero Planners who gave me my glimpses of practice.*

*The librarians in the Merensky Library for their able assistance and for allowing me more books than my allotted number.*

*Professor Schalk le Roux for his concise, insightful comments on modernism and Modern Architecture.*

## SUMMARY

In this thesis, in which urban and regional planning in South Africa was treated as a complex language game with a past of over one and a half century, it was argued that radical changes in the context in which this game is played, necessitate in-depth inquiries into its future. In addition to this, it was premised that a thorough understanding of the past is imperative for any probe into the future. Consequently the first part of the thesis was devoted to a cognitive mapping of the game's past, mainly by using the printed discourse of its players. The result of this endeavour was a composite map indicating where, how, by whom and according to which and whose rules the game had been played and how and why each of these had changed over time. In the second part of the thesis, in which three maps were produced, the focus shifted to the game's future. In the first of these three maps the context in which the game is played, the impact of this particular context on the game and *vice versa*, as well as the trends and tendencies impacting on this context, were mapped. By extrapolating these trends and tendencies it was possible to construct a range of possible and probable futures, which was done in the second map. Together with the composite map of the game's past, these two maps were then used to determine whether the game has a future, and if so, how this future could become a reality. In this inquiry it was concluded that there is a definite future for the game, the realisation of which, it was argued, requires the following from the players, *viz* (1) dislodging the game from its roots which are grounded in a form of modernism which treats modernity as a routine and giving it a critical modernist persuasion in which modernity is seen as an adventure, (2) regaining the fervour for the game which drove the pioneers of the game at its birth and (3) ensuring that there is a need and use for the niches/fields in which the game is played, that new niches/fields are created and that existing niches/fields created by others, are filled/entered by players of the planning game.


While the study was primarily intended to make a contribution to the debate on the future of the language game of South African urban and regional planning, the maps of the game's past also contribute to the sparse literature on the history of the game, especially its founding years, which have to date, been virtually uncharted.

## OPSOMMING




In hierdie proefskrif, waarin stads- en streekbeplanning as 'n komplekse taalspel met 'n geskiedenis van langer as 'n anderhalf eeu behandel is, is geredeneer dat radikale veranderinge in die konteks waarin die spel gespeel word, in-diepte ondersoek na die toekoms daarvan noodsaak. Bykomstig hiertoe is dit as premis gestel dat 'n deeglike begrip van die verlede noodsaaklik is vir enige studie rakende die toekoms. Gevolglik is die eerste deel van die proefskrif gewy aan 'n kognitiewe kartering van die spel se verlede, hoofsaaklik deur gebruik te maak van die gepubliseerde diskoers van die spel se spelers. Die resultaat van hierdie poging was 'n saamgestelde kaart wat aandui waar, hoe, deur wie en volgens watter en wie se reëls die spel gespeel is en hoe en waarom elk van hierdie oor tyd verander het. In die tweede deel van die proefskrif, waarin drie kaarte geproduseer is, het die fokus verskuif na die spel se toekoms. In die eerste van hierdie drie kaarte is die konteks waarin die spel gespeel word, die impak van hierdie konteks op die spel en omgekeerd, sowel as die tendense en neigings wat impakteer op die konteks, gekarteer. Deur hierdie tendense en neigings te ekstrapoleer, was dit moontlik om 'n verskeidenheid van moontlike en waarskynlike toekomste te konstrueer, wat dan ook in die tweede kaart gedoen is. Tesame met die saamgestelde kaart van die spel se verlede is hierdie twee kaarte gebruik om te bepaal of die spel 'n toekoms het, en indien wel, hoe hierdie toekoms bereik kan word. In die ondersoek is tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat daar wel 'n toekoms vir die spel is en, so is geredeneer, dat dit bewerkstellig kan word mits beplanners sekere dinge doen, naamlik (1) die spel los te wikkell van sy wortels wat gegrond is in 'n vorm van modernisme wat moderniteit behandel as 'n roetine, en aan die spel 'n kritiese modernistiese oortuiging te gee waarin moderniteit as 'n avontuur gesien word, (2) die ywer vir die spel, wat die pioniers van die spel ten tye van die geboorte daarvan gedryf het, te herwin en (3) te verseker dat daar 'n behoefte en gebruik is vir die nisse/velde waarin die spel gespeel word, dat nuwe nisse/velde geskep word en dat bestaande nisse/velde wat deur ander geskep is, gevul/betree word deur spelers van die beplanningspel.

Terwyl hierdie studie primêr daarop gerig was om 'n bydrae te maak tot die debat oor die toekoms van die taalspel van Suid-Afrikaanse stads- en streekbeplanning, maak die kaarte van die spel se verlede 'n bydrae tot die karige literatuur oor die geskiedenis van die spel, veral die stigtingsjare daarvan wat tot dusver, byna ongekarteer is.

## Preface

Throughout this thesis the reader will find pieces of text in a shaded angular bracket . This method/style was deployed to enable the author to *inter alia*:

1. add another, often more tongue-in-cheek, perspective on a topic, issue or statement;
2. lift the footnote from its paltry position at the bottom of the page to its rightful, equal place in the text;
3. provide the reader with an explanation of a concept or phrase; and
4. comment on a particular issue, event or statement.

While it is possible to skip the , the reader is urged/ to take the more discursive, but bound to be more rewarding, route, by taking the contents of these  along on his/her journey through the text.

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# MAP $\alpha$

## ***IN WHICH THIS MOVE IS INTRODUCED***

*"... a text is only a picnic where the author brings the words and the readers bring the sense" (Todorov, as quoted in Eco, 1992: 24).*

*"By presenting the reader with more data than (s/)he can synthesize, the (postmodern) discourse affirms the resistance of the world to interpretation" (Lodge, 1977: 12).*

*"For us pragmatists, the notion that there is something a given text is really about, something which rigorous application of a method will reveal, is as bad as the Aristotelian idea that there is something which a substance really, intrinsically, is as opposed to what it only apparently or accidentally or relationally is. The thought that a commentator has discovered what a text is really doing - for example, that it is really demystifying an ideological construct, or really deconstructing the hierarchical oppositions of western metaphysics, rather than merely being capable of being used for these purposes - is, for us pragmatists, just more occultism (Rorty, 1992: 102-103, bold as italics in original text).*

*"Reading texts is a matter of reading them in the light of other texts, people, obsessions, bits of information, or what have you, and then seeing what happens" (Rorty, 1992: 105).*

*"Acceptable theories do not need to be put forward as true in order to be pragmatically useful. But they do tell a story about the world which captures some of its structure, and in that sense relates to its true state" (Hesse, 1994: 447, bold as italics in original text).*

*"I had always thought that doubting was a scientific duty, but now I came to doubt the very masters who has taught me to doubt" (Eco, 1989: 300).*

*"One can be critical, highly politicized, and prodding without being antagonistic to the profession. Opposition does not entail a rejection of planning, but of a particular type of planning" (Beauregard, 1995: 166).*

# PLAYING PROTOCOL

As is customary in the language game in which this thesis is played [out] - that of *writ[ing] and presenting a thesis* - I make my first move by talk[ing] you into another language game - that of *urban [- also called "town/city" -] and regional planning*. Sticking to the rules of the first game I set up/prepare a temporal playing plane by telling you of some moves that have been made over a number of years in the second game. From these moves I argue the case for the move I [actually] want to make in both games: this thesis.

## OTHER MOVES

### ABROAD

The last two decades of the twentieth century have been a time of radical change on political, economical, cultural and spatial level in the affluent North and Australia. Some of these [by now] well known changes, as summarised from Friedmann (1996: 89-90), Healey (1996b: 1-5), Kemmis (1995: 135) and Castells (1992: 73-75) are:

1. on *political and economical level* the diminishing [spending] power, importance and legitimacy of the nation state in a global economy in which:
  - \* regionalism and localism [and competition between these localities for scarce investment] are on the rise;
  - \* the market is seen as the solver of [all] problems;
  - \* privatisation is the norm and transnational companies key role players;
  - \* ideologically more conservative governments have been elected;
  - \* [regional] superblocks are being formed;
  - \* "organised civil society" has risen as an actor in the political arena; and
  - \* there is a transition from mass industrial [Fordist] production to information-driven, information-producing, flexible Post-Fordism;
2. on *cultural level*:
  - \* a transition from a more male-centred modern to a late modern or postmodern time/epoch in which diversity and "otherness" are celebrated and women and the "others" given voice and recognition;
  - \* the internalisation of the environmental/ecology movement;
  - \* the humbling of science and other metanarratives in the face of a multiplicity of local narratives and the growing recognition of complexity and chaos theory; and
  - \* the blurring of professional boundaries, leading to growing competition to planners from professionals trained in other disciplines; and
3. on a *spatial level*:
  - \* a resurgence of [the importance of] place;
  - \* fragmentation;

- \* highly conspicuous social polarisation;
- \* the entrapment of poor groups in older inner city areas; and
- \* the growth of huge, undifferentiated, amorphous urban regions.

These changes have in turn seen a torrent of texts by prominent commentators in the planning field, followed by an equal cascade of "*comments, commentaries and counterpoints*", on these changes and their [perceived] implications on/for the role, rationale and methodology of planning, roles of planners, planning education and the [organised] planning profession. [This in a sense is not strange, given, as in Kunzmann's words regarding planning in the UK, Europe and the USA, "*Few academic professions show similar tendencies of self-denial and self-tormenting as the planning profession does*" (1985: 443).]

With regards to the *role, rationale and methodology of planning and the roles of planners*, six broad sets of responses are discernible:

1. The rather downbeat, gloomy view of Cullingworth (1994), Fulton and Newman (1994) and Levin (1992) of planning in retreat in a highly unpredictable and planning-unfriendly environment.
2. The response of Cherry (1994a and 1994b), Albrechts (1994 and 1991), McClendon (1993), Meck (1993), Simmie (1993), Dalton (1993), Castells (1992) and Beauregard (1991 and 1989), who recognise the serious implications of the challenges, but still see a future for planning and planners if planners can make fundamental changes to planning [- i.e. reinvent it -], adopt new roles, reposition themselves and acquire new skills.
3. The attempts by Innes (1996a), McDonald (1996), Sandercock (1995), Hague (1995b and 1991), Harper and Stein (1995), Harris (1994), Friedmann (1994 and 1993), Alexander (1994), Hendler (1994), Casella (1993), McLoughlin (1992); Moore Milroy (1991 and 1989), Cartwright (1991), Mandelbaum (1991), Hedgcock *et al* (1991), Batty (1990), Goodchild (1990), Simonsen (1990), Dear (1989 and 1986), Bryson and Crosby (1989), Bryson and Roering (1988 and 1987), Lim and Albrecht (1987), Albrecht and Lim (1986) and Parson (1985) at making sense of/theorising planning under and for [some of] these changed conditions.
4. The calls by Batty (1996), Brooks (1988) and Isserman (1985) on planners to revisit, or at least not abandon planning's reformist, utopian [future-oriented] roots.
5. Sorenson (1983 and 1982) and Sorenson and Day's (1981) suggestion that planning align itself with the market and become servant to the market [- i.e. practice what they call "*Libertarian planning*"].
6. The coming forward by Innes (1996b and 1995), Healey (1996a, 1996c, 1993, 1992a and 1992b), Sager (1994), Healey and Gilroy (1990) and Forester (1989, 1987 and 1982) with what many of these writers perceive/profess to be a new planning paradigm - "*planning through consensus*"/"*communicative planning*"/"*collaborative planning*"/"*planning by dialogue*".

In the domain of *planning education*, authors like Friedmann (1996 and 1995), Feldman (1994), Hague (1994) and Kunzmann (1985) have argued for a planning education adapted to the

changed times and which incorporates new developments, insights and theories from other disciplines. In a similar vein Dalton (1993) and Rodriguez (1993) have presented a case for the recruitment of women and young planners of different ethnic groups to planning schools as teachers and for leadership from educators and practitioners alike for planning to stay afloat. Levy (1992) on the other hand, has made a strong case for planning education to ensure a more unified vision in the profession and for planning educationists to structure their curricula in such a way that they draw visionaries into the profession [again]. Lastly Innes (1995) and Hillier (1995) have presented novel ways of teaching planning theory which they believe [can] prepare students for the communicative, reflective practice they are set to enter.

Regarding the *organised planning profession* Evans and Rydin (1997), Evans (1994 and 1993), Rydin (1994), McLoughlin (1994), Eccles, *et al* (1990), Reade (1987) and Blowers (1986) have made a strong case for "the end of planning as an organised profession", mainly as, according to them, it lacks any unique expertise to qualify as a profession, but also as they perceive it to inhibit the development of effective policies to environmental problems and the ability to understand urban problems in their political and economical contexts. Contrary to this view, Hague (1996a, 1996b and 1994), Casella (1995), Rodriguez (1993), Levy (1992), Smith and Wood (1991) and Thompson (1990) have argued for the survival of the organised profession through innovation and adaptation and in Thompson's words (1990: 11) "*believing in planning*". Also in opposition to the view that planning must die, are Lucy (1994) who believes that planners' broad training, including spatial, social and economical aspects prepares them very well for taking on an even wider role and Breheny (1994) who sees in the environmental agenda a much needed intellectual underpinning for planning.

## AT HOME

For South Africa the nineties have been a decade of very similar changes [as I argue at length in Map Eight], but with three major differences. The *first* being that the ANC-led government is one in which "... *the new ruling elite ... emerged from an interventionist tradition*" (Harrison, 1995: 7 and see Oranje, 1995b: 1) and not an ideologically conservative background. [Recent developments such as a move towards privatisation and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Macro-economic Strategy (GEAR) unveiled in June 1996 (Department of Finance, 1996), do, however, suggest a radical departure from these roots.] The *second* that South Africa faces the major task of urgently addressing mass poverty, squalor, unemployment and inequality inherited from the Apartheid system - a need articulated in the African National Congress's (ANC) Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC, 1994) which was tabled in Parliament as a White Paper in November 1994 and given the status of "... *an integrated and coherent growth and development strategy for the country*" (Government Gazette, November 23 1994: 4). The *last* being that South Africa was for more than two decades excluded on most fronts from the international arena, leaving the country ill-prepared for the "*new brave world of wild capitalism*" (Castells, 1992: 77) it would encounter (Harrison, 1994: 73; Oranje, 1996a: 1 and see Byte 03 of Postmodernism/ity in Map Eight).

Now, given

1. the response of overseas planners to the changed conditions;
2. the accusations levelled against the South African planning profession for its silent, and often not so silent service to Apartheid (see *inter alia* Muller, 1982 and 1992a; Platzky 1995; Manuel, 1990, SAITRP Newsletter, October 1991: 1 and 3; Claassen, 1991; Turok, 1994: 12 and Slabbert, 1994);
3. Godschalk's observation in riot-torn America in 1968 that times of crises and change "... open up new opportunities for planning to improve the quality of life and environment" (1968: 274); and
4. the similarities between the *Zeitgeist* in South Africa today and that as exemplified in the following extracts in which the post Second World War British planning system was born 50 years ago:
  - \* "A new and better Britain was to be built, with massive improvements in a wide range of areas, from social security to the health services ..." (Cullingworth, 1994: 277);
  - \* "The collective effort of the people ... was for a 'New Britain' in which the problems of unemployment, poverty and ill health would be banished. Such a vision was presented in countless broadcasts, films and publications. In so far as town planning was concerned, the theme revolved around the statement 'when we build again it will be along the best lines of town planning'" (Blacksell *et al*, 1987: 11);
  - \* "... a 'positive planning' system ... would ... steer development in accordance with the public interest" (Cullingworth, 1994: 278);
  - \* "It was a time of great optimism. Radical change was to be more than a vision; it was to be a programme of action" (Cullingworth, 1994: 278); and
  - \* "... welfare for all rather than prosperity for a few was the aim" (Cullingworth, 1994: 278),

it would be expected that, in spite of [the] contextual differences [between the USA in the sixties and Britain in the late forties], South African planners would be hard at work, reflectively taking stock of their role, rationale and methodologies in the changed South Africa, *theorising* planning under and for the new conditions, actively discoursing changes to planning and probing the implications of such changes. Also, in the process, looking critically at/into planning education and the planning profession. [Such theorizing and "active discourse" becomes even more important in the light of the fact that practitioners have entered a number of new fields over the last couple of years, and, as Pollock and Cox remind us, -"Theory is not the superego of practice but its self-consciousness. The role of theory is not to lay down laws but to force us to be aware of what we are doing and why we are doing it. Practice without theory is blind ..." (1991: 170, quoted from Scholes, 1989).]

And, this [theorizing and active discourse] to some extent, has happened, in a number of papers and publications which I have ordered in the same categories as I used in the case of the overseas planners. In the first category, the *role, rationale and methodology of planning and the roles of planners*, six broad sets of responses can be distinguished

1. [Wake up] C[alls] by Muller (1990 and 1991), Robinson (1990 and 1991), Lamont-Smith (1993), Badenhorst (1992) and Ramarumo (1994) on planners to make changes/adaptations to planning, to adapt to the new context and to play a role in the shaping of the New South Africa.
2. Brief comments/suggestions by Nicks (1994a), Fowler (1994) and Dacomb (1994) on how planning needs to change in the face of a new post-Apartheid South Africa.
3. Attempts at theorising planning under and for the changed conditions by Muller (1995a, 1995b, 1994 and 1992a), Harrison (1994, 1995a, 1995b and 1996), Mabin (1991a, 1993, 1995a and 1995b), Laburn-Peart (1992 and 1991), Klein (1991), Schoonraad (1995), Townsend (1995), Oranje (1996a, 1995a, 1995b and 1995c), Steyn and van der Westhuizen (1995), Hooyberg and Lang (1995), Makgalamele (1995), Motsa (1995) and the SACTRP (1995).
4. The coming forward by Uytendogaardt *et al* (1996), Dewar (1996, 1995 and 1993), Dewar and Gasson (1994) and Dewar and Uytendogaardt (1991) with what these authors perceive/profess/preach to be a new paradigm/manifesto for South African planning.
5. Behrens (1996), Watson and Behrens (1996) and Uytendogaardt *et al's* (1996; 1997a and 1997b) publications on a new philosophy and set of guidelines for South African layout planning.
6. Biermann's suggestions (1996 and 1992) on a [libertarian form of] planning in service of the market and strictly guided by market principles.

Regarding *planning education*, Harrison (1995a and 1995b), Amankwah-Aye (1995a and 1995b), Schutte (1995), Van Zyl (1995), Ndzombane (1995a), Thompson and Klein (1995) have presented papers on the changes that need to be made in the education of planners to enable the profession to assist in the transformation of South Africa, while Badenhorst (1995b) made a plea for the retention of elitism in the halls of academe, so as to ensure that planners are substantially equipped to deliver on that which is expected/asked of them.

On the question of *the organised profession*, very little has been presented/published. Platzky (1995), Lamont-Smith (1995b) and Van Zyl (1994) have spoken on the need for change to the professional institutions and made suggestions on how this should be undertaken/could be accomplished. The SACTRP (1995) has also brought out a position paper setting out their views on changing the profession.

## SCANNING THE PLANNING PLAYING PLANE

Now one could say this is wonderful[. isn't it!]. For a relatively small community of people we have not done badly. Especially when it is taken into consideration that the "... *ability to stimulate and develop new movements within the profession ...*" (Brooks and Stegman, 1968: 277) in the USA in the 1960's and in the USA and Britain in the 1970's and 1980's was partially attributed to the growth in the number of people involved in "*professional practice and education*" (Batty, 1990: 1 and Brooks and Stegman, 1968: 277)[- something which has, especially in the realm of education, not happened in this country (see Bimmap 3 of Map Six)].



Closer and more critical investigation, however, presents a far less rosy picture, with the following concerns particularly worrying.

1. *The depth, detail and extent of the issues addressed.* As most of the above were published as articles or short comments in journals, or presented as papers at the DPASA conference (1995) or the Department of Land Affairs-workshop (1995), both devoted to the issue of the future of planning and the planning profession, they
  - \* only very briefly assess the changed context;
  - \* work on and from grossly generalized assumptions about the past and present planning game and its players; and
  - \* make only very broad suggestions for change.

Many of the authors also focus on only one or two aspects of the complex changed context and/or show a very limited appreciation of the various constituting components of planning. The result of this is [at least] threefold. *Firstly*, the [really] big questions, such as whether planning is still wanted, needed and/or possible, or whether there is still a need or desire for an organised planning *profession*, can, with such a limited base, not really be investigated. *Secondly*, linear suggestions for change to a complex system are made: "Change  $\beta$  in the context, suggests change  $\delta$  to planning, which change will have desired result  $\Phi$ ". The non-linear feedback of these proposed changes into the system -  $\epsilon$ ,  $\tau$  and  $\mu$  - are, given the limited analysis, in most cases not searched for, recognised, nor theorised. The kind of context, or conditions in the superstructure, if you like, in which change  $\delta$  to planning can only/must function, is/are also not covered. *Thirdly*, the implications [feedback/fall out] of proposed changes in the rationale, role and procedure planning *on* planners, the profession and the education of planners, are negated. And so are the implications of "dumping" some or other practice [such as development control/land use management] and not filling the void with some or other surrogate.

Proposing changes surely deserves a very thorough analysis of the reasons for the change, the implications of such changes and what can be hoped to be achieved by the changes. Especially so for three reasons. *Firstly*, because as Kuhn remarks, the transfer of allegiance to a new paradigm is based on the *promise* that the new/other paradigm holds - "(s)he must, that is, have faith that the new paradigm will succeed with the many large problems that confront it ..." (Kuhn, 1962: 157-8 as quoted in Mouton, 1987: 65). The promise the changes hold, must thus be clear. *Secondly*, in the undertheoretisation of proposed changes and new paradigms there could be a recurrence of that which happened with Ebenezer Howard's original ideas if taken up by planners who do not [really] understand the principle(s) (see Ward, 1990 and 1994: 26 and Buder, 1969). New idea[li]s may just be "adapted" to the known, maybe resulting in *disguised/veiled-Haussmann-meets-vulgarised-Howard*: "suburbia" with activity corridors/boulevards - Capital[ist] Web[s] [i.e. what becomes of David Crane's (1961) proposals in the absence of public sector funding] - lined with glossy shops, pubs, galleries and restaurants. As Breheny concludes very simply in an Editorial about a

very similar undertheoretisation in the UK, that of the sustainability debate, "... we do need a serious consideration of what can be done and how" (1996: 131). Thirdly, working through suggested changes may open our eyes to [better] alternatives that may achieve over and above the wished for results.

2. *The coming to be of the proposals for change.* Many of the authors have not indicated how their proposals for the profession would come into effect - how and why the profession would follow them/heed their call and how they would be implemented. As Mandelbaum remarks, "*Established planning practices are, I suspect, remarkably resilient and will not readily be transformed ... by criticism from the Academy*" (1993a: 141) - something which a number of these commentators, respected academics like Dewar (1976, 1977 and 1985), Dewar and Uytendogaardt (1977) and Muller (1971, 1979, 1980 and 1982), who have been calling for planning to change for nearly two decades without the profession heeding their calls, must be acutely aware of [- as Mandelbaum suggests, "*The theorizing requirements of abstraction, generalization, technical innovation, and criticism inevitably stamp the theorist as an outsider who may influence practitioners but rarely lead them, who may be prestigious but rarely trusted*" (1985b: 3)]. They must certainly be beyond the point of believing that saying/proposing/suggesting the profession or [some of] its practices must change, will make it change/bring about the changes. The silence on the actual transformation of the profession - a strategy maybe - in the papers and publications is, seen against this history of unheeded calls, disquieting. It does nevertheless arouse the question: Is it maybe the calling of some to make calls and that's that? Or does [some of] what Krieger writes in the USA in the mid-seventies apply locally: "*A theory is a picture of the world, and planning theories right now are too sketchy [no pun intended] for many of us to use to recognize ourselves as planners or to feel our way around in them. Conventional problems of theory such as our understanding of the public interest, of rationales for planned intervention, and of justice and equity must be realized as more than rote definitions, which they seem to have become; they must be meaningful concepts that help us determine what we want to do and guide us in doing it*" (1974: 156).

Whatever the case may be, I find it worrying; even more so if seen in the light of Dewar's [own] words where he states back in 1977: "*If planning is to have any relevance at all, it must be context-related; that is, it must be informed by the fundamental realities of the situation in which it is practised ...*" (1977: 89). Surely, in a slightly altered sense, if one is asking for changes to a profession, these changes must be framed in a context which includes the realities of the existing profession [- i.e. the present initial conditions -] and which makes suggestions on moving from the existing to the proposed, bearing the realities of the existing profession in mind. It is great to talk about what needs to change, but how does it come about? *Who must be targeted and who are the agents of change?* As Ermath (1995: 106) suggests, "*The moral question in postmodernism is not so much can we make a difference, but do we*

*make the difference we intend?"*.

3. *The closure of alternatives of what planning is to change [in]to*. There is a tendency, not just in some of the papers, but in the everyday discourse of large numbers of planners, for suggesting a once off move/switch from one meganarrative[/paradigm] to a "new" meganarrative[/paradigm]: An all or nothing scenario, a once-off choice, a choice for "*modernity as routine*" [from one routine to the next], not "*modernity as adventure*" where "... *all that is solid [always] melts into air*" (Berman, 1989: 242-248 and see Map One for a more comprehensive definition). [Many planners I have met are just taking the new developments as they come their way, waiting to be told what needs to be done next and how to do it.] Little or no room is left for a multiplicity of small narratives, or a multiplicity of alternative paradigms squirming/living side by side [and even overlapping], like that suggested in the postmodernism of Lyotard (1984). Uytendogaardt *et al*'s talk of "heroic" modernists like Le Corbusier sweeping away indiscreetly all that went before (1996: 4), seems strangely familiar in their call for a new paradigm for South African planning (1991; 1996 and 1997a), despite them saying that they do not "... *seek to replace one model with an equivalently wilful, over-simplified, new set of constructs, based on equally untested assumptions*" (1996: 10). The melting into one of the ex-Development Planning Association of South Africa (DPASA) and the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP) is another clear example of this. So is the flier of the DPASA's June 1995-conference in which the "*ultimate objective*" of the conference is stated as "... *clearly establishing the way ahead for the profession and its educational component*" (DPASA, 1995: 2). In this process, however, the advantages to be gained from a plurality of perspectives, "... *by the transposition of pieces against one another, where each piece reveals not only itself but something about the other pieces as well*", and where "... *each article serves as a mirror against which other articles, based on other assumptions and using other approaches, are refracted and cast in a new light*" (Lake, 1993: 506), are thus greatly lost. And so is an important source of criticism, because "... *when an article is exposed to the bright light of alternative frameworks, it is easier to see what is there and what is missing - revelations that might not be so evident without the glare of competing assumptions in such close proximity*" (Lake, 1993: 506). As Ermath says "... *difference is the sublime fact of life; far from being dispensable, difference constitutes the system. Instead of resolving conflict for the sake of completed transactions in common currencies, the text emphasizes the multiplying context and asks us to be suspicious of any transaction or any process in which dispute is not maintained*" (1995: 108).

This is, however, exactly what is unintentionally suggested in that "the new paradigm" is offered as "the truth", as something which has always been true, everywhere, is still true, everywhere, and will always be true, everywhere. A watered down version of this viewpoint is evident in Dewar and Uytendogaardt's "*South African cities: a manifesto for change*" (1991) where they suggest that: "*It is believed,*

*therefore, that the arguments developed here are not relevant only to Cape Town and to South African cities, but to all urban contexts experiencing rapid urban growth*" (1991: 11) and in their discussion of their Structure Plan for the Greater Marianhill area, where they declare that "... *an alternative policy which, it is believed, should guide urban management in all South African cities, was employed*" (Uytenbogaardt and Dewar, 1992: 154). That a paradigm can have some bearing on a portion of the activities of planners may be true, but to suggest that one paradigm explains all and accommodates all, always, is not just pedantic, but also, for writers who adopt a strong anti-modernist stand, reminiscent of the over-confident [heroic?] strain of modernism postmodernists love exposing. As Ermath suggests, "*Every project in ph(r)ase time is limited absolutely. Its time comes to an end, and it will not be repeated*" (1995: 108). So does Fisher argue in 1993 about the environmental movement in Architecture in the USA, "... *we must be careful not to see this movement as 'the truth', as something universally valid ...*" and "... *"green" architecture is an important but necessarily incomplete vision of the future*" (1993: 9).

4. *Generalizations about and limited knowledge-base of the planning past.* In moving forward or making suggestions on moving forward, it is necessary to know why the planning game was born, what it is, how it became what it is, who we - the players of the planning game - are and were, where we came from, what we did, why we did it, how we did it, *et cetera*. Too many planning theorists have stripped the past of its detail and [have] end[ed] up writing about the planning future with a far too narrowly informed understanding of our planning past. And far too many planning theorists [have] base[d] their suggestions for change on that which their limited understanding of the past tells them are the ills of the game. The sad part is that with such a limited knowledge of the past, the power[s] of planning and planners tend to be either over- or under-estimated, the dynamics of the planning game are not realised, the silver linings in the storm clouds are not seen/known, the darkness of some of the clouds in the planning sky are not acknowledged, and the uses to which some aspects of the game can still be put, are not recognised/availed.
5. *Compared to the output of the overseas planner, the dearth in papers and publications on planning education and the future of the organised profession.* While the issue is discussed, very little is put in print. Most of the moves in these aspects of the planning game are also from Government, forcing/urging changes to the organised profession.
6. *The lack of original ideas, or the staleness of that which is offered as fresh.* Many of the ideas offered by the leading academics in the field are the same ideas as they have been offering for the last two decades. As Ermath has already said in this text [inter-intertextuality? -], "*Every project in ph(r)ase time is limited absolutely. Its time comes to an end, and it will not be repeated*" (1995: 108). Now it may be that these authors are on a winning ticket, but I refuse to believe that the cha[llen]ges presented

to planning by for instance postmodernity and postmodernism, and the new landscapes these phenomena have brought about, can not have had any impact on planning theories/thoughts under construction during the late 1980s and 1990's. Surely changes have taken place and the context [in which South African planning is located.] become more complex over the last two decades. There is something uncannily familiar in Cherry's words about planning in the UK in 1994 that "... like the proverbial generals of defeated nations it (planning) seems content to prepare for the last war, rather than the next" (1994a: 22), as well as in McLoughlin's observation in his historical research on urban planning in Victoria, Australia, that "... urban planning has almost always responded with greater or lesser time-lags to urban change rather than actively seeking to shape events" (1989: 663; bold as italics in original text).

Now, these comments may be seen as [c]rude, over[ly]-critical, anti-planners and planning. That may be read in them, I am not the holder of a monopoly over what can be read in my words - an author does not have the final say on what is read in a text (Giddens, 1995: 9). And, in any case, in the words of Jackson and Jacobs (1996: 2), "... all discources escape their authors' intentions". Or, in the words of Van Haute and IJsseling, "... men zegt altijd meer dan men weet of bedoelt" (1992: 20). So, whatever is read in my comments, as Shoukry Roweis concluded a very critical reading of Manuel Castells's City, Class and Power, nearly two decades ago, "... a movement which is aware of obstacles stands a much better chance of advancing than one which is led to underestimate the hurdles in the absence of a carefully developed analysis" (1979: 579).

In concluding this section then, what I am saying, is that there is a need for more thorough, indepth inquiries into the future of South African town and regional planning and its players - us. This move is one such an attempted indepth inquiry.

## THIS MOVE

### WHAT IT IS [ABOUT]

#### ISLAND ONE

#### FIRST A [SECOND] TRIP TO TAHITI

In December 1897, nearly one hundred years ago, French artist Paul Gauguin, after having returned to Tahiti again from France, produced what he saw as his testament, the Symbolist masterpiece, "*Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?*" - a picture more than twelve feet long and four and a half feet wide (Macintosh, 1990: 74 and Wildenstein and Cogniat, 1979: 63). Having completed the work, Gauguin, deeply impoverished, suffering from ill-health, mourning the death of his daughter earlier that year and in a state of utter despair,

tried to commit suicide by swallowing a box of arsenic on 31 December 1897 (Teilhet-Fisk, 1983: 126 and Wildenstein and Cogniat, 1979: 62-65). The suicide attempt was unsuccessful as the dose was too large and Gauguin vomited it up (Teilhet-Fisk, 1983: 126). And, while, as Teilhet-Fisk writes, "*(t)he suicide was a failure, ... the painting was not*" and has become not only one of Gauguin's most well-known works, but one of the best known of the inventory of Modern Art (1983: 126).

## BACK AGAIN

Gauguin's three-pronged metaphysical question, translated onto canvas at a time at which he was *inter alia* grappling with the reconciliation of modern science with religion and the meaning of life [which to him had become meaningless at the time] (Teilhet-Fisk, 1983: 126), holds many meanings and many readings and very aptly describes what this thesis is about: an inquiry into the future of the language game of urban and regional planning - "*Where are we going?*", but added to this question a further quest, "*Where sh/could we be going?*", as I believe we can to some degree shape/create/make our own future[, but more about this in Map Ten]. This inquiry is, however, not done without trying to get some kind of handle on the past and present of the game, trying to understand what this phenomenon of South African urban and regional planning is, why it was born, how it grew and changed and why, and who we (its players) are and were - "*Where do we come from?*" and "*What are we?*" - as this kind of understanding, I believe, is imperative if one feels the urge to muse about the future of the game.

## ISLAND TWO JANE JACOBS DANCES IN

Sixty-four years after Gauguin finished his Tahitian masterpiece Jane Jacobs introduced her seminal textual move i/on Greenwich Village, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*[, which Sudjic (1993: 19) has described as "... one of the first attacks in the onslaught on professionals of all kinds that characterised the political climate of the 1960's and early 1970's"], with the ominous words: "*This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding*" (1961: 13).

Now for some hyper-intertextuality: *This thesis is an attack on*, and a countermove to, a number of worrying tendencies and deficiencies [listed above] in *current* thinking on the future of South African *urban planning and* its part in the *rebuilding* of South Africa. Like numerous other moves on the future of South African urban and regional planning, it is also an inquiry into the future of the language game of South African urban and regional planning. By that I mean, given the present conditions, trends and tendencies [i.e the context and landscape] we find ourselves in, and the necessity for reconstruction and development of our country: *Where are we going and where sh/could we be going?* Meaning: Do we still have a future? In what does, could, and should, that future lie? How does the game need to be changed/adapted to make that future realise? How do we, its players, need to

change/adapt? What could the implications of these changes/adaptations be on the existing game and on us, and how will the changes/adaptations become operational?

This inquiry, as I suggested on our previous island, further back in the past, is assisted by travelling/pl[an]ning back into the past and dancing around on the knife edge of the present, asking "*Where do we come from? What are we?*", as "the answers" to these questions could be of great assistance in answering the questions of where we are, could and should be going.

## THE INQUIRY ITSELF

In this inquiry, in which I try to avoid some of the shortcomings of some of the texts referred to in the previous section, I do two things:

1. I overtly attempt to produce a *cognitive map[ping]* of the complex totality in which planning presently finds, and could possibly in future find itself, and the impact of these [present and future] complex totalities on planning and *vice versa*, not just one/a few aspect(s) and one/a few impact(s) of the totality/planning - thus treating planning in its context as a complex system.
2. I acknowledge the past and do not treat the present as *The Year Nought* [the title of Pieter Haasbroek's novel (1987, in Afrikaans) spun around the take-over of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia] before which there was nothing. I approach planning as a complex language game with a past of over one and a half century which I also cognitively map, which can assist in telling us why it began, when and where it was/is played, who could/can play, what its aims and rules were/are and why and how these rules changed as the context in which it was/is played, changed and what the feedback of these changes back into the system was. I thus do two things: I use the language of planners to map the game's past and I map this language game over time. This approach has the advantage of providing a clearer picture of what needs to change to the game [and its rules] by providing a picture of "what is". It also makes it possible to, as Mandelbaum (1977) suggests, put "*the past in service to the future*" by providing "... *intellectual frames within which it is possible to learn from the past*" (Mandelbaum, 1985a: 188) in that it *inter alia* provides a clearer picture of how the game has changed - a picture [or cognitive/mental map] which can be of assistance in making suggestions for change[s] that may actually become operational.

But, before I proceed, I need to clear up and elaborate on what I mean by a *cognitive mapping* of planning, the concept *complex system* [and complexity] as applied to planning and planning as *language game*, and how I use them - these concepts - in this text.

### A cognitive mapping of planning

First a journey through some other language games that share some commonalities with planning.

### *Jameson's [and Others'] Cognitive Mapping Project*

Way back, midway through 1984, Fredric Jameson's seminal *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, made its first appearance. Since then it has starred in nearly every text on postmodernism (Bowen, 1992: 389) and despite diversity being the only allowable meta-rule of the postmodern language game, I would not want [this text] to be the odd one out - i.e. be outside the game. Now there are many *uses* to which Jameson's text can be put. I could, for instance, after having struggled to define "the postmodern", called in Jameson (1984a) to tell you - the reader[co-author if you are an examiner] that postmodernism is actually "*the cultural logic of late capitalism*" [- decoded: I have seen the title, but have not actually read the rather lengthy text, or I have trouble making sense of it]. Or I could immerse us in Jameson's lucid exploration of the postmodern culture (1984a: 54-88), a culture Jameson believes we are unable to achieve a critical distance from (1984a: 85-87)[- the implications of which for an attempted mapping such as mine I am acutely aware of]. The *use* I have for Jameson's text is his section titled "*The Need for Maps*" (1984a: 89-92) in which he calls for an application of "*cognitive mapping*", a field made popular by Kevin Lynch in his classic text *The Image of the City* (1960), to the *hard-to-make-sense-of-and-critically-distance-one-from* social and global totality we find ourselves in (1984a: 91).

For those who are unfamiliar with the concept, it essentially is a method by which people structure and make sense of their surroundings in their minds in the shape of "*mental/cognitive maps*" or "*maps in the mind*" (Jameson, 1988: 353 and Fisher *et al*, 1984: 229). A cognitive map can thus be described as "... *an individual's organised representation of some part of the geographic environment: it "stands for" or "portrays" the environment. This representation is both a likeness of the spatial environment and a simplified model of it. Thus a particular person's representation of the environment is not an exact replica of the objective environment, but rather a shorthand, somewhat distorted, individually tailored version of the real world*" (Holahan, 1982: 56). As Bell *et al* (1990: 61) put it, "(t)hey are sketchy, incomplete, distorted, simplified and idiosyncratic".

For Jameson "*(a)n aesthetic of cognitive mapping - a pedagogical political culture*" - holds out the promise of endowing "... *the individual subject with some new heightened sense of its place in the global system ...*" (1984a: 92). Or, as he explains in a later paper, entitled *Cognitive Mapping* (1988), in which he further develops his extrapolation/application of cognitive mapping to the social structure, it presents individuals with the possibility of making sense of and locating themselves in the "*totality*" of the new global economy and [the] class structure[s] and relationships created and maintained by multinational [late] capital (1988: 353-356). And, just like an inability to map spatially leads to urban alienation, he holds, so does the inability to map socially in this new, "... *only seemingly incomprehensible*" multinational totality, lead to political estrangement (1988: 353 and Wise, 1995: 131). But this is something Jameson does not want to see happening, as he sees in a cognitive mapping project the promise "... *of establishing a common ground between the various marginalised, oppressed or dominated groups within late capitalist culture*" by "... *reconnecting individual*



*subjects within a larger social collectivity*" (Wise, 1995: 130). An endeavour he believes can be achieved through "... *the coordination of existential data (the empirical position of the subject) with unlived, abstract conceptions of the geographic totality*" (Jameson, 1984a: 90). The result being that [the] decentred subjects will [once again] grasp their positions "*as individual and collective subjects*" which will enable them to "... *regain a capacity to act and struggle*" (1984a: 92 and Wise, 1995: 130). A capacity he believes "... *is at present neutralized by our spatial as well as our social confusion*" (1984a: 92), but which needs to be overcome as "... *an aesthetic of cognitive mapping ... is an integral part of any socialist political project*" (1988: 353).

A year after Jameson's 1988 *Cognitive Mapping*-essay, he writes that "... *'cognitive mapping' was in reality nothing but a code word for 'class consciousness'...: only it proposed the need for class consciousness of a new and hitherto undreamed of kind ...*" (1989: 44). In doing so in an era in which "class" is only one of multiple arenas of oppression and consciousness[- such as race, gender, ecological/Green politics, the aged and animal rights -], Jameson's call for class consciousness seemed rather hollow/shallow (see also Connor, 1994: 225). As Ruth Levitas in her essay *The future of thinking about the future* bluntly argues, "... *Jameson does his own argument a great disservice by replacing what is at least potentially an analysis of real forces and agents for change with rhetoric*" (1993: 264). Seen in the light of Jameson's observation from a very recent text [of his] that "(i)t seems to be easier for us today to imagine the thoroughgoing deterioration of the earth and of nature than the breakdown of late capitalism; perhaps that is due to some weakness in our imaginations" (1994: xii), it is doubtful whether Jameson still holds out any hope for the [greater] project of cognitive mapping.

Be that as it may. Jameson's call for cognitive mapping and the promise it held/holds, were not to go unnoticed, nor unutilized [as you can see/read]. Mark Poster, in a text entitled *Critical Theory and Poststructuralism: In search of a context*, for instance reads in Jameson's call for cognitive mapping not just/only an admission of "*confusion*" and an acknowledgement of the "*inadequacy of Marxism*" to construct a critical theory of the present (1989: 29). To him, this signals a call by Jameson on poststructuralism - with its adherents' claim of pointing out "... *the various ways in which language materially affects the relation of the theorist to his or her discourse and the ways in which the social field is composed of linguistic phenomena ...*" (1989: 4) - to assist in building such a "*reconstituted critical theory*" (1989: 29). Douglas Kellner, also in a text on Critical Theory, sees in Jameson's role for cognitive mapping to "... *contextualise and critique our present social environment*", a parallel with the "... *1930s project of Critical Theory ... to develop a supradisciplinary theory of the new stage of capitalism which it saw emerging*" (1989: 175). To Kellner, as to Poster [and Jameson], cognitive mapping "... *can contribute to the discussion of where we are now and where we are heading*" (1989: 175).

In a later text entitled *Postmodern Theory: critical interrogations*, Kellner and co-author Steven Best adopt a more critical stance to Jameson's cognitive mapping (1991: 188-189), but once again reaffirm their faith in cognitive [social] mapping as a means for individuals to "...

*intelligently analyze, discuss and intervene in social processes*" (1991: 260). They also connect cognitive mapping to social theory, suggesting that mappings can serve to "... *update and revise classical social theory*" (1991: 259), while social theories, in turn, can "... *provide mappings of contemporary society*" (1991: 260). In an era in which they see "*new social developments*" and "*new technologies*" impacting [untheorized] "... *on the various domains of our social life*", as well as a rejection by postmodern theorists of macro social theory [- i.e. theories in which the "economy and the state", as well as "... *the interaction between these domains and society, culture and everyday life ...*" are theorized (1991: 260) -] they believe that cognitive mapping has a major role to play in the reconstruction of such macro theories (1991: 259-260 and 301). To them "(c)ognitive mapping is ... *necessary to provide theoretical and political orientation as we move into a new, dangerous, and exciting social and political terrain*" (1991: 301). A notion shared by Peter Marden, who sees in Jameson's cognitive maps - i.e. "*representations of our society*" - a way to "... *come to grips with the real world*" (1992: 44).

Jameson's call for cognitive mapping was bound to make its way to geography and planning, as it did in the work of Dear (1986) and Pile and Rose (1992). In his text, Dear takes Jameson's cue of extrapolations further and extrapolates the notion of cognitive mapping to planning. Dear uses it to map [- *an activity he equates with deconstruction* -] "*planning knowledge (theory) for the period 1945-1985*" (1986: 376 and see 377-383). His reason for mapping the planning past being to produce a postmodernist reconstruction of planning (1986: 376). Pile and Rose, only briefly refer to Jameson's call for maps as a project to get to know the world in order to change it, as "*superficially radical*", and then proceed to an extensive and well argued unpacking of the concept (1992: 132). To them mapmaking, an activity synonymous with "*colonial expansion*", is not a neutral enterprise, but an attempt/desire to bring rational order to an unknown topography, with maps being the products of the "... *powerful bourgeois male gaze*" (1992: 132). In their critique they not only question the possibility of producing maps, as "... *the act of mapping assumes a totally transparent society and denies not only difference, but different kinds of difference*". They also point to the difficulties of representation as vision is always partial, fragmented and "... *motivated by wishes*", leading to "*hallucinations and hysterical blindness*" and the treatment of space as an unproblematic category (1992: 132-133). Nevertheless it seems they see some hope for the venture if there can be "... *many maps, that have been drawn in different ways, and have many truths, each grounded in a material and symbolic situation*" (1992: 133). A view Levitas does not share, as for her, "*The solution, however, is not to call for more and better utopias, more and better images and maps of possible futures. These will follow when we have better analyses of the present which identify possible points of intervention, paths and agents of change. The fault lies not in our stars, but in ourselves*" (1993: 265).

### *My use of cognitive mapping*

Just like the protagonists of emancipatory/interventionist projects see in Jameson's project of cognitive mapping the possibility of reviving their/these projects in radically changed

postmodern times, I believe a cognitive mapping of the totality in which South African planning and planners are located, can:

1. assist us in getting some kind of handle on the present context/landscape we [and planning] find[s] ourselves[/itself] in;
2. enable us to determine if there still is a need and place for planning, planning institutions, planners and planning education in this context/landscape, and if so, what the need is, where the need lies, what the nature of the institutions and education sh/could be, how the game sh/could be played and which roles the players sh/could be playing/fulfilling, through an assessment of the cues locked up in the context/landscape on each of the above; and
3. provide us with the cues/building blocks with which to "extrapolate" and map possible futures, which can then be used to explore and locate avenues [inroads/routes] for future intervention [and thus for planning] to realise or hamper the possible futures.

As Dear (1986) has illustrated, Jameson's project of cognitive mapping for emancipatory ends lends itself/can be used to cognitively map the planning past. I also do the same, but hopefully not without paying heed to Pile and Rose's concerns (1992: 132-133) voiced above. My excursion into the past entails a broad cognitive mapping of the language game of South African planning over the past 160 years or so. In this sense my project is very similar to that which Pollock and Cox (1991: 171) undertook for Critical Theory in a time which they describe as "*the postmodern*", viz:

1. to inscribe a [future] place for South African planning practice;
2. to understand South African planning within the "... *intellectual and practical history of its formation*"; and
3. to engage South African planning critically - "*That is, it must be treated with all the intellectual seriousness that prompts it; it must be the subject of intense scepticism, doubt and scrupulous attention to error; and it must be met with passionate commitment to a more satisfactory alternative*" (bold my own).

This exercise in cognitive mapping of South African planning should not be construed as a once-off affair. My objective with it is not as the already quoted goal of the organisers of the June 1995-DPASA Conference entitled *Toward and Beyond 2000: The Future of Planning and Planning Education*, who in their flier proclaim "*the ultimate objective*" of the conference as that of "... *clearly establishing the way ahead for the profession and its educational component*" (1995: 1). Nor is it my intention to say: This is IT, here is THE manifesto for South African planning - A MAP rolled up with the certificates [job cards] students leave our educational institutions with [- something I fear many of them would rather have than the four years of "cognitive confusing" they get from us]. There is never [and here I totalise terribly] an excuse for calling for final formats. Marshall Berman (1989: 65), quoting from Goethe's *Faust* says it very poignantly:

*"Freedom and life are earned by those alone  
Who conquer them each day anew".*

And so does Professor Wilfred Mallows [incidentally] in the *conclusion* to his inaugural

lecture entitled *Physical Planning: a Social Process* [delivered thirty years ago in 1967]: *"Have faith in human creativity and change: movement and change are life: and the only enemy, the only heresy, is finality"* (1968a: 15).

This will, however, only be possible through the production of a plurality/diversity of cognitive maps - not just from "qualified planners", but also from "Others", including those "Others" that a market-driven society expels to what Sandercock (1995) refers to as *"the borderlands"*. Such a pluralism of maps will ensure that our/the maps will not be stable[, cast in paper.] blueprints. They will constantly be updated as we, times and technologies change and the maps of others inform our maps. As Holahan stresses, cognitive mapping is an *"active process"*, involving constant feedback and updating (1982: 57). Only then can cognitive mapping come to its full right, when it can become, like theorizing, *"... a process not a product"* with its worth lying *"... in the tension it generates against practice rather than its unique claim to validity"* (Mandelbaum, 1979: 70) - a process in concordance with Gregory's suggestion that theorizing has to be a *"... process of 'continuous dialogue', of creative, speculative construction"* (1985: 388). In such a way *mapping as process* can act as a buffer against the totalising/grand theories postmodernists and pragmatists are so opposed to.

For such a lively, active and cross-informing discourse on and around planning, we would of course need cognitive map[ping]s of planning and that is where this thesis fits in - it being just one such a "map[ping]", just one move in the language game of South African town and regional planning. A move awaiting countermoves, as I not only share Mandelbaum's belief *"... in the conflict of ideas"* (1995: iv), but also share his belief that *"Maps are, after all, ancient and artful instruments of consensus ..."* (1995: v).

### Language games

Again I start off with some background from another language game - that of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Jean-Francois Lyotard on language games.

#### *Ludwig Wittgenstein's language games*

The concept of language games is the invention of Austrian thinker Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951). Wittgenstein developed the concept in his so-called "later work/philosophy" during which time he abandoned his earlier views cultivated in his *Tractatus* that *"... the structure of reality determines the structure of language"* for *"... the idea that it is our language that gives us our conception of reality"* (Collinson, 1990: 145).

His first employment of the metaphor/term "language game" was in 1930 in a discussion at a friend's house, in which he began drawing analogies between a game of chess and the syntax of language, and from which I quote the following passage (Kenny, 1973: 160-161 and see Baker and Hacker, 1980: 90 for Wittgenstein's musings on chess and language): *"I was asked in Cambridge whether I think that mathematics concerns ink marks on paper. I reply: in just the same sense*

*in which chess concerns wooden figures. Chess, I mean, does not consist in my pushing wooden figures around a board. If I say 'Now I will make myself a queen with very frightening eyes she will drive everyone off the board' you will laugh. It does not matter what a pawn looks like. What is much rather the case is that the totality of rules of the game determines the logical place of a pawn. A pawn is a variable, like the 'x' in logic ... If you ask me: where lies the difference between chess and the syntax of language I reply: solely in their application ..."* (Wittgenstein as quoted in Kenny, 1973: 161).

The coinage of *language game* followed in his *Philosophische Grammatik* and an elaboration on the analogy takes place in his so-called *The Blue Book*, *The Brown Book* and the *Philosophical Investigations* (Wittgenstein, 1958: 17 and 77-125; Kenny, 1973: 162-163 and Findlay, 1984: 124-125). What Wittgenstein suggests in his analogy, is that just like games have fixed rules which govern how they are played, so does a language spoken by a community of users have rules which guide/govern how it is played (Brand, 1979: 122 and Kenny, 1973: 163, 165 and 170, 171). Of course there are not only rules on how to play, but also "... *rules guiding the application of rules*" (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 91).

To be able to play a game, like chess, one needs to know the rules, as they dictate which moves can be made with which pieces (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 91). Games and their rules are learnt "... *by watching how others play (rule-following) ... because an observer can read these rules off from the practice of the game ...*" (Wittgenstein, quoted in Kenny, 1973: 171), as well as by training - the mastering of a certain technique (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 93 and 97) - especially so in the case of "... *what one might call special technical languages, e.g. the use of charts and diagrams, descriptive geometry, chemical symbolism, etc.*" (Wittgenstein, quoted in Brand, 1979: 121). The meanings of words and expressions in the game are also learnt - from the way they are *used* in the game (Findlay, 1984: 125). The criterion of whether someone understands a game, Wittgenstein holds, is rather whether someone can play the game than his/her ability to recite the rules (Brand, 1979: 111).

According to Wittgenstein the rules of a game are not open for individual interpretation (Kenny, 1973: 173-177), because, "... *if you follow other rules than those of chess, you are playing another game; and if you follow grammatical rules other than such-and-such ones, that does not mean you say something wrong, no, you are speaking of something else*" (Wittgenstein as quoted in Kenny, 1973: 177). What Wittgenstein is thus saying is that the rules can be changed, but then the game changes as well (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 90) and "(i)f the *language-games are changed the concepts are changed and with the concepts, the meanings of the words*" (Wittgenstein, as quoted in Brand, 1979: 123). For example, adding pieces to the chess board is not just expanding the game, but inventing a new game, or a different version of the same game, "... *for it changes the range of possible moves and configurations*" (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 95). Such changes to a game do, however, not only come about through changes to the rules of the game, but could also come about through a change in the context in which the game is played - as Baker and Hacker suggest, "... *if the context were significantly different, the game would not be played, for it would be pointless*" (1980: 96).

Language games are thus not stable; new games and new versions of games "... *come into existence and others become obsolete and get forgotten*" (Wittgenstein quoted in Hardwick, 1971: 25). As Finch (1995: 48) suggests, there are thus an indefinite number of language games, as "... *human beings are self-surprising creatures; we have always created new language games, and we shall continue to create new language games*" (Putnam, 1995: 32).

A very important aspect of Wittgenstein's conception is that just as "... *a move is a move only in game*" (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 91), words (names) only have meaning in a particular language game, they are clearly understood in this game and their meaning is the role they play, or how they are *used* in the specific game in the various situations and contexts in which they are utilised (Hunnings, 1988: 141, 146 and 147; Kenny, 1973: 164, Brand, 1979: 109 and 112 and Hardwick, 1971: 27 and 33 and see Diamond, 1995: 286). Naming is part of a language game, but it is not regarded by Wittgenstein as a move in a game, as on its own, a word does nothing, it is empty, it is not a move - a speech act - which is at least a sentence (Hunnings, 1988: 147 and 149; Baker and Hacker, 1980: 97 and Kenny, 1973: 168). In a similar vein "... *we can only reflect within a language-game. For this reason a concept is at home in a language game. In this way also systems of reasons can only be given within a language game*" (Brand, 1979: 123). As Wittgenstein (1981: 69) says, "*A language-game does not have its origin in consideration. Consideration is part of a language game*".

Lastly, just like games, like chess, have aims, so do language games have aims, which are determined by the game (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 93). Just like some games are competitive, others are not (Kenny, 1973: 163): "*One may play for pleasure, fame and money*" (Baker and Hacker, 1980: 93).

By comparing language to a game, Wittgenstein was not "... *suggesting that language was a pastime, or something trivial: on the contrary, it was meant to bring out the connection between the speaking of a language and non-linguistic activities. Indeed the speaking of language is part of a communal activity, a way of living in society which Wittgenstein calls a 'form of life'. It is through sharing in the playing of language-games that language is connected with our life*" (Kenny, 1973: 163 and see Finch, 1995: 47; Putnam, 1995: 48 and Hardwick, 1971: 36). According to Hardwick, what Wittgenstein is saying when he talks about "*form of life*" - i.e. a concept Wittgenstein wants to keep very flexible, including "... *war, business, education, religion, etc.*" (Finch, 1995: 53) - is simply that "... *language is a social phenomenon*" (1971: 39). Thus Wittgenstein's calling of language games "*systems of communication*" (Brand, 1979: 121) and the likening of the rules of the game to "*practices*" or "*customs*" (Kenny, 1973: 173). For Wittgenstein the language game not only refers to the language, but also to the activities of a community of which it is a part (Hunnings, 1988: 144). [Kenny quotes a very compelling analogy Wittgenstein draws between a language game spinning/tying a community together and a rope consisting of a vast number of threads tying a ship to the wharf (1973: 164).] Language games must thus be seen as "... *language situations in their entirety; i.e. the words and context of actions, habits and customs in which they are employed*" (Hunnings, 1988: 141). They are thus not fragments of "*language itself*", they are

"complete, ... self-enclosed systems of understanding. That is, they are in language" (Wittgenstein as quoted in Brand, 1979: 121 and see Baker and Hacker, 1980: 97).

### *Language games in Jean-Francois Lyotard's postmodernism*

Language games surface and make a very strong showing in Francois Lyotard's *The postmodern condition* (1984). Lyotard, following Wittgenstein, suggests that most of our practices, including science (1984: 25-27 and 40), research, teaching (1984: 23) and philosophy (1984: xxv) are all *language games* played according to certain rules by certain players with specific aims. And, just like Wittgenstein, Lyotard (1984: 10) holds that rules "... do not carry within themselves their own legitimation, but are the object of a contract, explicit or not, between players (which is not to say that the players invent the rules)". Having rules is very important for every game, as, without rules, there is no game (Lyotard, 1984: 10). Equally important are changes to the rules. As Lyotard observes, "... even an infinitesimal modification of one rule alters the nature of the game" [- implying a complex system (see the next section of this Map for an exposition on complex systems) -] and therefore "... a 'move' or utterance that does not satisfy the rules does not belong to the game they (the rules) define" (1984: 10). Lyotard shares Wittgenstein's view that players do not always play [i.e. make moves] to win, "(a) move can be made for the sheer pleasure of its invention" and "(g)reat joy is had in the endless invention of turns of phrase, of words and meanings, the process behind the evolution of language ..." (Lyotard, 1984: 10). But, Lyotard believes, even when there is no motive to win at work, there is still "... the feeling of success won at the expense of an adversary - at least one adversary, and a formidable one: the accepted language, or connotation" (Lyotard, 1984: 10). Despite the talk of winning and winning over adversaries, Lyotard observes, that "... the observable social bond is composed of language 'moves'" (1984: 11).

Four years later [i.e. after the publication of *The postmodern condition*] Bennington (1988: 122) writes that Lyotard dropped the use of the term "language game" and substituted it for "... 'regimes of sentences'" on the one hand (descriptives, narratives, prescriptives, ostensives, etc.), and 'genres of discourse' on the other (science, philosophy, tragedy, and so on)". Genres of discourse involve the linking together of sentences from a variety of regimes, but each genre proposes certain linkages between sentences "... as more appropriate than others: sentences of various regimes ... are oriented by a regime toward a goal to be achieved (persuade, convince, refute, amuse, etc.)" (Bennington, 1988: 122 and 134). It does however seem that Lyotard is comfortable with both, as he himself equates a language game with "a discursive genre" in a short essay on language games (1991: 265). What is important to this text is not so much the name, but the notion of a game/genre with constitutive rules, aims, players and moves, where "... (a) statement is a move" (Lyotard, 1991: 274, bold my own).

### *Planning as language game*

In the vein of Wittgenstein and Lyotard I treat South African urban and regional planning as a language game, a game with certain aims, rules, players and moves, to which reading I add

strains of American pragmatism and Richard Rorty's neo-pragmatism. By that I mean it is an approach which acknowledges "... *the communal formation of knowledge and of the knowing subject*" (Langsdorf and Smith, 1995: 2 and see Horne, 1995: 243), i.e. the language and the community of users cannot be separated - members of a given community get to know, are socialised and make sense of their time, the world, themselves and their purposes with the language of that community, within that community (Rorty, 1982: xvii-xix and 174 and Hall, 1994: 18, 130).

Now, this is not such a strange endeavour; Putnam (1995: 2 and Chapter 2) suggests that "*the writings of Wittgenstein ...*" bear "... *affinities to American Pragmatism even if he was not willing to be classed as a 'pragmatist'*" (1995: 2 and see Readings's definition of language games, 1991: xxxii). These affinities are very evident in American pragmatist John Dewey's definition of language, where he defines language as "... *specifically a mode of interaction of at least two beings, a speaker and a hearer; it presupposes an organised group to which these creatures belong, and from whom they have acquired their habits of speech. It is therefore a relationship, not a particularity*" (Hardwick, 1971: 43).

Applied to this thesis, what I am saying, is that:

1. South African urban and regional planning is a complex language game with aims [embedded in, and influenced by, its context - i.e. other language games], rules and players, which changed over the course of its life [- as Langsdorf and Smith suggest, "... *some aspects (of a game) are shed when they no longer cohere with social experience, while others may be retained*" (1995: 7)];
2. to be able to muse about the future of this game we must know what this game is and has been about and why, by whom and according to which [and which] of the players' rules it has been played [- while moves (texts) in the game are made (produced) by players for some reason or other, the moves (texts) can subsequently produce new rules which determine the players (Bochner and Waugh, 1995: 229), i.e. who may and who may not play];
3. to be able to suggest *future change* that can become operational, we must know *which* forces have been responsible for [rule-]changes in the game, *how* these forces produced change in the game and *what* the nature of [this] change has been [- for instance has change been evolutionary or revolutionary, in "... *either the Kuhnian or Marxian senses*" (Langsdorf and Smith, 1995: 7)? -]; and
4. we can construct a picture of the game and its rules from the [past] language/discourse of planners - their language (moves/speech acts) being inextricably tied up with, and in, a specific form of life - South African urban and regional planning [- an endeavour very similar, but on a smaller scale of that accomplished by Christine Boyer in her seminal work *Dreaming the rational city: The myth of American city planning* (1983)].

Now, before I continue, let me say that treating a profession as a community of language users, language inventors, language move makers, language game players, is surely nothing



new. Way back in 1933 Carr-Saunders and Wilson (as quoted in Harrison, 1975: 260) remarked that *"(e)very profession lives in a world of its own. The language which is spoken by the inhabitants, the landmarks so familiar to them, their customs and conventions can only be thoroughly learnt by those who reside there"*. Thirty-four years later Goode argued that one of the primary characteristics of a profession is that its members share *"... a common language which is understood only partially by outsiders"* (1957: 194) and thirty years thereafter Jameson (1987, as quoted in Connor, 1994: 44) observed that *"... each profession develop(s) its private code or dialect"*. More recently Tett and Wolfe (1991: 199) have suggested that *"(p)lanners must ... recognise that their language practices are constitutive of their profession"*. The last two decades have also seen a strong interest in the language/stories of planners as found in their plans, policies, oral communication, *et cetera* (see for instance Laws, 1994; Mandelbaum, 1993b, 1991, 1990 and 1984; Schön, 1982; Moore Milroy, 1989, Forester, 1980, 1982, 1987 and 1989; Throgmorton, 1992 and 1990; Healey, 1996a, 1996b, 1993, 1992a and 1992b; Goldstein, 1984 and Lauria and Soll, 1996).

### Complexity, complex systems and chaos theory

As I indicated earlier on, I treat the language game of South African planning in the context in which it is played as a complex system. What does this mean/imply? In order to get to that, I briefly sketch what I understand under a "complex system" and complexity. In this sketch I pull in "chaos theory", which Tsonis (1992: 3) defines as *"... a new way of looking at complexity in nature"* and Cambel as *"... one way of studying complexity" which "... reveals 'insights' into the structure and dynamics of complex systems"* (1993: xii and 13).

#### *Definitions and some characteristics*

Ali Cambel (1993), in one of numerous books [of varying complexity] written on Chaos Theory and complexity over the last decade, writes *"(w)e have no agreed-upon definition of complexity, because it manifests itself in so many ways"* (1993: 2). As Innes (1996a: 8) remarks: *"Systems vary in different ways than their components. They can have many feedback loops and be highly networked and interactive. They can be slow moving. They can be declining or improving as a whole. They can be moving in vicious circles. They can be accumulating or deteriorating"*. Despite this diversity in systems, there are, however, some characteristics which generally come up in discussions of the concept, which I briefly discuss.

1. A complex system is one which displays nonlinearity. By this is meant that:
  - \* contrary to linear systems where small/large inputs have [predictable] minor/major impacts, small inputs/effects can have significant/major [unexpected] consequences, while large inputs may bring about only minimal results or no change at all - input and output are thus not proportional (Cambel, 1993: 1, Gleick, 1987: 23; Briggs, 1992: 47 and Young, 1991a: 322 and 1991b: 293); and
  - \* there is positive and negative feedback into the system which can result in radical change to/in the system (Briggs, 1992: 19 and Cambel, 1993: 4). [Negative feedback is "... the type that keeps things in check" while positive feedback

is the kind which forces systems to "... *explode or spiral out of control*" (Briggs, 1992: 116-117).]

2. Complex systems are "... *neither completely deterministic nor completely random and exhibit both characteristics*" (Cambel, 1993: 4). As Briggs remarks, "*The chaologists have learned that in some circumstances nonlinear systems behave in a regular, orderly, cyclical way until something sets them off - a critical point is passed, and suddenly they go chaotic. But then another benchmark may be passed and they'll return to order again*" (1992: 19-20). Or as Berry (1994: 695) explains: Initially entropic systems, when stressed by energy inputs to perform useful work, form self-organized structures characterised by "... *regular rhythmic interactions and behaviours*". Despite the apparent regularity of these systems, the underlying dynamics are nonlinear. The result of the underlying nonlinearity is that, if stress were to increase, "... *the rhythms will become irregular and the systems chaotic: even though there are systematic causal mechanisms at work, the outcomes will be diverse, often seemingly random*" (Berry, 1994: 695). Were stress to increase even further, the earlier semblance of coherency "... *gives way to high-dimensional chaos and irregular dynamics to fully developed turbulence*" (Berry, 1994: 695). Following which can be a return to a regular, orderly phase in the cycle (Briggs, 1992: 20). This "order" is, however, not a return to an initial system or "*originary*" state (Ermath, 1995: 98) - complex systems are systems which "... *tend to undergo irreversible processes*" (Cambel, 1993: 4 and Young, 1991a: 330) in which each state of order or chaos can be seen as a transient phase to a new regime of order or chaos (Ermath, 1995: 98). Symmetry and chaos are part of the same "*fluctuating holistic hybrid*" (Briggs, 1992: 54). As Ermath suggests, when regularities of a phase disappear "... *others begin and with them a new phase in which preceding regularities are left behind and do not recur*" - '*time is finite*' (1995: 98-99 and see Briggs, 1992: 104-105).

While this may give the impression that complexity implies utter randomness/unpredictability this is, however, not the case. Chaologists have discovered that, while complex systems are "*unpredictable in detail, ... the patterns and ranges of a system's movement can [often] be predicted*" (Briggs, 1992: 21 and 143 and Young, 1991a: 327) [- a notion very clearly illustrated in Heisenberg's uncertainty principle (see Hawking, 1993: 53-61 for a discussion of this principle)]. Furthermore, the rules/order underlying chaotic behaviour can in many cases also be understood as they are often "... *quite simple and accessible*" (Cartwright, 1991: 45 and see Briggs, 1992: 27 and Innes, 1996: 4-5). This characteristic of "*order without predictability*", as Cartwright (1991: 44) calls it and "*orderly disorder*", as Gleick (1987: 15) refers to it, manifests itself in "*repeatable, rough patterns*" to which systems are attracted as they "... *break down into or emerge from chaos*" (Briggs, 1992: 21). These patterns/forms/"*regions of the plotting space*", to which dynamic systems are attracted, "... *the way fireflies are attracted to light*" (Cambel, 1993: 59 and Briggs, 1992: 105), are called "*strange attractors*" due to their strange/bizarre shapes (Briggs, 1992: 139, Young, 1991a: 324 and Cambel, 1993: 60

and see Ermath, 1995: 103). [There are also *"fixed point attractors"*, *"limit cycles"* and *"torus attractors"*, but these are commonly associated with more stable systems (Young, 1991b: 292 and see Cambel, 1993: Chapter 4).] The only thing that is sure about a strange attractor is that a system will be somewhere on the attractor; it cannot be known where on the attractor (Cambel, 1993: 73). So for instance a snowflake falling to earth always has six tips, spreading within a millimetre space, "... and because the laws of growth are purely deterministic, they maintain a near-perfect symmetry. But the nature of turbulent air is such that any pair of snowflakes will experience very different paths. The final flake records the history of all the changing weather conditions it has experienced, and the combinations may as well be infinite" (Gleick, 1987: 311).

The time-lapse involved in observation and the scale of observation makes a difference regarding the predictability of the system and the emergence of rhythms/cycles (Young, 1991b: 294, 1991a: 325-326; Berry, 1994: 695-696 and Batty, 1996: 182). Gleick (1987: 25) quotes Edward Lorenz telling a gathering of scientists: *"We might have trouble forecasting the temperature of the coffee one minute in advance, but we should have little difficulty in forecasting it an hour ahead"*. Young illustrates that short term monitoring of certain phenomena, like noise over a city, may reveal no cycles/rhythms, while monitoring of certain phenomena for millennia may yet do so (Young, 1991b: 294 and see Berry, 1994: 696). In other cases, short-term prediction may be possible, while longer term or more global predictions are not (Cartwright, 1991: 50-51). Likewise, holding a microphone at various heights above a city will produce different results: at a certain height one may be able to make out what interacting individuals are saying to each other and gain an understanding of *"topics and priorities"* in a society; at a level higher above the city one may only hear noise (Young, 1991b: 294).

3. Complex systems display "... an extreme sensitivity to their initial conditions" (Briggs, 1992: 18 and Gleick, 1987: 8). Making just the minutest of changes to/in just one of the initial conditions of a complex system can [quickly] result in radically different behaviour/outcomes/outputs (Watson, 1991: 187 and Gleick, 1987: 8). As Tsonis (1992: 3) points out, the randomness of complex systems is the result of their sensitivity to initial conditions. One of the most awesome illustrations of sensitivity to initial conditions is Stephen Hawking's conjecture that, had the density of the universe been one part in a thousand billion greater one second after the Big Bang, the universe would have collapsed after 10 years (Cambel, 1993: 14). Another often quoted example of this phenomenon is the *"Butterfly Effect"*: "... the notion that a butterfly stirring the air today in Peking can transform storm systems next month in New York" (Gleick, 1987: 8 and Chapter 1).
4. Complex systems are dynamic, i.e.:
  - \* everything in these systems affects everything else through feedback (Briggs, 1992: 148);

- \* they are "... continually ... adapting and changing, only briefly settling down into rhythms and eddies ..." (Berry, 1994: 696); and
- \* their "... internal microscopic or external macroscopic motion is affected by one or more forces" (Cambel, 1993: 4 and 19).

This implies that they are "open", they thus "... exchange material, energy, and information with their surroundings" (Cambel, 1993: 4). Most dynamical systems cannot survive without energy inputs (Cambel, 1993: 22). Furthermore, most dynamical systems are also most often in the "near-to-equilibrium state", far less so in the "far-from-equilibrium state" and states of complete disorder and least so in the stable state (Young, 1991b: 292 and Cartwright, 1991: 48). Changes to dynamic systems from for instance near to equilibrium states do not imply that complete disorder will result. What Chaos Theory predicts, is that *new* states of varying degrees of [dis/]order, relative to a *new* equilibrium state, will set in (Young, 1991b: 296-297 and Cartwright, 1991: 48-51).

5. Whereas in the "traditional perspective" it is believed that an organism evolves to fill a niche - i.e. a vacant area or corner/space of an ecosystem (Briggs, 1992: 41) - chaos theory teaches that "... an organism creates the niche it occupies as much as it is created by the existence of an unexploited region of the ecosystem" (Briggs, 1992: 41).

### *South African urban and regional planning as complex system*

What I mean by treating South African urban and regional planning in the context in which it is played as a complex system, is that I:

1. search for attractions, i.e.:
  - \* niches/fields which the game and its players were/have been attracted/drawn to/forced into; and
  - \* issues/concerns and beliefs/concepts to which the players of the game were/have been attracted/drawn;
2. search for forces [- i.e. energy inputs -] that work/have worked in on the language game;
3. accept non-linearity of moves and rule-changes and try to find out how these have fed back into the system and what their results have been;
4. accept the importance of initial conditions on the system and search for these in the origins of South African planning to see how these could possibly have influenced the further development of the system;
5. treat the system as a dynamic one, dependent on both inputs [including money] from outside the game, as well as on energy transactions [between players] inside the game, for its survival;
6. use a time-scale and scale of observation which can hopefully present rhythms/cycles without losing the local, the temporal and the unique - an approach which necessitates both grappling "... with the details at the risk of being called reductionist" and at the same time trying "... to rise above the tyranny of what is too restrictive and assume an holistic stance" (Cambel, 1993: 23); and

7. share the view that the language game of urban and regional planning can fill niches/play in fields created by its own players, but can also fill niches/play in fields created by others, including players of other professional language games.

## APPROACH TO, USE AND VALUE OF AND METHODS EMPLOYED IN CONSTRUCTING THIS TEXT

This is essentially an ethnographic text - an ethnography of a language game of which I am a part. As so-called researcher I am positioned within this game [of ours], not above or apart from it (see Bochner and Waugh, 1995: 226). It is a move in the game and as such "*(i)t invites you, its readers, not so much to agree with the evidence and the analysis set forth by me, its author, as to enter into the process of re-searching your own HISTorical and biographically given positions*" (Pfohl, 1992: 11) in this language game and the wider scene/context/landscape of present-day South Africa in which this game is played. It is intended to be read as a text which does not "... *preach the truth, but asks that its readers discover the truth for themselves*" (Fish, 1972: 1-2). The idea being that the text be consumed by the reader, "... *the work as an object ... disappear(s)*" and that the reader is made a traveller on his/her own journey (Fish, 1972: 3-4) [using the maps as provided]. In *Rorty-speak*, it is thus there for your, and my[, as I will also be reading this again,] *use* (see Rorty, 1992: 106-108). It has no other value than that which can be gained from it by students/readers of planning using it on their journeys. [Maps can, of course, be used for a multitude of different journeys].

Being an ethnographic text it is constructed from:

1. my [self-reflective] experiences [*being and having been*] in the language game in Gauteng Province [acknowledging herewith the existence of dialects in other territories and my practical inexperience of those dialects (see Shepherd, 1993: 13)];
2. my reading of:
  - \* texts on the past/"*twice told tales*" (Bochner and Waugh, 1995: 230) - i.e. texts of [other] texts, produced by [other] planners and others mapping the past [- in a sense also "past texts"]; and
  - \* past texts - i.e. the discourse of planners as found in planning journals, proceedings of conferences, texts of plans and books on planning;
3. [my] readings of texts on the present and the future as found in planning and other academic journals, popular magazines, newspapers, on TV and in movies;
4. a study I conducted in November 1996 for the Department of Land Affairs on the amendment of the Town and Regional Planners Act, 1984, involving semi-structured interviews with key role players in the local, as well as in overseas - British and Australian - planning games (see Addendum for a list of role players consulted); and
5. "... *first person accounts, including autobiographical true stories, memoirs, and personal tales*" (Bochner and Waugh, 1995: 230) retold in the form of personal interviews.

In a sense it can be described as a loose attempt at Geertz's "*thick description*" - i.e. a method aimed at "... *discovering and reconstructing deep layers of meaning in human interaction*" (Walters, 1980: 542 and see also Walters, 1980: 555 and Rösen, 1994: 187).

## THE REST OF THIS TEXT

Years ago, in the distant past, 1959, to be exact, Dennis O Harrow wrote: "*When you think about it, there is no such thing as a "present" about which you can orate. The present is a knife edge, with the past as one side and the future on the other, a separation having zero dimension in time. In short, if you wish to talk about the present, you are forced to talk about a period that really starts somewhere in the past and ends somewhere in the future - terminal points that each must determine for himself*" (1959: 8). Besides this being a very [early] postmodernist suggestion on dealing with the present, it is one which I ascribe to [- can use]. Hence the two parts in this text, viz

1. Part I: Mapping *away* from the past into the present day - "*Where do we come from? What are we?*"; and
2. Part II: Mapping *a way* from the present into a future day - "*Where are we going? Where sh/could we be going?*",

overlapping slightly in the "fuzzy" present. The explicit intention being not to create a definite boundary/"knife edge" between the two parts as there are no such definite/separating boundaries/edges in that amorphous time we know as "now"/the present. The only boundary-indicators being the first part beginning roughly 160 years ago and the second part extending into an unknown future, twisting, bumping and rolling out before us beyond middle-1997. Where it ends, I do not know. You the reader must decide. You will know best when that future is no longer in the future, but part of that which is [present?/]past.

In *Part I* the language game of planning is mapped/located and discoursed in its context, using primarily the discourse/language of players of the language game of planning, but also that of others on the game and its players. In *Part II* the map[ping]s take on a more probing, inquiring nature, using the present context/landscape, future possibilities and probabilities, as well as the past map[ping]s of *Part I*, as cues in the inquest.

# PART I

## MAPPING AWAY FROM THE PAST INTO THE PRESENT DAY . *"WHERE DO WE COME FROM? WHAT ARE WE?"*

*"The postmodern reply to the modern consists of recognising that the past, since it cannot really be destroyed, because its destruction leads to silence, must be revisited: but with irony, not innocently" (Eco, 1994: 67).*

*"... to understand town planning properly, it is essential to understand how it has developed" (Ward, 1994: 1).*

*"To best understand urban planners and their theory, it is first necessary to view who they are and how they relate to the world about them" (Burchell, 1988: 4).*

*"For sceptical post-modernists, history, if it exists at all, is a humble discipline, dependent on the present, without any integrity of its own. ... History is only important to the extent that its traces have an impact on the contemporary, and even then, those traces are complex and intertextual. We are told that it is sufficient to let 'the present interrogate the past'" (Rosenau, 1992: 64).*

*"We have to concede that there is only a multitude of histories and not the history as a factual entity" (Rüsen, 1994: 187).*

*"The fact is that planning history can be as exciting and rewarding as an archaeological dig. We strip away the circumstances attending a particular plan, policy or strategy; we expose the influence of key actors; we reveal the pressure of competing sectional interests; and we dust away the preconceptions and the biases which override rationality. We account for why things happen (or do not happen). We demythologise; instead of ignorance we have understanding" (Cherry, 1993b: 30).*

# LEGEND/KEY ONE

or

## SOME NOTES ON MARKINGS

### [FOR A FRUITFUL JOURNEY]

The six Maps that are to follow, which in effect are in themselves Bitmaps of a Bigger Map of *that which is past*, consist of various Bitmaps which are not meant to follow in a straight line or link up with each other like programmes in a TV-serial.

In the first Map, *Map One*, these Bitmaps are essentially just that - bits of a cognitive map structured around common themes/concepts by which I map the beginnings of the game and the initial conditions under which these "beginnings" began. This Map on initial conditions, other than its value in itself, is used in the concluding Map of the Past, *Map Seven*, in which I make an overlay of all the foregoing Maps, and try to ascertain to which extent the initial conditions did have an impact on the subsequent development of the game. As this Map, *Map Seven*, is a summary of *Maps One to Six*, there are, other than for a short recap on Initial Conditions in *Map One*, no summaries in *Maps Two to Six*.

In *Maps Two to Six*, the Bitmaps are constructed according to the themes raised in the discussion on complex systems and language games in *Map  $\alpha$* , viz:

- Bitmap One:* Attractions and Influencing Forces;  
*Bitmap Two:* Players;  
*Bitmap Three:* Rules;  
*Bitmap Four:* Aims and Objectives; and  
*Bitmap Five:* Definitions.

In *Bitmap One* I map:

1. the various niches/fields which the game and its players were/have been attracted/drawn to/forced into;
2. the various issues/concerns and beliefs/concepts to which the players of the game were/have been attracted/drawn;
3. the background against/context in and/or landscape on which the attraction took place; and
4. in the case of forces forcing the players/game into a niche/field, the responsible forces.

In and with this Bitmap - *Bitmap One* - I try to:

1. provide a picture in a Bigger Picture of where the game has been played since its birth [whether voluntary or by force];
2. determine how willingly and unwillingly the "forced" niches/fields were entered and filled or played in;



3. gain an understanding of what its players have been attracted to and/or have thought to be in need of their attention;
4. gain an idea of where the game
  - \* can/is able to; and
  - \* could probably
 be played; and
5. find any cycles/rhythms in the spectrum of attractions.

By overlaying the contents of all the *Bitmaps One* in *Maps Two* to *Six* in *Map Seven*, simply entitled "*Overlays*", I am able to construct a compound map of the spectrum of attractions, which I then use to muse about the future of the game in *Map 10*.

In *Bitmap Two* I map:

1. who the players of the game were in terms of *inter alia* occupation status, educational qualifications, gender and race;
2. the areas in which the players played the game - i.e. the various [playing] fields the players from various occupational backgrounds were attracted to, as well as the sector (public, private, *etcetera*) in which the players played the game;
3. the relations and divisions between the players and between various play groups;
4. developments in the status of the players; and
5. fragments of information on some influential players.

My reason for doing this mapping is primarily to get some idea of who the players were, where the various playgroups [- i.e. up until the late 1960s engineers, surveyors, architects -] played the game, what their status was and how they got on with each other. By knowing more about the players, it is also possible to gain a better understanding of the way the game was being played.

As in the case of *Bitmap One*, by making an overlay of all the *Bitmaps Two* of *Maps Two* to *Six*, one/I is/am able to see *how* and *why* the players changed over time, which can be used to probe/explore the future of the game, as I do in *Map Ten*.

In *Bitmap Three* I map the rules dictating how the game had to be played, and by whom, where such rules were in existence. Under these rules I understand not only rules "cast in ink" in for instance job prescriptions, but also "rules" made by players in their discourses on the game or their discussions with other players. Two categories of rules are mapped:

1. who may be[come] a player; and
2. how to play.

The latter is broken up into two categories, *viz Procedural* rules and rules on the *Roles* players had to fulfil/play. [This division into these two categories is of course an artificial one as they are really intrinsically intermeshed, with rules on procedure dictating the roles to be played and *vice versa*.]

My intention with mapping these rules is to produce a map of the rules the game has acquired and shed over the years, which I do in Map 7, and which is essential in thinking about the future of the game, as any notion of changing the game necessitates changing the rules of the game. Furthermore, the language game of planning being a complex system, changing the rules implies feedback into the system, which one can only begin to consider after having gained some idea of where the rules come from [- their *raison d'être* -] and what their functions are/were.

In *Bitmap Four*, I map two sets of aims of objectives, viz:

1. why the game had to be played; and
2. why the players played the game.

I do these two sets of mapping in order to gain a picture of why the players believed the game had to be played at various times in the past and why players were drawn to the game. By making an overlay of these various maps, it becomes possible to see where the aims/objectives of the game originated from, which of the aims and objectives of the game remained the same and how and why those that changed over time, changed. This in turn provides something of a field of attraction, indicating which aims/objectives the game has been attracted to over time and with which intensity. This combined map of the aims/objectives is of great use in the inquiry into the future of the game, as it makes it possible to make suggestions on whether there still is a place for the past and present aims/objectives of the game. It also makes it possible to ponder changes to the aim of the game in a more informed way, by having an idea of the historical contexts in which these aims/objectives originated and the superstructure they necessitate/imply.

The last Bitmap, *Bitmap Five*, on the definition of the game, ties up very closely with *Bitmap Four*, in that it provides an idea on what the players of the game defined the game as being, the contexts in which these definitions were given and why and how these definitions changed over time. In a sense it also helps in determining what the game is about, what it has been about at various times in the past and what it can and sh/could [possibly] be about.

# MAP ONE

## 1830-1931

### *IN WHICH*

### THE BEGINNINGS

### [OR INITIAL CONDITIONS]

### OF THE GAME ARE MAPPED

*"Professions differ not only in the skills they represent, but also in many other aspects. Sometimes these characteristics are related to the period during which the profession emerged, the nature of society at the time, ..."* (McLoughlin, 1973: 81, bold my own).

*"People form an impression of you in under six seconds so, don't blow it"* (from an advertisement for JET Clothing Stores on SABC TV 1/2/3, December 1996).

*"The basic question is: how far, and in which ways, is subsequent planning history determined by initial circumstances? It seems probable, even at first glance, that in Denmark the beginnings had various kinds of significance"* (Knudsen, 1988: 309).

*"Like organisations, professions establish themselves around ideas and functions that, at the moment of their creation, have great weight and legitimacy"* (Beauregard, 1990: 210).

## ON DEFINITIONS AND BIRTHDATES

Since my premise is that the language game of South African urban and regional is a complex system and complex systems are highly sensitive to the initial conditions/circumstances under/in which they are/were established/created (see Map α), my concern in this map is with the beginnings of the language game of South African urban and regional planning - those first mo[ve]ments in/of the game and the conditions/circumstances under/in which the[se] moves were made.

Before I get to mapping these initial conditions I need to clear up what I understand under South African urban and regional planning [at its birth] so as to motivate my birthdate and set of initial conditions. [As the recent local debate on abortion on demand has demonstrated, a definition, such as that of "life", is of crucial importance in discussing an issue.] The game I am dealing with in this Map is the nineteenth and early twentieth century version of *statutory* town planning [which at that stage, other than for the odd reference to what would be termed "metropolitan planning" today, excluded "regional planning"], i.e. a language game built around legislation enabling intervention for the public benefit in *inter alia* the use of land, housing and living conditions in towns/cities and the course of future urban development (see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 1 for a similar definition). Or, if you like, town planning, as it originated in Europe, the UK and the USA during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in the shape of "... *the conscious regulation of the urban environment by the State (in one institutional guise or another)*" (Cherry, 1993a: 3) and was exported to the colonies (see *inter alia* King, 1980; van der Heiden, 1990 and Home, 1990 on this exportation). Using this definition provides a protracted birth, a period of approximately 100 years, extending from 1830 to 1931, starting with rudimentary legislative attempts to ensure "*the good order*", health and convenience in towns, and culminating in the passing of the first Town Planning Ordinance in 1931 "... *which required municipalities to plan*" (Mabin, 1991: 10).

### BITMAP ONE OF MAP ONE A VERY EARLY MAP

A long, long time ago, before the 1860s and 1870s when diamonds and gold were discovered and the big townward movement began in what was to become South Africa, the establishment of towns [in the two Boer Republics and the two British Colonies] was mainly initiated by the State and the Dutch Reformed Church (Floyd, 1960: 38). The society was primarily an agrarian one and towns were mainly established for administrative and military purposes and as church and district centres - not really the kind of place where self-respecting, self-centred speculators in urban land c/would ply their greedy trade (Floyd, 1960: 20-26). There was of course the odd private request for the establishment of a town, for which permission from the State was required, but greed was not the motive, and "*the need for the town in the particular locality*" was the sole criterion used by the State in reaching a decision

on the request (Wedepohl, 1959: 13 and see Ordonnantieboek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1854-1880, 1881: 290). In this phase of the life of the towns of South Africa town-life was, as Floyd (1960: 38) suggests, "*simple*" and "... *there was no need for any special control of planning or layout design*". Nevertheless, first the Cape Colony in the 1830s and 1840s, and later also Natal and the Boer Republics in the 1850s and 1860s, saw it "*expedient*" and necessary to pass Acts and Regulations giving either elected officials, such as the "*Landdrost*" (Magistrate), or elected Municipal Boards the power to make regulations to "*abate nuisances*" and to ensure "*the good order*", health and convenience in towns (see Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1895, 1895: 201-216 and 334-335; Statutes of Natal, Vol II, 1901: Municipal Corporations: 1; Ordonnantieboek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1854-1880, 1881: 152-153; Wedepohl, 1959: 14; The Statute Law of the Transvaal, 1901: 19 and Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1863: 62-66).

And then things started changing.

The first departure from this early phase of township establishment was to take place in the "*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*" ("*ZAR*") [later Transvaal] with the passing of the Gold Laws, the first in 1871 and the last [- the fifteenth -] in 1898, to prevent [and curtail] a recurrence of the "*disorderly development*" that accompanied the diamond mining activities at Kimberley [after the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1867] and also cropped up on the Transvaal gold fields [at Pilgrim's Rest (1873), Barberton (1884) and the Witwatersrand (1886)] (Floyd, 1960: 39; Christopher, 1984: 73; van der Waal, 1987: 3-6; Reynolds, 1985/5: 11 and see Wedepohl, 1959: 11-12 for a very good summary of the evolution of these Laws). The measures "*deemed necessary*" in this regard not only provided for the making of regulations to ensure "*the good order*" on the diggings by a committee elected by the diggers (Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1849-1885, 1887: 423-424) and the [proper] layout, survey and proclamation of "*standsdorpen*" ("*stand townships*") [to accommodate the mining community] on or adjacent to diggings (Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1899: 105), but also excluded "*coloured persons*" [i.e. essentially anybody who was not European (see the definition of "*coloured persons*" in Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1899: 104)] from acquiring a mining licence and a stand [which was tied to the possession of a licence] in a "*stand township*" (see Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1849-1885, 1887: 627; 1159-1160 and Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1899: 139-140). As the towns of the Witwatersrand rose from such "*stand townships*" (Floyd, 1960: 39), Africans were excluded from ownership in these towns from the outset (Frescura, 1992: 9)[- an early example of discrimination on an economic level leading to exclusion and segregation on a spatial level].

Whereas the Gold Laws only influenced township establishment in a few localities in one Boer Republic, rapidly increasing townward movement, a new phenomenon picking up momentum from the 1870s onwards (Floyd, 1959: 7-8 and Callinicos, 1987: Chapters 1 to 3), due to *inter alia* a growing shortage of farming land for both the European settlers and the Africans (Davenport, 1989: 182; Bauman, 1950: 29; Floyd, 1960: 19; Reynolds, 1984/5: 13 and Callinicos, 1987: 23-33) and the lure of employment possibilities in towns, especially the Witwatersrand mining towns (Callinicos, 1987: 34-38), was to leave its impact felt throughout the country. Not only did it make the "*simple*" life in towns much less so, but with most towns unable to accommodate

the influx of people on their existing erven, new extensions were urgently required (Floyd, 1960: 19 and 40). This need, in the near total absence of legal control over the growth of towns, opened up lucrative opportunities for speculators in urban land for the first time in South Africa (Floyd, 1959: 13 and 1960: 19, 36 and 40 and Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 49). This combination of need, greed and lack of control, saw towns grow "... *mostly by private subdivisions of adjoining farm land into townships*" (Prinsen, 1966: 11) with in most cases no consideration being given to coordination with existing layouts or any other interests, other than those of the speculator (Floyd, 1960: 36). The outcome of this being "... *uncoordinated and often very socially costly results*" (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2): "... *streets of adjoining townships not being properly aligned*" and a complete lack of "(p)rovision of land for parks, open spaces, schools and other social institutions in an integrated pattern ..." (Prinsen, 1966: 11 and see also van der Sterr *et al*, 1909: 4; Gilfillan, 1919: 573 and Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 49).

As could be expected, neither the governments of the Boer Republics, nor those of the British Colonies, wished these conditions to prevail and all four countered with a host of legislative measures. In the case of the *Cape Colony* and *Natal* these measures were, however, aimed not so much at controlling the growth of towns, as at ensuring more effective administration/management and control over the *de facto* expanding, more populous and more complicated towns. In this regard two sets of Acts are discernible:

1. Acts, such as Law No 11 of 1881 of Natal and Act 29 of 1881 of the Cape Colony, which *inter alia* provided for the election of "*Local Boards*" in Natal and "*Boards of Managers*" in the Cape Colony in "*towns and villages not being municipalities*" and the empowerment of these Boards to make regulations to *inter alia* ensure order, convenience and health in such towns and villages (Statutes of Natal, 1845-1899, Vol III, 1902: Townships: 3-9; Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1905, Vol II, 1906: 1797-1803 and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2) [ - the Natal Act explicitly "*encouraging*" and providing for the proclamation of "*towns and villages not being municipalities*" as "*townships*" ].
2. Acts, such as Law No 19 of 1872, No 39 of 1884 and No 17 of 1893 of Natal and Act 45 of 1882 of the Cape of Good Hope which *inter alia* bestowed increased regulatory powers on existing Municipal Councils (Statutes of Natal, Vol II, 1901: Municipal Corporations: 1-22; Statutes of Natal, 1845-1899, Vol III, 1902: Townships: 9-17; and Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1879-1883, 1881: 541-565). [In terms of Section 64 of Law No 19 of 1872 of Natal, the Municipal Councils were "... *empowered to regulate from time to time the class and character of future buildings, and the materials of which the same shall be constructed, and the distances or spaces between, ... and to prevent the unsafe or unhealthy crowding together of buildings, and to define and lay down the face-lines of streets ...*" (Statutes of Natal, Vol II, 1901: Municipal Corporations: 9) ].

The *Orange Free State* Legislature at first [en]acted in much the same way as the two British Colonies by extending the range of regulation-making powers of the "*City Councils*" of proclaimed municipalities, as well as those of the "*Landdrost*" or appointed official in the case of "*cities and towns*" not being municipalities (Wetboek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1891, 1892: 490-505). In the case of the municipalities, the City Councils were also given decision-making powers over applications for the subdivision of erven (see Ordonnantie-boek van den Oranjevrijstaat,

1854-1880, 1881: 505 and Wetboek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1891, 1892: 504) and in the case of the cities and towns not being municipalities, provision was also made for the election of "*Village Management Boards*", but these Boards did not have the power to make regulations as in Natal and the Cape, only to enforce and administer regulations made by the Landdrost (Wetboek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1891, 1892: 490-492).

However, in 1894 the "*Volksraad*" of the Orange Free State took a pioneering step forward in the legal attempts at putting an end to the "*haphazard*" extensions around/to existing towns, in their passing of the Recognition of Townships Law (see Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 225-226 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2). This law signalled a radical departure from existing legislation in that it:

1. set out a procedure to be followed in the making of applications for the establishment of new townships on private land;
2. made provision for the appointment of a "*Commission*" by the "*Volksraad*" to "*investigate*" *inter alia* the "*necessity*" and "*suitability*" of proposed townships;
3. provided for the reservation of certain erven in townships "... *as town land or commonage*" and the transfer of "*townlands, streets and public squares*" to the relevant local authority after establishment of the township; and
4. made it punishable by law to sell "... *publicly or privately, portions of ... (a) farm, whether surveyed or not which from their size or otherwise clearly indicate that they are intended as erven of ... (a) future township*" without the approval of the Volksraad gained through the procedure set out in the Act (Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 225-226).

In the "*ZAR*" legislation, very similar to that of the two British Colonies and the Orange Free State, was passed in 1886 and 1898 to make provision for the better management and administration of towns by the Landdrost, or a Town Council, in the case of the residents of a town electing to "*establish*" such a Council (Statute Law of the Transvaal, 1901: 939-945). "*Town Regulations*", applicable in all the Republic's towns, were also drafted and published in 1890 and 1898 [of which a number were extremely racist in nature] "... *concerning the conduct of townsfolk*" (Wedepohl, 1959: 14 and Statute Law of the Transvaal, 1901: 1098-1103) and, of course, the *Gold Law* of 1898 was passed which provided for the establishment of "*stand townships*". Other than for this latter Act, legislation to control the establishment of townships in the Republic at the turn of the century, was non-existent (Wedepohl, 1959: 13).

It was only after a "*wave of speculation*" shortly before 1899 and in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) hit the Republic [in especially Johannesburg and Pretoria] (see Aucamp, 1974: 56 and van der Waal, 1987: 97), that legal steps were taken in the shape of Ordinance 57 of 1903 to "... *control this activity and prevent the evils arising therefrom*" (Floyd, 1960: 40 and see Wedepohl, 1959: 14). This Ordinance empowered the Lt. Governor in terms of section 18(4) to "... *make regulations ... for the establishment and proclamation of towns and the proper laying out and survey of erven therein ...*" (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1903: 373 and see Floyd, 1960: 40). As these powers were not exercised (Floyd, 1959: 13), they were followed under strong

opposition from "... those interested in the profitable and uncontrolled process of land subdivision" (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 4-5) by the Proclamation of Townships Ordinance, No 19 of 1905 (Transvaal Government Gazette, 22nd September 1905: 460). This ordinance, based largely on the 1894 Orange Free State Recognition of Townships Law (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2), not only prescribed an application procedure for township layouts on private land in the province, but also called to life a Townships Board to consider such applications and empowered it to impose restrictive conditions regarding *inter alia* "use and density" on the erven so created (Floyd, 1960: 40 and 1959: 13-14; Transvaal Government Gazette, 22nd September 1905: 460 and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2-4 and Mabin, 1991: 9). It was subsequently amended by the Townships Act of 1907, No 33 of 1907, and the Townships Amendment Act of 1908, No 34 of 1908, to *inter alia* make provision for the advertisement of applications for township establishment with the intention of inviting objections from members of the public to such applications (Statutes of The Transvaal, 1907: 229-233 and Statutes of the Transvaal, 1908: 297-354 and see Pritchard, 1919: 572). With the passing of these acts the Transvaal took the lead in the setting up of a *statutory town planning system* in South Africa; all the Acts passed before these Transvaal Acts, other than for the Orange Free State's Recognition of Townships Law, merely attempts at making it possible to regulate the *de facto* conditions in towns and cities - not the regulation of and planning of and for future extensions to towns and cities.]

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP ONE A BYTE OF LAND SURVEYING

Although [it is] not town planning *per se*, there is another strain of government intervention that fed into the planning game, the development of which I need to briefly plot before embarking on further journeys: The survey of land and the registration and legal protection of land-ownership/title.

Initially, as agricultural land was seen as plentiful [and "available"/up for grabs] and the European population small, accuracy in the description of boundaries of individual farms was not regarded as of such major importance, nor was it technically and financially attainable (Floyd, 1960: 37; Wedepohl, 1959: 9-10; Baumann, 1950: 27 and de Smidt, 1970: 11). Proof of ownership of a farm normally consisted of a rough sketch of the farm, not drawn to any scale, and a description of its boundaries (Baumann, 1950: 27 and Wedepohl, 1959: 9-10). However, as "the country" became more populous and farming land scarcer (see Bitmap One of this Map), the value of land increased and overlapping boundaries, largely the result of careless "surveys", became a serious issue and disputes over boundaries and beacons a common feature (Baumann, 1950: 29 and Wedepohl, 1959: 11). And, so did subdivisions of farms (Davenport, 1989: 182), often creating complications in the absence of reliable diagrams indicating such subdivisions (Baumann, 1950: 29). In an attempt to counter these, and other malconditions, Offices of the Surveyor-General and the Registrar of Deeds were established in the two coastal colonies and the Boer Republics between 1850 and 1880, to *inter alia* ensure more accurate surveying of farms and fixed property, the recording and safekeeping of survey diagrams and Title Deeds



and the orderly settling of disputes over boundaries and beacons (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 2; Anon, 1910a: 17; de Smidt, 1970a: 7 and 12 and 1970b: 8-9; Wedepohl, 1959: 9-14 and 17; Ordonnantie Boek van den Oranjevrijstaat, 1854-1880, 1881: 274-277; Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1905, 1906: 971; De Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1849-1885, 1887: 371-375 and Reynolds, 1984/5: 14).

While its focus was initially on farms, the outcome of these developments was a highly respected system of land surveying and registration of Title Deeds (de Smidt, 1970: 9 and Wedepohl, 1959: 25), which facilitated/made possible some of the more technical aspects of town planning, such as the control over subdivision of erven in towns, the [re]survey of erven/stands in *existing* towns (see *inter alia* Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 725) and the plotting of erven/stands in *new* townships on so-called "*General Plans*" [- a General Plan being "... a plan which, representing the relative positions and dimensions of two or more pieces of land, has been signed by a person recognised, under any law then in force, as a land surveyor ..." (Juridata, Property Acts, 1993: 59) -] (see *inter alia* Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 142-143). It also put the Land Surveying profession in a very dominant position in the emerging town planning game in which many of its members became prominent players - especially in the layout/design of townships (Maré, 1956: 2-3 and Muller, 1993b: 5).

## BITMAP THREE OF MAP ONE VESTED INTERESTS AND TECHNOCRATS

And NOW: Back to the planning game and the Transvaal township establishment Acts passed in the first decade of this century discussed in Bitmap Two of this Map. It is generally held that those responsible for these pieces of legislation [aimed at regulating the establishment of townships] in the Transvaal were:

1. the Surveyor General and his staff, as well as Lionel Curtis, Town Clerk of Johannesburg until 1904 and thereafter an official in the Colonial Secretary's office, who was an influential contributor to the exclusion of "coloured persons" from the municipal voter's roll in the drafting of the Transvaal Municipalities Election Ordinance of 1903 (see Floyd, 1960: 40; Simons and Simons, 1983: 67 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 3-5),] as they "... were of course the officials best placed to obtain the experience necessary to make them realise the evils that were arising from lack of proper control over the subdivision of land" (Floyd, 1960: 40 and 1959: 13; Douglas, 1946: 49; Interview, Mallows, March 1 1995 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 3-4); and
2. "private interests", such as land owners, who were eager for government to ensure more control over land use "... to remake urban areas in ways suitable for their activities ...", without restricting their ability to dispose of their properties as they chose (Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 51).

Both groups, it has been suggested, were aware and influenced by the "... awakened interest in town planning that had arisen in Europe" (Floyd, 1960: 40 and see Anon, 1907: 277 and Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 51). Parnell and Mabin quote Home (1990) as pointing out that "... town planning

was part of the currency of progressive paternalist ideas circulating in the British Empire in the early 20th century" and relating that "(e)vents and successes in the campaign for town planning legislation were eagerly followed in certain quarters in the Transvaal" (1995: 51 and see Mabin 1992: 1 and King, 1980: 205 for a corresponding view on this vehicle of exportation of planning ideas to British colonies in the early twentieth century) [- the campaign in Britain, as was the case in South Africa, strongly driven by the middle and land owning classes *inter alia* attempting to protect their vested, unmoveable interests from "... the uncertainties of the speculative development process" (Ward, 1994: 32 and see Ward, 1994: 30-33; Millichap, 1995: 280-281 and Low, 1991: 17-19).]

Considering who the first lobbyists for planning were, viz vested interests (property owners) and technicians (land surveyors), the first versions of the local game make sense - reactive and technical, administrative measures, "... practised on sober lines which owners of property" felt, were "reasonable" (Floyd, 1960: 9), with the dual aims of:

1. protecting and enhancing the *status quo* (see King, 1980: 210 for a similar opinion of the role of planning in British colonies at that time); and
2. curtailing private greed for the broader public welfare [read: "the welfare of the white middle and propertied classes"] by controlling/regulating the subdivision/layout of land and the use and density of land in new extensions to towns (Floyd, 1960: 46 and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 1 and 5).

The *planning* by government for future growth/extensions of towns and the *redevelopment and reconstruction* of existing urban areas, were not addressed (see also Mabin and Smit, 1992: 5 and Prinsen, 1966: 13). As such, it was a technocratic kind of planning not really showing any signs of the progressive, reformist strains of British planning, only the reactive side, and sharing much in common with early German planning [which had also impacted heavily on the early "*British and American Town Planning movement*" (Geddes, 1968: 395)], in which "*equity and process*" were not regarded "... as important as efficiency" (Mullin, 1982: 115). [In for instance the *Journal of the Institute of Land Surveyors of Transvaal* an explicit call was made on South African surveyors to make themselves "... conversant with the instructive books which, especially in Germany, have appeared on the subject of town planning and town extension" (Anon, 1910b: 73)].

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP ONE THE LANGUAGE GAME OF SEGREGATION AND THAT OF PLANNING

It is important to realise that the first pieces of "planning legislation" aimed at regulating township establishment were passed at a time in which there were very strong segregationist forces at work in the "country", as is clear from the following actions:

1. a "*Town Regulation*", passed in 1899, prohibited "*coloured persons*" (including Africans) from residing in "*any town or village*" in the "ZAR", except for "*domestic*"

*servants*” who were allowed to be “*kept*” (sic) in the backyard of “*every householder, or owner of an erf*” (Statute Law of the Transvaal, 1901: 1102 and see Davenport, 1989: 547 and 1991: 2 and Prinsen, 1966: 25);

2. the forced overnight relocation by the Johannesburg municipality, after an outbreak of bubonic plague in March 1904 [following on similar “sanitation-driven” relocations in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town in a similar nation-wide plague during 1901-1903], of “... *as many Africans as it could manage to its first ‘native location’ [at that stage called a “temporary camp” - which it proved not to be (Callinicos, 1987: 76)] at Klipspruit [ironically “next to a sewerage farm” (Callinicos, 1987: 76)], where part of Soweto stands today*” (Mabin, 1991: 9 and Callinicos, 1987: 75-76; Christopher, 1984: 75-76 and Frescura, 1992: 1); and
3. the passing of:
  - \* the first Native Locations Act by the Cape Parliament in 1869, followed by various amendments in 1876, 1878, 1884 and 1892 and the Native Reserve Location Act, Act No 40 of 1902, to *inter alia* “... *provide for the better and more effectual supervision and management of Native Locations ...*” outside TOWNS (Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1884-1888, 1889: 119 and 119-124; Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1889-1893, 1894: 534-537 and Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1905, 1906: 4511-4513);
  - \* Law No 3 of 1885 in the South African Republic prohibiting Asians from owning fixed property in Transvaal (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1919: 329 and see Simons and Simons, 1983: 68-69);
  - \* the Gold Law of 1898 of the “ZAR” prohibiting “*coloured persons*” from land ownership in “*stand townships*” (see Bitmap One of this Map);
  - \* a Locations Act in Natal in 1904, Act No 2 of 1904, “... *to enable Town Councils to establish Native Locations*” (Statutes of Natal, 1907: Municipal Corporations: 3-4);
  - \* the Transvaal Municipal Corporations Ordinance, No 58 of 1903, legislating that every Municipal Council in the Transvaal “... *may with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor lay out on lands under its control such locations for natives as may be deemed desirable and erect suitable buildings thereon for the occupation of such natives ... and may compel all natives residing in the Municipality except such as hold letters of exemption ... or certificates of exemption ... or are employed in service and are lodged on the premises of their employers, to reside within such locations*” (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1903, 1904: 387);
  - \* the Orange River Colony’s Municipal Corporations Ordinance, No 6 of 1904 and the Bloemfontein Municipal Ordinance, No 35 of 1903, empowering the Town Council of Bloemfontein and the Town Councils of all other municipalities in the Colony “... *to establish locations on such part or parts of the Municipal lands as they may think fit, within which all coloured persons other than domestic servants residing on their employers’ premises shall be compelled to reside ...*” [the same went for any Board of Management of “a

*village not being a municipality*", in the Colony] (Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 799, 1015-1016 and 1052); and

- \* the Bloemfontein Municipal Ordinance, No 35 of 1903, the Orange River Colony's Municipal Corporations Ordinance, No 6 of 1904, and the Transvaal Municipal Corporations Ordinance, No 58 of 1903, read together with the Transvaal Municipalities Election Ordinance, No 38 of 1903, restricting the municipal franchise to "*white persons only*" and paving the way for "... *administration on segregated lines in the ex-(Boer) Republics*" (Davenport, 1989: 547; Simons and Simons, 1983: 67; Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 774-807 and 993-1019 and Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1903, 1904: 210-258 and 373-407).

Now, while these moves were not made in what was to become the planning game, they were to have an enormous effect on the game in two senses:

1. The first, by the underlying forces overtly making their way into the planning game, in that two of the restrictive conditions that were "*usually*" imposed by the Transvaal Townships Board - called to life by the Township Ordinance No 19 of 1905 [and on which *inter alia* the Surveyor-General and the Registrar of Deeds served (see Section 2.(1) of the Ordinance in Government Gazette, 22nd September 1905: 460)] - on erven at township establishment were: "... (b) *No occupation by coloured persons*" and "(c) *No sale to persons (of erven) other than a white person*" (Prinsen, 1966: 11 and 12). What these conditions amounted to was nothing less than *enacting and entrenching racial segregation in new extensions to towns, restricting ownership of new erven to "Europeans/whites only"*. While segregation per se may thus not explicitly have been part of the planning game, it was from its first small steps/moves, tainted by the language game of racial segregation, humming its tune[, or dancing away into the dark, if you like].
2. The second, more implicitly, in that these legal attempts at racial segregation created the overarching segregationist legal framework [- superstructure -] within which the further moves in the planning game were to be made.

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP ONE ACCELERATED TOWNWARD MOVEMENT (ATM) AND STILL VERY LITTLE PLANNING (SVLP)

In the two decades following the creation of the Union of South Africa the movement toward towns [especially to the Witwatersrand] accelerated sharply, largely as a result of droughts, "*growing agricultural capitalism*", the Land Act of 1913, as well as the lure of jobs in towns, brought about by a rapid expansion in the manufacturing sector (see Callinicos, 1987: 82-84 and 118-119; Davenport, 1989: 259 and 524 and 1991: 2 and van der Waal, 1987: 165-171). This rapid townward movement, however, came at a time in which public powers were [still] generally

weak, their powers over planning not clearly spelt out/in flux, plans/schemes for future growth absent and existing measures/legislation not forcefully implemented, mainly due to a lack of resources and the Will to Act (Mabin, 1991: 9; Mabin and Smit, 1992: 6-8; Waugh, 1928: 226; Furner, 1929: 138; Tompkins *et al*, 1911: 143 and Tompkins, 1924: 68). In these conditions "*slum landlords*" and "*merciless*" land subdividers had a field day (Tompkins, 1929: 117; Cornish-Bowden, 1930: 254-255 and Mitchell, 1925: 343) and "*haphazard*" development, much like that in the previous decade, but this time round on a much bigger scale, was common (Brayshaw, 1928: 54; Furner, 1929: 136; Cornish-Bowden, 1930: 255 and Pearse, 1931: 1). The result was urban areas in which:

1. large numbers of the new townspeople, especially the low-paid, pass-bearing African town dwellers, lived in appalling, overcrowded, under-serviced unhealthy slum conditions, reaching "... a crisis point in 1918 to 1919" when, "(n)ot fit to resist sickness, 127 745 black people died during the influenza epidemic" (Callinicos, 1987: 79 and 84 and see Parnell, 1993: 112);
2. the more affluent townspeople suffered from a contravention of "... the generally accepted rule that no man has the right so as to interfere with the rights of others" (Tompkins, 1929: 118) through "*non-conforming land uses*" invading their residential areas (Cornish-Bowden, 1930: 256);
3. the coordination of trunk road networks proved very arduous (Tompkins, 1929: 118; Brayshaw, 1928: 54 and Furner, 1929: 136);
4. "*beauty and amenity*" in towns took a back seat (Cornish-Bowden, 1930: 255; Porter, 1930: 124-126; Pearse, 1931: 1 and 1929: 77 and Waugh, 1928: 229); and
5. the "*general health and well-being of the community*" was being threatened (Pearse, 1931: 1 and Allen, 1931: 100).

These conditions did not go unnoticed. On the contrary, they elicited "*great concern over the future of cities*" with a multitude of voices going up for the better administration of towns and town planning (Mabin, 1992a: 4 and see Parnell, 1993: 102-106; Anon, 1910b: 73; Waugh, 1916a: 11-12; Howden, 1917a: 117 and Hawthorn, 1919: 581). However, for nearly a decade following on the passing of the 1907 and 1908 Transvaal Townships Ordinances very little progress was made in getting legislation passed that would make planning for future extensions and redevelopment of existing areas possible. The only legislation that was passed, after a lengthy powerplay between the various levels of Government (see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 6-8), that can be regarded as a step in this direction, was the Financial Relations Act No. 10 of 1913, which entrusted the establishment of townships and the subdivision of land for urban use to the provinces (Prinsen, 1966: 13 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 7-8). [There were of course a host of further additions and amendments in the early 1900s to the nineteenth century Acts regarding municipal/local authorities (see *inter alia* Ordinances of the Province of the Transvaal, 1911 and 1912, 1912: 119-239 and 1926, 1926: 16-152; Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, 1909: 993-1019, 1234-1236 and 1047-1053; Acts of Parliament of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1902: 4468-4474) whereby local authorities - "*Town/Village Councils and Village Management Boards*" - were empowered to *inter alia* ensure the provision of services, the upkeep of roads, health and sanitation and the prevention of nuisances in villages/towns/cities, but they, clearly, met with only limited

success and did not provide for the regulation of extensions to villages, towns and cities, nor did they provide for the *planning* for future extensions to villages, towns and cities.]

This dearth in legislation was, according to Mabin, largely the result of the First World War delaying "... *the setting of policy and allocation of powers relating to urban planning*" (1991: 9 and see Floyd, 1959: 14; Brayshaw, 1916: 328 Pritchard, 1922: 93 for support of this view). While not denying the contribution of the War, I believe that two other factors, relating to those who were the primary players in the game at the time, and which I discuss in the following two paragraphs, could also have been partially responsible for the slow progress.

1. *The parochial, predominantly technical, layout-centred view of town planning of those largely involved in/with it at that stage - the land surveyors.* For example: Between 1909 and 1918 town planning was seldomly mentioned in the mouthpiece of the profession in the Transvaal, the *Journal of the Institute of Land Surveyors of Transvaal*; the majority of notices and articles devoted to technical matters of surveying and new surveying equipment and methods. Where "*town planning*" was mentioned or discussed, the authors mainly:
  - \* decried the lack of opportunities for surveyors to apply "*scientific*" and "*artistic*" principles to layouts, due to both the Government and private land owners ("*landlords*") seeking the most erven at the lowest cost (Anon, 1910a: 19-20; Tompkins et al, 1911: 141; van der Sterr *et al*, 1909: 4; Tompkins *et al*, 1912: 46-47);
  - \* argued the need for the use of both "*artistic*" and "*scientific*" principles in the layout of towns (Tompkins *et al*, 1911: 141-142 and 1912: 46-47 and Anon 1910: 73); and
  - \* suggested that all proposed layout plans be referred to a "*committee of experts for report*" who should have the power to reject "*unsuitable plans*" (as judged according to the application of "*scientific*" and "*artistic*" principles) (Tompkins *et al*, 1912: 48). [This was later done: the Transvaal Townships Board "... *agreed to submit to the Town Planning Association* (see Bitmap Eight of this Map) *for consideration and comment before final approval, all plans for proposed new townships*" (Town Planning Association, Transvaal, 1922: 87)].

The appalling housing conditions of the poor, mostly Africans, while having a technical dimension, but mainly residing on a *non-technical* plane, were not mentioned.

2. *The Land Surveyors' self/profession-centred view with regards to town planning.* From numerous articles and comments which appeared in the *Journal of the Institute of Land Surveyors of Transvaal* from 1908 to 1910 (see Ferguson, 1912: 10; Anon, 1910a: 18-20; Tompkins, 1910: 41; van der Sterr *et al*, 1909: 3-4 and Brayshaw, 1908: 309-310) it is very clear that the Land Surveying profession was in a crisis at that stage, as:
  - \* "(t)he need for the services of the Land Surveyor ha(d) steadily become less as the general survey of the country ha(d) gradually approached completion" while the number of students in the field had been "*steadily increasing*" (Anon,

1910a: 18); and

- \* *"members of allied professions"* had begun encroaching upon *"the preserves of the Land Surveyors"* (Harries, 1908: 246 and Ferguson, 1912: 11) at a time in which the land surveyors were already suffering from a serious concern over their status as professionals [primarily as a result of not having university training/diplomas] *vis a vis* university-qualified professionals [such as architects and engineers] (Anon, 1910c: 83; Pritchard, 1911: 177-178 and Ferguson, 1912: 11).

In order to counter these tendencies which had seen many surveyors leave the country for "... *the Malay States and other colonies*" (Brayshaw, 1912: 14), it was argued that land surveying must expand into *"allied fields"*, including town planning (Ferguson, 1912: 10; Anon, 1910a: 18-20; Tompkins, 1910: 41; van der Sterr *et al*, 1909: 3-4 and Brayshaw, 1908: 309-310). Clearly, town planning was seen by many land surveyors *not* as a "social/moral/higher calling", but more as a way of ensuring the survival of the land surveying profession and those involved in it - including themselves.

Given this self/profession-centred, layout-centred view of town planning, it makes sense why the land surveyors made no calls for new planning legislation between 1908 and 1918:

1. the survival of the profession did not depend on new legislation; and
2. the existing legislation covered the full extent of the work land surveyors' [mostly] technical competence permitted them to do - draft layouts and plot stands.

## BITMAP SIX OF MAP ONE A SPURT OF REFORM

World War One was not only to delay the passing of the necessary legislation to make planning in its full sense possible, it also had two other very distinct effects:

1. it created a local manufacturing boom as South Africa had to produce basic manufactured goods it could not import from England during the war, speeding up the townward movement and aggravating the existing housing shortage, resulting in even worse slum conditions and disease (Callinicos, 1987: 82-84 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 9); and
2. it resulted in a massive reconstruction, housing and slum clearance drive in Britain, to make it "... *a land fit for heroes (the returning soldiers) to live in*" (Ward, 1994: 40-42) - sentiments which also made their way to South Africa (see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 8-11; van der Sterr, 1919: 539; Howden, 1917b: 118; 1917c: 47 and 1917d: 78; Anon, 1917: 47; Anon, 1920: 1; Waugh, 1916c: 41 and see Waugh, 1916a: 11-12 and 1917a: 51-52).

The combined result of these two outcomes of the War was a renewed drive for planning in South Africa, with a host of new players joining the local town planning lobby that had previously been dominated by land surveyors and vested interests [i.e. land owners]

represented by the Federation of Ratepayers (Transvaal Town Planning Association, 1929: 32)}: architects, civil/municipal engineers, medical officers/health officials and even a philanthropist - the founder of the local "*Garden Cities Trust*" - Richard Stuttaford (see *inter alia* Mabin and Smit, 1992: 8-13; Parnell, 1993: 107; Lloyd-Davies, 1916; Snape, 1928: 137; Waugh, 1916a: 11-12; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1929: 32-33; Anon, 1931b: 159 and Myers, 1953: 25-29). And, for a short while, the calls that went up for [better] planning and the moves that were made in the planning lobby, were broader, reformist and [even] visionary and integrated in nature, aspiring to address both the more technical, as well as the terrible housing and living conditions of the poor (see Waugh, 1916a: 11-12; Waugh, 1917a: 51-52; Mabin, 1991: 9-10 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 8-15). Many of these moves, however, were not made to alleviate the plight of the African townspeople, but were attempts at safeguarding middle class white townspeople from "... *the large numbers of natives herded together, as it were, among white communities ... likely to cause frequent epidemics of disease ...*" (Anon, 1917: 43 and see Davenport, 1989: 260; Callinicos, 1987: 79 and Parnell, 1993: 107-108). Nor were all the players affected by/committed to the social reform agenda: Amidst all this "action" the Institute of Land Surveyors of Transvaal was engrossed in:

1. discoursing and denouncing the Provincial Authorities for time delays in the establishment of townships; and
2. the technical detail of debating, formulating and proposing amendments to the 1907 Townships Ordinance to ease out problems regarding the establishment of Agricultural Settlements/townships (Anon, 1919: 571-581 and see Halberstadt, 1918: 426). [These endeavours eventually resulted in the passing of the Agricultural Holdings Act, No 22 of 1919, applicable only in the Transvaal (see Province Transvaal Ordinances, 1986: A15-A34).]

Out of all the reformist fervour only two pieces of legislation were passed with some of these concerns intact:

1. The Public Health Act of 1919, Act No. 36 of 1919, especially in its Chapter VIII on "*Housing and Sanitation*" in which local authorities were given substantial powers to prevent unhealthy and unsafe living conditions (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1919: 184-320 and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 11). Despite it being a "*potentially powerful*" piece of planning legislation "... *the Health Department ... found it difficult to implement*" (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 12 and see Mitchell, 1925: 343), mainly as the division of powers between the various levels of Government regarding town planning had not been sorted out (see Mitchell, 1925: 343 and Notes and Comments, 1925: 344) and not much came of it (Mabin and Smit, 1992: 13).
2. The Housing Act of 1920, Act No. 35 of 1920 (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1920: 168-191), which enabled local authorities to loan money from a provincial "*Housing Loans Fund*" funded by Parliament (see Sections 2 and 3 of the Act in Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1920: 171-172) for the construction of "*approved dwellings*" in "*approved housing schemes*" for all in need. Section 7(3) specifically allowed the Administrator to "... *require the local authority in whose area it is intended that such scheme shall be carried out to make reasonable provision for dwellings for the poorest section of*"



*the population including the coloured and native people*" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1920: 176). In practice, however, it turned out to further "... *enhance already-entrenched segregation*" as "... *only schemes for specific racially-defined 'groups' were approved*" (Mabin, 1991: 9 and 1992: 408). It also proved to be slow in delivery, especially so in the case of the Africans, for whom the first schemes were only built after 1934 as "... *sub-economic funds were made available to Local Authorities for the housing of Natives only as from 1934*" (Silberman, 1943: 115-116 and see Calderwood, 1953: 5-6 and Callinicos, 1987: 80). [Prior to that date "... *Natives ... had been expressly excluded from (sub-economic loans)*" as per a Government Circular Letter, dated May 7 1930 (Silberman, 1943: 115 and see Note 4).]

## BITMAP SEVEN OF MAP ONE

### THE LANGUAGE GAME OF SEGREGATION EXPANDS ITS VOCABULARY

At around the time the 1919 Public Health Act and the 1920 Housing Act were passed, other local political and economical forces and tendencies were coming to the fore, most notably a growing desire among the white electorate [- *their vote making them a powerful force* (Callinicos, 1987: 127 and 145) -] for racial segregation (Davenport, 1989: 547; Simons and Simons, 1983: 322 and see the deliberations in Parliament on the Native Urban Areas Bill in South Africa, 1923: 294-300 and 359-362) and rising fears among white workers of African competition in the workplace (Davenport, 1989: 278-292 and Simons and Simons, 1983: 305-307). Out of these tendencies came forth:

1. the government's acceptance of the view of the Stallard Commission appointed in 1921 "... *that urban areas were the white man's creation and that Africans had a right to be there only in far as they were administering to the white man's needs*" (Davenport, 1989: 548);
2. the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No 21 of 1923, to *inter alia* provide for the compulsory establishment by local authorities [- Sections 2, 3 and 5 of the Act and Section 1 specified that local authorities could also do so on own accord -] of "*locations*", "*native villages*" and/or "*hostels*" for "*natives*" (see Section 1 of the Act for a definition of these terms) in which, in terms of Section 1.1(b) of the Act, "*(t)he provisions of any law in force in the province concerned governing the establishment of townships shall not apply ...*" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1923: 140-197; Davenport, 1989: 548 and 1991: 2-7 and Christopher, 1984: 76); and
3. the election in 1924 [shortly after the forcefully suppressed Rand Rebellion of 1922 - a strike of white workers against mine owners admitting Africans to jobs previously held by whites - in which the strikers took as their slogan "*Workers of the World, Unite for a White South Africa*" (Findley and Rothney, 1990: 217)] of the coalition [Afrikaner] Nationalist-Labour Pact government committed to racial segregation (Davenport, 1989: 286; Findley and Rothney, 1990: 217 and Simons and Simons, 1983: 619).

The impact of these developments on the urban [planning] scene was the creation and subsequent strengthening of two distinct sets of residential planning by government [institutions]: planning for [and control of] "*native locations, villages and hostels*" and "*the rest of urban South Africa*" (Davenport, 1989: 548 and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 15).

## BITMAP EIGHT OF MAP ONE TOWN PLANNING ORDINANCES ARE FINALLY PASSED

South African planners had, as discussed earlier on, always been aware and influenced by developments in other countries. During and after the First World War this *awareness* grew steadily, I contend, partially as a result of local planners meeting [and learning more about planning from] their British planning-counterparts in the trenches (see Howden, 1917d: 78 and Waugh, 1917a: 51), but also due to:

1. the internationalisation [and Empire-consolidation and feeling of unity] brought about by the War, better communication, better transport modes, more printed material in circulation on the developments in planning abroad, more visits to European countries by local planners after the War (see *inter alia* Waugh, 1928: 227-228; Anon, 1920a: 1; Anon, 1920b: 40-41, Anon, 1920c: 1; Brayshaw, 1916: 328; Howden, 1917b: 119; Waugh, 1916b: 17; Cornish-Bowden, 1925; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1931: 125; Muller, 1993: 7 and Anon, 1931c: 127); and
2. the visit of the English planner, the devout follower of Raymond Unwin, A J Thompson to South Africa in the early 1920s, during which time he addressed local planners on his [and Unwin's] ideas on planning [as exemplified in his work in *inter alia* the garden suburb/city of Pinelands] (see Thompson, 1924).

Evidence of this *awareness* is to be found in references in the local discourse to:

1. the concepts of "*garden suburbs*" and "*garden cities*" (Lloyd-Davies, 1916: 113-117; Waugh, 1917b: 62; Howden, 1917c: 47; Brayshaw, 1925: 69; Cornish-Bowden, 1925: 313 and Porter, 1930: 124);
2. the design of public buildings, civic design, "*beautiful cities*" and "*civic pride*" as matters of great importance, most probably indicating a sprinkling of the American City Beautiful movement and Camillo Sitte's writings (Lloyd-Davies, 1916: 112; Delbridge, 1916: 193; Association of Transvaal Architects, 1917: 59; Webber, 1920: 39; Allen, 1931: 100-101; Furner, 1929: 137; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1925: 60 and Porter, 1930: 124-125);
3. the concept of zoning [areas for exclusive uses] - a concept that had become particularly popular in the USA, following on the adoption by New York City of the first comprehensive zoning ordinance in that country in 1916 (Power, 1989: 1 and see *inter alia* Webber, 1920: 39; van der Sterr, 1924: 109; Waugh, 1928: 229; Furner, 1929: 139; Schelin, 1931: 30; Cornish-Bowden, 1925: 313 and 1930: 256 and Editorial note, 1926: 202);
4. rationality/reason and the notion of the expert Professional [Gentle] Man needing to take care of planning [just like in Great Britain at that time (Ward, 1994: 34 and see Thompson, 1924: 185)] on behalf of an ignorant public (see *inter alia* Kendall, 1916: 197; Webber,

1920: 38; Allen, 1931: 100-101; Snape, 1928: 137; Brayshaw, 1928: 53; Tompkins, 1924: 53 and Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1925: 61 and see also a very early reference to the "Plebs" in Waugh, 1916a: 11). [A very good example of the rise of the Professional Man being the establishment of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa (counting "planners" among its members) whose object it was to ensure that "... *the scientific and technical men of the country (could) be in close contact with one another, for the advantage of the country, in the first instance, and themselves as well*" (Watermeyer, 1922: 99). In this endeavour they were, of course, copying "... *their professional brethren in London and the United States*" (Anon, 1920d: 42).]

It was especially the latter two modernist concepts (reason and zoning) that were zealously embraced by the members of the local planning movement and which saw them embarking on a distinct modernist course: using Marshall Berman's terminology (1989: 243), a course of "*modernisation as routine*", not "*modernisation as adventure*". "*Modernisation as adventure*" alluding to modernisation as an ongoing process - an ongoing adventure of creation in the material world by making use of, but at the same time developing, the human spirit and intellect (Berman, 1989: 243), and during/in which "... *all that is solid [without fail] melts into air*" (the title of Berman, 1989 and see also Map α). "*Modernisation as routine*", on the other hand, referring to the use of [the expert's] reason/intellect to create/build something "new" and "better", but then freezing the creative energies after the goal has been obtained and using reason to hold the world so created, in place - thus a once off creative event [of one author], leading to a "rational" end state, implying a "*death sentence for the spirit*" (Berman, 1989: 243 and see 242-243) - a condition in which one of many possible means toward ends, such as zoning, become ends in themselves. [While this was a disheartening development, it is not such a singular occurrence, for as Evans writes about the British town planning movement: "*The radical ideas of the early town planning pioneers, which were aimed at a large cross-section of society, inevitably became routinised and bureaucratised*" (1994: 188).]

Out of this "*routinised version of modernity*" came forth numerous calls for rational, comprehensive town plans/schemes (see Lloyd-Davies, 1916: 107; Snape, 1928: 140-143; Waugh, 1928: 229; Allen, 1931: 100 and Muller, 1996: 5-6) and the formulation of "recipes" to regulate/control the planning of such schemes and township layouts by members of the planning movement: so-called town planning "*principles*" and "*procedures*" (Webber, 1920: 39-40; Schoch, 1923; Tompkins, 1924; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1925: 65 and 70 and 1929: 33; Waugh, 1928: 227 and Whittingdale, 1929: 268 and 278), also called "*planning lines*" (Whittingdale, 1929: 277 and Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1925: 61) and "*regulations*" (Porter, 1931: 14; Lloyd-Davies, 1916: 108-112 and Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1924: 95-100). Compared to the technical principles called for, and drawn up, by the land surveyors a decade earlier (see Bitmap Five of this Map), many of these later principles/regulations were far more restrictive and [even] more technically exact than the earlier ones, specifying the precise gradient of streets, the size of blocks and the size of erven (see Schoch, 1923: 26-27 and Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1924: 95-100). [Just how important these restrictions were for some, becomes clear from the following anecdote: In 1924 the (imported) esteemed English planner, A J Thompson (also referred to earlier in this Bitmap), gave a talk at an evening meeting of the Institute of Land Surveyors in Cape Town,

at which he *inter alia* spoke of the need for a town planner to possess "... a very big imagination, with very broad views, enabling you to look into the future and grasp the essentials of everything that surrounds your scheme ..." (1924: 183). This was followed by a discussion in which the first question put to him, was: "What do you consider a reasonable gradient for constructing a road laid out on the mountain-side for developing a township?" (1924: 187).]

This idea of bringing rational [comprehensive] order/control - zoning - to bear on towns was to sit perfectly in the expanding segregationist legal framework: Just as urban areas c/would be brought under rational control by breaking them up into [or rather, reducing them to] clear cut, segregated use zones[ "... of business, residential, industrial and recreational" (Furner, 1929: 139)], "the Native Location", perceived as just another use zone that could/had to be controlled, had its segregated, functional place: "outside the (European) township", along with the "... cemetery, depositing site, abattoir and pound" (Schoch, 1923: 27 and see Fitzsimons, 1930: 122; Schelin, 1931a: 403 and Bremner, 1924: 69-81). And, in designing the "Townships for Natives and Coloured Persons" "... the same principles should be followed as in townships for European occupation, with the difference, however: that as in the former the houses will be smaller and there will be less traffic, the erven should be smaller and the streets narrower" (Schoch, 1923: 27). This was modern rational man speaking, not maliciously, just applying unadulterated reason to "the situation as given". One of the best examples of this being a competition, very enthusiastically written out and entered, in 1931 for the design of a so-called "Model Native Township" (Anon, 1931a: 86, 88 and 91). The broader political framework did not, as far as I could ascertain, enter the planning discourse of the "professional expert, the man of Reason", locked up in the modernity of routine.

It was, I hold, in this circumscribed, routinised modernist spirit that the members of the Town Planning Associations [established in each of the four provinces, the first in 1919 in Transvaal, (Muller, 1996: 5) and the last in Natal in 1931 (Schelin, 1931: 30)] began lobbying for legislation that would counter the malconditions discussed in Bitmap Five of this Map and make "carefully considered town planning" (Furner, 1929: 136) for future extensions to towns and cities possible (Furner, 1931: 19). Part of this lobbying consisted of educating the public on the "crying need" for town planning (see Furner, 1929: 136 and 137 and 1931: 19; Porter, H, 1931: 51 and Porter, C, 1931: 19) through players speaking at meetings of public organisations, such as the Rotarians (Allen, 1930 and Schelin, 1931a), the National Council of Women (Cornish-Bowden, 1929) and public lectures (Porter, 1930 and see Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1931: 125). This was done with religious fervour as the members believed that "public support" was imperative for Government to take note of the issue and for planning legislation to be passed that would effectively counter the ills planning was meant to mitigate (Snape, 1928: 136-138 and 150; Schelin, 1931a: 403 and 1931b: 30; Warner, 1929: 139; Cornish-Bowden, 1930: 257; Porter, 1930: 124 and Brayshaw, 1925: 71 and 1928: 54) - as Carl Schelin, the first President of the Town Planning Association of Natal noted, "... apathy and lack of understanding are the arch-enemies of organised town planning" (1931b: 30). The players were, however, acutely aware of the immensity of the task they had set for themselves, as is clear from the remark by Lloyd-

Davies, the City Engineer of Cape Town in 1927, that "... *no subject is so little understood as town planning*" (1927: 355). Nevertheless they were not daunted, as they believed that town planning legislation would make "... *towns more efficient, more healthy, more pleasing and more inspiring*" (Pearse, 1931: 1 and see Waugh, 1928: 229) and that the "*enthusiastic*" (Waugh, 1928: 226), "*public-spirited*" (Anon, 1927: 356) "*good, voluntary work*" they were doing, was for "... *the benefit of South Africa*" (Allen, 1931: 100; Waugh, 1916a: 12 and 1928: 229; Snape, 1928: 142 and Porter, 1930: 124).

In this spirited self-sacrificing, evangelical endeavour they were, much like their counterparts in Great Britain (see Millichap, 1995: 280-281), taking on the role of priests [not *prophets* - that they would have been, had they viewed modernity as an ongoing adventure (see Evans, 1994: 188 for a similar snippet on priests and prophets)] of a *secular religion* [combining Romantic and religious traits with Enlightenment rationality (see Wickham, 1991: 362 for a similar reading of Sociology)], and preaching that:

1. the [too] fast growing [out of control/chaotic] city with its inefficiency, squalor, poverty and homelessness is a "fallen place", or if you like, the place of "*original sin*" (Grabow, 1977: 119);
2. redemption/salvation is possible/on offer - an end state "*New Jerusalem*" (Millichap, 1995: 280, also uses this metaphor), zoned, controlled, healthier and more attractive can be created here on earth[ - the "I have a dream" promise (Krieger, 1987: 6)]; and
3. human expertise, reason, the trained mind of the expert, can and will bring this New Jerusalem to be[ar], if only the people would sacrifice their own selfish longings for the common good, allow themselves to be taught, had faith in the planners and placed their towns and cities in the planners' expert hands. [There have been numerous authors who have likened planning to a faith/religion, such as Krieger (1987) who provides a very enlightening reading of planning and design as religious activities, Reade (1983: 160), who also likens planning to a "*secular religion*", Auster, who also refers to the "*planning faith*" (1989: 207) and calls planning "... *a creed with many sects*" (1989: 212) and Wildavsky, who comments (in Reade, 1982: 68) that "*Planning is not so much a subject for the social scientist as for the theologian*".]

In a sense they were, locked up [trapped?] in what Sennett describes as "... *the contradiction of every bourgeois, that mixed desire for progress and order*" (1990: 277).

However, for planning legislation to be passed which would empower municipalities to plan and bring the New Jerusalem to be, other moves had to be made in other games. As discussed in Bitmap Five of this Map, after the passing of the Financial Relations Act No. 10 of 1913, which entrusted the establishment of townships and the subdivision of land for urban use to the provinces, little else had been forthcoming, largely the result of the First World War. A renewed national concern and "*much talk*" in the public arena in the 1920's over the administration and control of urban areas, coupled with the work of the various provincial Town Planning Associations, put the passing of planning legislation back on the national agenda again (Prinsen 1966: 13). In Natal one outcome of this concern[, fuelled by "... *white public opinion beginning to demand radical solutions*" (Davenport, 1989: 267),] was the

introduction of the Class Areas Bill of 1924 which would establish "... *areas reserved for any 'class' of persons, either for residence or trade or both, and for the proclamation of such areas*" (Mabin, 1991: 10). The Bill, aimed strongly against Indian traders (Davenport, 1989: 267), lapsed with the election of the Pact Government in 1924, but its main tenets were carried through into the Areas Reservation Bill in 1926 (Mabin, 1992b: 409). This latter Bill was not passed, not because of a change of heart, but to save the South African Government from embarrassment in a conference with the Indian Government (Mabin, 1991: 10 and Davenport, 1989: 292).

Nationally, discussions on planning legislation were nevertheless continuing, resulting eventually, after much consultation, many moves and the general acceptance of the principle "... *that the interests of private owners be subordinated to those of the general public*", in the passing of the Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers Amendment Act No 46 of 1925 (Prinsen, 1966: 13). It was [Section 17 of] this Act which "... *gave the Provinces the power to draw up new town planning legislation*" (Prinsen, 1966: 13 and see Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1925: 870; Porter, 1925: 68 and Whittingdale, 1927: 268), out of which was to come forth the Transvaal Townships and Town-Planning Ordinance, No 11 of 1931, a testament to the ceaseless efforts of the Transvaal Town Planning Association (Pearse, 1938a: 240). [A Town-planning Ordinance was passed in the Cape Province in 1927 (for a detailed discussion of this Ordinance see Whittingdale, 1927: 268-278), but this Ordinance was "... *permissive, it did not compel local authorities to undertake town planning*" (Mabin, 1991: 10).] The Transvaal Ordinance, "... *modelled closely on the British Housing and Town Planning Acts of 1909*", 1919 and 1925 (Mabin, 1991: 10 and Anon, 1930a: 41) [- Muller (1983: 17) suggests it was based on the British Town Planning Act of 1925, while Mabin, in a different year (1992: 7), pins it on the British Housing, Town Planning Etc. Act, 1919 -], followed by similar ordinances in the Cape Province and Natal in 1934 and the Orange Free State [only] in 1947 (Floyd, 1960: 43), was the first ordinance explicitly requiring a number of specified municipalities [and any others the Administrator chose to apply the provisions to,] to plan for future extensions to their municipal areas (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 14-41; Mabin, 1991: 10 and Prinsen, 1966: 14), and to, in the preparation of such schemes, reserve "... *land for occupation by persons other than Europeans*" (First Schedule, Ordinance 11 of 1931, Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 41). Incidentally the 1909 British Act the local Ordinance was [at least partially] modelled on, was also an important first move in the language game of planning in Britain for two reasons. *Firstly*, it marked the start of "town extension planning" through making it possible (not compulsory) for local governments to prepare town planning schemes for "... *land liable to be used for building development ... which "... would essentially allow the use and density zoning of the new suburban areas*" (Ward, 1994: 33). *Secondly*, as it earmarked the first statutory use of the word "town planning" in Britain (McLoughlin, 1973: 13).

Amongst all these firsts, the passing of the 1931 Transvaal Ordinance was essentially also a last - the last legal step in the birth of statutory town planning as I defined it in the beginning of this chapter, i.e. legislation enabling public intervention for the public benefit in *inter alia* the use of land, housing and living conditions in towns/cities and the course of

future urban development, and that means we can map/move on.

## BITMAP NINE OF MAP ONE

### GOSSIP

We could map/move on to Map Two, but our story would be much less spicy if we left this map now, without spending some time on the local Town Planning Movement.

While it would seem from the discourse of planners at the time that there was commonality in the cause, there was a definite antagonism between some of the members of the two most dominant groups in the movement - the architects and the land surveyors. Surveyors were viewed by some architects as uncreative and the perpetrators of the grid-iron/rectangular layout, irrespective of place or contour (see Waugh, 1917a: 52; Webber, 1920: 38-39; Tompkins, 1924: 67 and see Thompson, 1924: 180-183). Some surveyors even expressed this apprehension about their own profession (Anon, 1910b: 73; Tompkins *et al*, 1911: 141; Cornish-Bowden, 1925 and Muller, 1993: 5). Architects on the other hand, were seen by many land surveyors as being more concerned about the aesthetic and ornamental, than the practical aspects of town planning (see Tompkins, 1923: 51 and 1924: 67; Webber, 1920: 38-40, Schoch, 1923: 25; Brayshaw, 1923: 53; Anon, 1912: 46; Tudhope, 1925: 249).

Now, whether this "professional unease" [antagonism] was the cause or not, I do not know, but it is in print, that, with the establishment of the Town Planning Association of Transvaal in 1919 by [principally] the *Association of Transvaal Architects* (Pearse, 1938b: 9 and Muller, 1996: 5):

1. very few land surveyors attended the meetings of the Association (see Rowland, 1920: 14 and Anon, 1920e: 57); and
2. after an election for the twelve members of the first Council of the Association in which no land surveyors were elected, the Institute of Land Surveyors of Transvaal withdrew from the Association as an institutional member (Pritchard, 1922: 96 and Watermeyer, 1922: 98-99). [Land surveyors in their individual capacities, nevertheless, still remained in the Association].

A year later, however, the President of the Institute, C P Tompkins, announced in his Presidential Address that the Institute had "... *decided to co-operate with the Town-Planning Association again*" and that two surveyors had been nominated to serve on the Council of the Association (Tompkins, 1923: 51). From his address it would seem that the decision to return was based on a perception that:

1. the Association had embarked on an inappropriate course in their "*model town-planning regulations*", abandoning the grid-iron layout and opting for examples from "*English practice*": "... *narrow lanes and twisted curved lanes, blocks of houses, and so on*"; and

2. the land surveyors were needed in the Association to *inter alia* prevent this development from going any further, *inter alia* as "... we live now in rectangular houses: if you want to lay out a tennis court it is rectangular ..." (Tompkins, 1923: 52). From the discussion following on the President's address it is clear that the general feeling towards the Association among those present, despite their acceptance of the decision to return to it, was still not positive: Not only was the Association perceived to have "... taken upon itself rights which do not belong with it at all; it is trying to enforce certain laws on the country" (Webber, 1923: 52), but it "appeared" to some that "... the Association would like to leave the surveyor out of count altogether" (Tucker, 1923: 55). It also became apparent why a number of land surveyors were opposed to the non-rectangular townships - the tariff for surveying a lot/stand was fixed, irrespective of the number of corners of a lot, and an irregular layout thus implied more work with no increase in the professional fee (see Brayshaw, 1923: 56).

But here it does not end: It is also in print that there was, at this time, in-fighting over the domain of the various professions. As mapped in Bitmap Six of this Map, the land surveyors perceived "members of allied professions" to be invading "... the preserves of the Land Surveyors" (Harries, 1908: 246 and Ferguson, 1912: 11 and see letters under Correspondence, 1931: 35-36). So too, did the architects, perceiving quantity surveyors [and even "quacks", like "the speculative builder" and "... many others best left unmentioned" (Pearse, 1929: 78)] to be "... encroaching upon the province of the architect" (Professional, 1916: 32 and see Professional, 1917: 58; Anon, 1930b: 126 and the numerous letters under Correspondence, 1916: 43-44). Fears, it would seem that were carried forward into the planning game.

Incidentally all this professional jostling for position, power and Pounds was nothing strange, as far, far away in Denmark, a similar situation was playing itself out - in this case the engineers and the architects were fighting for dominance in the local planning game in that country (Knudsen, 1988). A discord Knudsen holds, which "... might in the long run have led to a weakening of the planners' political influence" in that country (1988: 297), as, "... compared to other Northern European countries, Denmark achieved planning legislation late" (1988: 309).

## BITMAP TEN OF MAP ONE

### SO

So, this is my reading of the birth of the language game of South African urban and regional planning:

1. After embryonic beginnings in rudimentary regulations aimed at ensuring "the good order", health and convenience in towns [and "cities"], it was born as a reactive administrative and technical activity,
  - \* largely in response to the social costs of "haphazard development" and slum



- conditions accompanying a time of rapid townward movement in which speculators were placing individual benefit over the broader public welfare [read: "the welfare of the white middle and propertied classes"]; and
- \* assisted at first by parochial technocrats [with very self-centred reasons for going into planning] and vested interests, and joined later by "inspired modernist experts" [whom I compared to priests of a secular religion], who strove for the creation of more functional, more aesthetically pleasing towns and cities.
2. In-fighting between the members of the various professions in the game at its birth was common - dominance, financial gain and the focus on the aesthetic aspect of the game by the Architects, *vis a vis* the more functionally-inclined Land Surveyors, the main reasons for the scuffles.
  3. While there was a short burst of social reformism at work in the game during and shortly after the First World War, very little came of this in the shape of planning legislation and actual implementation.
  4. As the game was born at a time in which racial segregation was being enacted and intensified, it was not only tainted by the language game of segregation, it was also strongly shaped and its vocabulary influenced by this [expanding] segregationist legal framework.

## BITMAP ELEVEN OF MAP ONE NOW

Now, while the initial local conditions might have been unique, the initial, founding ideas were of course not. As we saw, most of the texts had travelled here from other contexts, and in most cases not just from "original context to colony". Just as texts travelled extensively between the colonial mother countries in the Europe and the USA (Meller, 1995 and Knudsen, 1988: 297-298), texts also travelled between colonies (see *inter alia* Waugh, 1916b: 17 and 1917b: 62; Mabin and Smit, 1992: 9 and Notes on New Planning Legislation, 1926: 202-204). In the process of travel, as French philosopher Jacques Derrida tells us about texts, taking with them and shedding [on their journeys] some of the meanings they were given/had in the contexts within which they originated or sojourned (Van Haute and IJsseling, 1992: 9-28). Sadly though, it would seem, in the case of South African planning, shedding most of their more visionary, reformist meanings and retaining the narrower, more technical, more control-orientated ones of a modernism which viewed "*modernity as (a) routine*" (Berman, 1989: 243) in the process of adhering/yielding/bending to the Powers that Be [whoever those/they may be].

# MAP TWO 1932-1939

## *IN WHICH* **THE GAME** **REMAINS MUCH THE SAME** **AND SOME PLAYERS OPT** **FOR SURGERY**

*"Zoning is the most important branch of town planning: in fact, it is the root of the subject"*  
(Hamlin, 1934: 70).

*"... for practical men are proud of getting on without theory"* (Johnston, 1965: 199).

# BITMAP ONE OF MAP TWO

## ATTRACTIONS AND INFLUENCING FORCES

### ATTRACTION 1

#### ZONING AND TOWN PLANNING SCHEMES

As could be expected, the passing of the Transvaal Town Planning and Townships Ordinance in 1931, which required a number of municipalities to prepare town planning schemes, would push zoning and [the preparation of] town planning schemes onto center stage. So strong was the attraction it would seem, that for some, for some time at least, town planning became zoning (see *inter alia* Hamlin, 1934: 70; Howells, 1934: 64; Thompson, 1936: 345-348 and Bowling, 1938: 26-27). In this arguably, of course, "*City Efficient*"-phase [with its focus on "*sanitation, safety and efficiency*" (Johnston, 1965: 205)] of South African town planning, numerous papers were read on the subject (see *inter alia* Thompson, 1936; Bowling, 1938; Pearse, 1936a; Floyd, 1934 and 1935; Hamlin, 1937: 28-32 and McIntosh, 1938) and the vocabulary of zoning expanded dramatically from its meagre stock of the 1920's, to a large degree formulating the inventory of concepts in the field of zoning as we know it to [this] day. The *case for zoning also took* on new guises, and ones that were sure to appeal especially to rate-paying property owners and local authorities in, and after, the severe Great Depression (see Davenport, 1989: 302-310 for an exposition of the Depression and its effects on South Africa). It was now being presented/sold as an instrument that:

1. made economic sense, as town planning schemes ensured "... *the more economic development and growth of towns*" (Bowling, 1938: 26 and see Thompson, 1936: 346-347; Floyd, 1934: 18 and Pearse, 1936a: 342), by ensuring that the "... *various units of the town are placed in their correct position or relationship one to the other, and in the correct proportion*" (Bowling, 1936: 109);
2. could "... *save local authorities from 10 to 15 percent on their budgets*" (Hamlin, 1934: 70); and
3. could protect property values and ensure harmonious development of neighbouring properties as it removed the possibility of negative externalities and "*conflict*" (Thompson, 1936: 346-347; Bowling, 1938; Pearse as quoted in Riley, 1932: 187 and Scott, 1939: 151).

As is clear, in this last reason for zoning, the exclusionary sentiment so prevalent in the early years of zoning in the USA (see Cullingworth, 1993: 63-75), was definitely present in the early discourse on South African zoning. A sentiment which is perhaps best illustrated in a paper by T B Floyd (1935), on density zoning, in which he first states that "(g)ood residential areas should be protected against the damage caused by undesirable uses and poorer types of residence" (Floyd, 1935: 56) and then suggests two ways of achieving this:

1. by the provision of open spaces or parks acting as "*barriers*" to "... *slum area(s) creeping into good residential zones ...*"; and

2. by keeping a public transport service out of such "*good residential areas*" (1935: 56).

In another paper, but in much the same exclusionary vein, this influential and prolific speaker on zoning (see Players in Bitmap Two of this Map), proposed that zoning be used for another purpose: the enactment and "... *encouragement in every possible way*" of residential segregation through town planning schemes, by *inter alia*:

1. providing "*separate residential zones*" for "*Europeans, Natives, Coloured people and Asiatics*"; and
2. using "*(i)ndustrial areas, open spaces and topographical features ... wherever practicable to separate the residential zones occupied by the different races*" (1934: 27-28).

This, Floyd (1934: 28) held, was to be done as:

1. "*(r)esidential property occupied by non-Europeans detrimentally affects the value of European property in close proximity to it*"; and
2. "*(t)he natives are easier to control if separate and not under or subject to the influences of degraded Europeans or Asiatics*".

But, not only did Floyd suggest the separation of "*natives*", he also made a suggestion on where "*(n)ative locations ought preferably to be sited*", viz "... *on a railway line as this is still the cheapest form of transport for natives*" (1934: 28). [As a photo in Callinicos shows, this entailed transporting the "*natives*" in cattle trucks to and from their places of work (1987: 174).] His concern, however, did not really lie so much with the "*natives*", as he continues that "*(i)f the natives' cost of living is forced up by high transport costs, their wages must ultimately also rise, thereby increasing the costs of production in factories and works without anyone benefitting*" (1934: 28). [E J Hamlin, the City Engineer of Johannesburg at the time, made very similar proposals for the future siting of native locations in Johannesburg - proposals that were to determine the Town Council's approach to these locations, which in turn became an "... *example of cheap housing to other growing industrial towns in future years*" (Callinicos, 1987: 174 and see Callinicos, 1987: 174-175). Floyd was in the employ of the Johannesburg City Engineer's Department in 1933 (Hamlin, 1934: 70) and Hamlin states in a paper in 1937 that he "... *has learnt a great deal about the subject of Town Planning*" from Floyd (1937: 116). So, it could possibly be argued that Floyd's proposals had a major impact on the official approach towards "*native locations*" in South Africa.]

Floyd, in this discourse, a concoction of segregation, bordering on political propaganda, and cold, hard, rational efficiency, was nevertheless not alone, for as Mabin remarks, there were a number of members of the Town Planning Association of Transvaal who also called for the use of the Ordinance's zoning powers "... *to create racial zones and thereby enforce segregation, especially against Indian traders*" (1992a: 9). Also in Natal an architect, F Powers, suggested housing the various race groups in separate areas (1932b: 244). And so were there among those taking part in the discussion of Floyd's paper (1934), none who spoke out against his proposals, only some who commended his "solution" to South Africa's "*peculiar problems*" (Abrahams, 1934: 68) and "... *many complexities of race and colour*" (Howells, 1934: 64). Strangely enough, South Africa was not the only country where zoning and residential

segregation met [in text], and for all we know the local text might have migrated here from that other example, the USA, where, as Silver has shown, "... *the desire to regulate black residential patterns constituted a major objective of the early zoning and planning movement*" (1991: 189).

Now as we know today, while racial zones were never imposed *under* town planning schemes, it did not mean the divorce of segregationist ideas from rational efficiency in planning for urban areas. Nor did it mean the end of the road for Floyd's proposals, as less than twenty years later (1951), proposals on buffer strips and the siting of "*native locations*", chillingly familiar to those of Floyd (1934: 27-28), were published and strictly enforced by Verwoerd's Department of Native Affairs (see Oranje, 1996b: 282). And, interestingly enough, thirty odd years thereafter [ - in 1987 - ], the President's Council of the P W Botha-State of Emergency Apartheid-Government suggested using town planning schemes to implement racial zoning (Waanders, 1988: 2 and Personal Interview: Waanders, 1993). At this occasion the Council of the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners advised against such a move (Personal Interview, Badenhorst, April 14 1997 and Kannenberg, 1990b: 1) and, once again, whether it was on this advice or not, the proposal was not implemented (see also Attraction 1 in Bitmap One of Map Six).

## ATTRACTION 2 METROPOLITAN/REGIONAL PLANNING

Mass migration to the Witwatersrand in the late 1920's and 1930's, largely due to overcrowding in the "*Native Reserves*" and rapid industrial growth, facilitated by strong state interventions in the economy (Davenport, 1989: 309; Callinicos, 1987: 173 and Mabin, 1992a: 9, 12 and 24), produced a sprawling, interwoven conurbation/"*Rand Region*" (Mabin, 1992a: 7 and Smit, 1933: 34). This in turn resulted in calls going up for the treatment/joint planning of the Rand as one urban region (see Mabin, 1992a: 7, 11 and 12; Furner, 1929: 138; Waugh, 1928: 229 and Fitzsimons, 1930: 121). [Similar calls went up regarding the Cape Peninsula and Cape Flats, the Port Elizabeth region and the East London region (Snape, 1928: 141).] In answer to these calls, and as Mabin suggests, under the hand of one of these callers, E H Waugh, the City Engineer of Johannesburg from 1927 to 1932, who "... *helped to draft the Ordinance*", a clause (Section 37) was added to the Transvaal Townships and Town Planning Ordinance, 1931 (Mabin, 1992a: 11), making provision for "... *the local authorities of any two or more municipalities which are adjacent or in close proximity to one another ... (to) jointly submit a scheme of all the land situated within their respective municipalities and, ... for the purpose of the preparation of such a scheme, (to) appoint a joint town planning committee ...*" (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 31).

This paved the way for the creation of the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee in 1932 with the intention to draw up such a regional scheme (see Mabin, 1992 for the full story of the body). The body did, however, not live up to the expectations of some (see Allen, 1933; Pearse, 1936b: 127 and Smit, 1933) who saw in it a much wider [planning] role than just the drafting of

town planning schemes (Mabin, 1992a: 12-25 and 35). It did, as a matter of fact, not even deliver a joint town planning scheme for the Rand. Primarily to blame for this were internal strains between some of the constituting local authorities [resulting from *inter alia* the inability to reach consensus on the "... placing of Bantu townships on a regional basis" (van Vuuren, 1965: 130)] and the "... style of the consultants, ... who clearly preferred dealing with the local authorities one at a time" (Mabin, 1995b: 72), but also the advent of the Second World War, which put the activities of the Committee on hold [and after which it "... was not to be revived as an effective body"] (Mabin, 1992a: 25).

In the end, this first brief fling with metropolitan/regional planning merely led to the preparation of town planning schemes for individual local authorities, and little more.

**ATTRACTION 3**  
**THE ONCE OFF LARGE SCALE**  
**SURGICAL REMOVAL [DESTRUCTION]**  
**AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CITY**  
**AS A MACHINE**  
**[AS PROPAGATED BY LE CORBUSIER**  
**AND THE CONGRES INTERNATIONAL**  
**D' ARCHITECTURE MODERNE (CIAM)**  
**IN ITS TOWN PLANNING**  
**CHARTER, 1933]**

A long, long time ago[, in 1925 for those who love to know just how long ago and who will not be able to concentrate further unless provided with the date.] Stanley Furner, an English architect, was appointed to the post of senior lecturer in the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) (Herbert, 1974: 10-11). A keen follower of the "*newest developments*" in architecture (Herbert, 1974: 11), Furner set out exposing the students in the department, among them one Rex Martienssen who was at that stage more of a Romantic (Herbert, 1974: 38), to the Modern Movement in architecture in Europe (Pearse, 1942a: 305).

In the same year (1925) in which Furner was appointed at WITS, Martienssen, his "*field of vision expanded*" as a result of Furner's influence (Herbert, 1974: 26), and accompanied by his close friend and co-architectural student, Gordon McIntosh, left South Africa on a Students' Tour, visiting England, Holland, Belgium and France (Herbert, 1974: 26-28). Martienssen returned to South Africa "... *thrilled with what he had seen*" (Pearse, 1942a: 305): "... *the poetry of rational architecture, ... the possibility of creating forms not derivative from the historical styles ... and the joyful spontaneity of great architecture*" (Herbert, 1974: 27). These revelations set him off on a distinctly Modernist course (see Martienssen, 1927 and 1929), which not only took him into the work of Le Corbusier, Gropius and Mendelsohn (Pearse, 1942a: 305; Hanson, *et al*,

1942: 310 and Herbert, 1974: 46-47), but also induced an intense inner "... *wrestling with the raging dichotomy between romance and reason*" (Herbert, 1974: 43). A dichotomy that was only put to rest (Herbert, 1974: 53), during another tour to Europe from January to May 1930, on which he was accompanied by Norman Hanson, a younger architectural student and friend (see Herbert, 1974: 49-53). On his return to South Africa in May 1930, "(h)is path ... sure, his doubts resolved", he commenced practice "... in a spirit of uncompromising modernism" (Herbert, 1974: 53). While [t]his practice only produced a small amount of work, his work "... was quite outstanding" and soon gained him recognition as "... one of the foremost exponents of the contemporary movement in architecture" (Pearse, 1942a: 306). [Interestingly enough the great American social reformist planner, Catherine Bauer also undertook a post-graduation tour to Europe in the late 1920s, during which time "... she was exposed to the modernist designs of such architects as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier ...", and which was, as in the case of Martienssen, to have a profound influence on her (Oberlander and Newbrun, 1995: 10).]

A year later (1931) he began writing regularly for the *South African Architectural Record* (SAAR), and in the same year he became Honorary Editor of the Journal alongside Professor Pearse (Herbert, 1974: 55). In 1932 he began teaching in the WITS Department of Architecture (Pearse, 1942a: 306). In these two endeavours, far more than through his work, he began a revolution in the then conservative *art* and *science* of South African Architecture (see for instance Kendall, 1936: 410 and the 1932-editions of *the SA Architectural Record*), making disciples of the Modern Movement [and of Rex Martienssen] among his students, and building up a strong following among the practitioners, among them his old travelling friends Gordon McIntosh and Norman Hanson (Herbert, 1974: 65-72). These two developments, together with his visit to Le Corbusier in 1934 (see Martienssen, 1934) and his election to the *CIAM* [and later to its executive in 1937], saw Martienssen acquire guru status and the Modern Movement in South African Architecture gain international recognition (Herbert, 1974: 99-103, Le Corbusier, 1936: 383 and Anon, 1942: 354). But even more than that, it established Martienssen as the life [blood] of the local Modern Movement in Architecture.

And Now?

Well, now,

1. as town planning and architecture were closely linked at the WITS Architecture Department at this stage, largely as a result of the active involvement of Professor Pearse, the Head, and Stanley Furner in the Transvaal Town Planning Association; and
2. given Le Corbusier and the *CIAM*'s excursions into town planning, it was a logical step for Martienssen and his "*Transvaal Modernist Group*" (as they were known by then) to push their tentacles into town planning as well (Herbert, 1974: 236). And, as could be expected, whenever the Group wrote or said a word on town planning, which they clearly saw as "... *an extension of architecture*" (Martienssen, 1941: 4), it was in the words, works and illustrations of their god - Le Corbusier - and the holy scriptures of the *CIAM* (see

McIntosh, 1932a, 1932b and 1938; Hanson, 1936: 377-378; Muller, 1996 and Herbert, 1974: 236). The tame, *far-too-timid*, "conservative (and) common-sense" approach to town planning of the likes of Professor Pearse, Stanley Furner and the Transvaal Town Planning Association was not for them (Herbert, 1974: 236). There was "no cure" for the existing "errors" in cities (McIntosh, 1932b: 204), it was "... useless to try to adapt the framework of the old town" and "... cutting here and there" would not do (McIntosh 1938: 44) - cities had to be redesigned *in toto*, "[re]planned completely" as machines for a machine age (McIntosh, 1938: 44) and rebuilt on surgically "cleared ground" (Hanson, 1938: 87). Here was the distinct, definite modernist urge [to use planning] to create a better world - progress - by making use of the same technology that had created the "fallen city" (see specifically Jonas, 1938: 3-4, Pearse, 1938b: 9; Kantorowich, 1938: 74-76 and Hanson, 1938: 85-87 for a very strong expression of this sentiment). This *progress* was however limited to material progress; spiritual progress of the city dwellers was to come as a result of the material progress - not in the same process as the material progress would.

Now, despite their desire to move away from the *far-too-timid* approach of Professor Pearse and Furner, these ideas, the blueprint end-state plans of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM* (Hall, 1982: 80-81), were essentially just a heightened/radicalised [hyper-brutal], hyper-rational form of the strain of modernity that drove the local town planning lobby from the 1920s onwards - "modernisation as routine" (Berman, 1989: 242-248), i.e. the desire to use reason to create a better world and then to use reason to keep it in the mould so created. They offered the promise of the "final, universally applicable solution" that would make them - the "experts"/"men of reason" - [once and for all] the victors over the "disorder", "mixed land use pattern" and "haphazardness" of the "fallen city" of the day (see McIntosh, 1938: 44 and Pearse, 1938a: 231, 237 and 242 and 1938b: 9). And they offered the method [Le Corbusier's "Surgical Method" (Hanson, 1938: 87)] to match the fervour of those interested in improving the world - the brutal removal of the old and the rebuilding of the new.

Transvaal was of course not the only province in the country [despite what some might have thought at the time,] and far, far away, but at roughly the same time (early in 1937), another development took place which is of importance: Leslie Thornton-White was appointed as first Professor in the Department of Architecture at the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Herbert, 1974: 227). And, also "... connected with the ideas of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM*" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 54 and see Thornton-White, 1938 and Pinnock, 1989: 156), Professor Thornton-White, just like Martienssen at WITS, introduced his students to these ideas, as well as to the work that was being done in the Transvaal by the Modernist Group (Herbert, 1974: 227). The result of the teachings of these two Professors was that students at both the Schools of Architecture were being exposed to the ideas of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM* on town planning and many were zealously taking to them (see Herbert, 1974: 197; Jonas 1938b and Coaton *et al*, 1934) - the clearest manifestation of this trend being the holding of a Congress devoted to Town Planning by the Architectural Students' Society of WITS in conjunction with the Architecture students of UCT in Johannesburg in 1938 (see Herbert, 1974: 197). Not only were many of the papers presented at the Congress steeped in the Internationalist town planning ideas of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM* (see McIntosh, 1938; Thornton-White, 1938 and Hanson, 1938), but a student



proposal for a "*Model Native Township*" making use of these ideas, was also "unveiled" (Kantorowich, 1938). This proposal, however, illustrated far more than the stark Le Corbusierian slabs, it also signalled a departure from Martienssen and Le Corbusier's standpoint that "... *the architect, as artist, was essentially a-political*" (Martienssen, 1942: 86 and see Herbert, 1974: 239), in that it:

1. lamented the deplorable *culturo-socio-econo-spatial-political* conditions the "*natives*" were subjected to by the whites (Kantorowich, 1938: 74); and
2. showed genuine, albeit paternalistic concern with the "*natives*" for whom the "*township*" was designed (Kantorowich, 1938: 75-76).

Furthermore, Kurt Jonas, the Chairman of the Students' Society and a member of the group who prepared the proposal for the "*Model Native Township*", stated clearly in his opening address that one of the aims of their model was to make "... *the architect ... realise that he cannot pursue his art in the seclusion of a studio, but must help to prepare the ground for it on the battlefield of social forces*" (Jonas, 1938a: 7). [In the same year Jonas (1938b: 15) suggested in a paper presented to the Architectural Students' Society that it is the task of the architect to "... *try to take part in the struggle for a new society - throwing a bridge, an arch - parabolic, if you like - across the gulf that separates us from the society to come*".]

Clearly, to the Left-leaning Roy Kantorowich, the student who presented the scheme for the "*Model Native Township*", and the Marxist Kurt Jonas, architecture [and town planning, "its extension"] was no longer only an art, but a social science as well (Herbert, 1974: 239) - a social science that was as much about designing "... *a beautiful world to live in*" (Jonas, 1938b: 4), as it was about effecting the change in the econo-political system from a capitalist one, "... *in which none of the town planning schemes of Le Corbusier (would) be produced*" (Jonas, 1938b: 214), to a classless "*planned society*" in which they would (see Jonas, 1938a: 4 and see Herbert, 1974: 238-239). [As Anthony points out, Le Corbusier "... *did not try to find workable means to put his designs on the ground, or to adjust the complicated legal framework of land ownership and development. He simply said in his frequently irritable fashion that the legal and economic aspects of, and problems created by, his city designs were for others to study and solve*" (1966: 286).]

Jonas was, sadly, never able to pursue his ideals further as he passed away very unexpectedly in March 1942 as a result of a heart attack (Martienssen, 1942: 110-111 and Notes in Herbert, 1974 on Jonas). Kantorowich, on the other hand, visited the Greenbelt towns in the USA in 1940 [the paper of his visit, written in August 1940 was only published in the SAAR in December 1942] where he, evidently, became even more disenchanted with the "... *mechanistic and coldly inhuman tendencies common in some European modern architectural thought*" (Kantorowich, 1942c: 390-391) and moved further away from the idea of town planning as "... *the insistent demonstration of the genius of some individual ...*" to town planning as a social science fulfilling a "*social function*" (Kantorowich, 1942c: 387). By 1942 he had developed his unease with the Modern Movement into a compelling intellectually rigorous "thesis", as is clearly evident in a very compelling paper, published in the SAAR in 1942, in which he inter

*alia* argued that Le Corbusier displayed Fascist tendencies in his work, accused him of megalomania and relegated him [in typical modern fashion] to just another great architect of the past [- the biggest slap in the face any modernist can get -] with both positive and negative "aspects" (Kantorowich, 1942a: 11-15). These accusations and criticisms did, however, not go unnoticed and he was swiftly and severely rebuked by Heather Martienssen, Martienssen's [artist] wife, in an equally well argued letter published in the *SAAR* (Martienssen, H, 1942). Kantorowich, in turn, defended his stance in a letter to the Editor of the *SAAR* (1942b) and Hanson (1942) joined in too in a letter to the Editor, siding strongly with Kantorowich. It was this action of Hanson's, himself being one of the founders of the Transvaal Group and one of Martienssen's earliest friends, which was probably the most devastating for the Movement and which surely spelt an urgent need for [rational] soul searching and repair (Herbert, 1974: 240). Alas, this was never to happen, as in November of that year Martienssen passed away unexpectedly, and with that the heroic phase of the Modern Movement in South African Architecture, its high priest gone, came to a tragic end (Herbert, 1974: 241-247) [but of course not the Modern style in Architecture]. As for town planning, with social issues taking center spot during the [Second World] War years (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Three) and with two of its main articulators on town planning either dead or disgruntled, the Modern Movement's heroic jaunts into town planning ceased and its voice in the language game of South African town planning became just a [nother] layer of historical text, a whisper and/or a byte in a [nother] thesis.

So, in concluding this section on the attraction to the ideas of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM* on *town planning*, it would seem that it was little more than a passionate, but brief attraction, a phenomenon of no more than ten years - 1932 to 1942 - largely restricted to the halls of academe, the discourse of some practising architects befriended to Rex Martienssen and the pages of the *SAAR* [whenever Professor Pearse was on study leave abroad and gave Rex Martienssen a free reign (see Herbert, 1974: 65-66 and Martienssen and Fassler, 1934: Editorial Apologia on leading page)]. Never did the Group's incursions into planning extend beyond the written text into the mass destruction and rebuilding of cities along the lines as proposed by Le Corbusier and the *CIAM*. Thus, so it seems, it was a "happening", not unlike that in the British language game where the exclusive "... *MARS (Modern Architectural Research) Group* was established during the 1930s to provide a British forum on the model of the *CIAM*" (Ward, 1994: 65). [The British excursion, however, lasted somewhat longer, the group finally dissolving in 1957 (Crook, 1989: 306, Note 102).]

*But that is only one view.*

It has also been suggested by two esteemed South African academics - Sue Parnell and Alan Mabin - that this dabbling in the town planning idea[*l*]s and aspirations of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM* was to play a considerable part in the shaping of the language game of South African town planning in the years to come (Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 54-60).

*So, was the fling thus less brief and more passionate?*

It is my opinion that Parnell and Mabin are correct in their assertion that modernism played a very important part in the establishment of South African town planning, but that they overplay the impact of Le Corbusier and the CIAM [and their grandiose proposals] in this regard. This I believe is due to their equation of the modernism of the Modern Movement with all shapes and forms of modernism, while this Movement was only a [nother] strain of modernism - as I suggested earlier on, *a radicalised form of the routinised version thereof* [- as Friedmann writes "*(b)ut then, CIAM did not invent modernity. The set of ideas we call modern are rather a philosophical legacy of the Age of Reason*" (1989: 217)]. By not appreciating this, the ideas of Le Corbusier and the CIAM get a much longer leash of life and are granted a greater importance in South African town planning than they actually had (see Muller, 1996: 214 for a similar view). The only real influence I can see these radical ideas as having had in the *planning game after the early 1940s*, is in their intensification of the already prevalent idea at the time that there was a rational, internationally/universally applicable, technological, ever-lasting, quick fix to [all] complex *socio-econo-spatial-political* problems/situations, albeit not necessarily in the [high-rise-in-the-park] built form[at] as preached by the Modern Movement.

## ATTRACTION 4 SLUM CLEARANCE

The rapid urbanisation of the 1920s and 1930s not only led to the creation of a "*Rand Region*" (see Attraction 2 of this Bitmap), but further exacerbated the appalling living conditions in the slums of the major centres in the country, as "*(y)ear by year, unskilled labourers, both black and white, flocked into the growing cities*" (Le May, 1971: 64), there to find residence only in the already crowded slums (Le May, 1971: 64; Callinicos, 1987: Chapter 7 and Davenport, 1989: 309).

To some, like Professor Pearse, the Head of the Department of Architecture of the University of the Witwatersrand at the time, his staff members and students and a few other architects in Johannesburg, the *appalling living conditions* were a matter of grave concern and one they reacted to by awakening public interest in the matter (see Pearse, 1938b: 9; 1934 and 1932a: 5). This they accomplished by doing a survey of one such slum in Johannesburg, Fordsburg, proposing some housing schemes for sites in the slum[, one of them Le Corbusier-influenced,] and publishing a book entitled *To Hell with Slums* (Pearse, 1938b: 9 and see Coaton *et al*, 1934: 271-272).

To others, such as General Hertzog and his National Party [and the Dutch Reformed Church (see Harrison, 1983: 71).] the slums were far more than the sites of intolerable living conditions. They were the home of many thousands of the 250 000 Afrikaners [- a quarter of the total Afrikaner population -] the *Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White question had found to be* living on or below the level of subsistence in 1933 (Adam and Giliomee, 1983: 150 and Le May, 1971: 64). For these Afrikaners, members of the ethnic group whom Hertzog considered to be "*... the pioneers of civilization in South Africa*", to be living "*cheek by*

*jowl*" with other races in such appalling conditions, was to the National Party, a sad disgrace and one they could not tolerate (see Le May, 1971: 64; Harrison, 1983: 71-72 and SA, 1934: 3653; 3660; 3663 and 3665).

To another set of others, the various races living together in the slums held the real possibility of the establishment of a "*militant nonracial workers' movement*" which could present a genuine threat to the existing capitalist order (Adam and Giliomee, 1983: 151 and see SA, 1934: 3653).

So, when, according to Professor Pearse (1938a: 9) the "*public interest*" created by his department, led to the introduction of a Slums Bill in Parliament in 1934 by Minister Jan Hofmeyer, it was warmly welcomed by all the Parties in Parliament (see SA, 1934: 3657 and 3662), especially so by the National Party Members of Parliament for the promise it held of lifting the Afrikaners out of the slums and in so doing, ending the "*racial mixing*" ("*rassevermening*") in the slums (see SA, 1934: 3653, 3663 and 3665). The Bill subsequently went through Parliament with few hitches and resulted in the Slums Act of 1934, Section 3 of which empowered certain [larger] local authorities "... *to take all lawful, necessary and reasonably practicable measures:*

- (a) *for preventing or remedying or causing to be prevented and remedied all nuisances in its district; and*
- (b) *for ensuring the provision of suitable housing generally and as far as circumstances permit for the inhabitants of its district"* (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1934: 554).

These measures did, however, not apply to "... *any location, native village or native hostel or any part thereof ...*" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1934: 552).

A number of local authorities were quick to make use of the powers they were granted in terms of this Act, despite a very small amount of money being made available for implementing it (Gerhardt, 1936: 415), and actual slum clearances soon followed (see Mabin, 1991: 11 and Callinicos, 1987: 182 and 185). And, as could be expected, given the background against which the Act was promulgated, "... *segregation ruled (in the clearances), as municipalities condemned racially integrated (and genuinely overcrowded, poorly serviced) buildings, blocks and neighbourhoods - moving their occupants to newly planned, highly ordered public housing schemes divided according to 'race'*" (Mabin, 1991: 11). But, not only were the new schemes "*divided according to race*", whites were, for instance, in the case of Johannesburg rehoused "... *on the demolished sites of the old inner city slums*" in houses of a "*somewhat higher standard*" than those provided for the Africans (Callinicos, 1987: 185), while the Africans were relocated in the "*native location*" of Orlando, developed as a dependent, satellite town, and located 20 kilometres outside Johannesburg (Callinicos, 1987: 76; 174 and 185). [It is informative to know that the President of the Transvaal Town Planning Association at the time, E H Waugh, who retired as City Engineer of Johannesburg in 1932, expressed his revulsion in a newspaper article in 1934 at the "... *promiscuous mixing of races and children*" in the slums (Pearse, 1934: 121).]

Now, while slum clearances did take place, the lack of sufficient funding for the construction of new housing restricted the ability of local authorities to make a substantial difference to the poor housing and living conditions of the "... *workers and the poorer classes of the community*" (Gerhardt, 1936: 415-417). According to one commentator, this was due to the authorities "*insufficiently comprehending*" the importance of housing, and leaving the "*housing problem for the poor*" to public utility companies who, due to the unattractiveness of the market from a private commercial standpoint, were made dependent on "*public charity/philanthropy*" for funds (Gerhardt, 1936: 417-418).

In retrospect then, not only did this Act, well intended by some [planners], do little to improve the living conditions of the poor, but where it was implemented, it furthered residential segregation and wilfully removed Africans further away from the places of possible employment. In a sense, it was once again a case of the endeavours of players of the language game of planning being tainted by the motives of players of less well-meaning language games - in this case those of discrimination, segregation and exclusion.

## ATTRACTION 5 THE LAYOUT/DESIGN OF TOWNSHIPS

Given the rapid urbanisation during this decade and the resulting "... *many new townships*" that were "... *laid out, particularly on the Rand*", the layout of new townships and the division of blocks into stands/erven, remained "... *a subject of actuality and of undoubted interest*" (Baldochi, 1938: 60 and Pearse, 1936b: 127). There was, however, a new development in this era: Strongly influenced by new trends in American layout planning, local planners had begun turning away from the "... *right angle grid layout for a contour layout or another type of layout*" (Baldochi, 1938: 60). As this trend resulted in street blocks with new shapes, novel ways of dividing blocks into stands were required, proposed and seriously discussed - many of those new "ways of division" remaining with us to this day (see Floyd, 1938 and Discussion, 1938 in which the paper by Floyd is discussed). [The choice of terminology in Floyd's (1938) title to this paper - "*building blocks*", referring to street blocks - is an interesting one, most probably bearing testimony to the modernist preoccupation with breaking up of wholes - in this case the city - into parts/blocks, and finding that they do not necessarily function as a whole again when reconstituted.]

## ATTRACTION 6 CIVIC DESIGN

As in the 1920s *civic design* [and the lack of "*civic pride*"] remained a topic of discourse (see Baker, 1939 (a reprint of a lecture delivered in 1911); Pearse, 1933: 4; 1936b: 130 and 1938a; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1932: 296 and Jonas, 1938: 4). A strong influence on those planners attracted to this field seemed to be overseas travel where "... *the beautiful street scenes of many continental towns and cities*" left a lasting influence on them (Pearse, 1936b: 131; 1932b and see Waugh, 1934). In practice, though, most of the proposals of the planners [at beautifying cities]

and the placing of public buildings] were ignored (see Pearse, 1936b: 128 and 130 and 1938a: 240-241).

## ATTRACTION 7

### THE PUBLIC [OPINION]

Just like in the previous two decades the planners of the day (see Scott, 1939: 151; Thompson, 1936: 356-357; Webber, 1932: 298; Pearse, 1936a: 333; Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1932: 295 and Snape, 1936: 119) were keenly aware of the fact that "... *no law can be forced on an unwilling people*" (Webber, 1932: 297), and that in their endeavours to have planning legislation passed and implemented[ - town planning schemes in this decade -], in the words of Minister Jan Hofmeyer[, the Minister who was "... primarily responsible for the Transvaal Townships and Town Planning Act of 1931" (Pearse, 1938b: 9).] "... *much continues to depend on public opinion ...*" (Hofmeyer, 1938: 5). For instance:

1. according to Pearse, the passing of the Slums Act of 1934 was largely brought about by the public interest created by the Town Planning Association in the need to do something about the slum conditions in Fordsburg (1938a: 9 and see Attraction 4 of this Bitmap);
2. in the drawing up of the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme, all 70 000 property owners were sent questionnaires asking each owner "... *his or her definite opinion regarding certain very material conditions to be applied to the site*" and "... *as far as possible, ... the requests of the majority (were) followed*" (Hamlin, 1936a: 121). [This was an exercise and response over and above that prescribed by the Transvaal Town Planning Ordinance, 1931, which only gave "*every owner or occupier of immovable property*" the right to object to a draft town planning scheme after it had been drafted and submitted to the Administrator (see Sections 39 to 41 of the Ordinance on Townships and Town Planning, 1931 in Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 31-32), but which did not warrant an amendment to the scheme. On the other hand it was not such an enlightened endeavour, as in Stalinist Russia at that time, in the drafting of town planning schemes, "... *all working people, for instance, ... (took) part in the work by discussing the sketches for the scheme, frequently making valuable suggestions*" (Mauthner, 1938: 249).]

## ATTRACTION 8

### URBAN TRANSPORT

Closely tied up with the preparation of town planning schemes was the planning of major urban transport routes to which some players in the planning game had been attracted since the 1920's (see Bitmap Five of Map One). In this decade, given the huge increase in motor vehicles and traffic in especially the larger urban centres (Hamlin, 1936b: 147 and McIntosh, 1932a: 309), the attraction grew (see Thompson, 1936: 346; Hamlin, 1936b and Pearse, 1936a: 333 and 1938a: 231), but not as a field in which the players of the planning game saw themselves as experts - more as a field which the players believed they should take note of and become acquainted with, in

order to ensure "better" planning (see Hamlin, 1936b: 142).

## ATTRACTION 9 RECONSTRUCTION VIA PUBLIC WORKS

This is a concept/concern to which apparently only one player was attracted - Andrew Allen, the President of the Town Planning Association of Transvaal for the year 1932/1933 - and one which he raised in his address on taking the chair as President (Allen, 1932: 299-300). It is nevertheless one which he was planning to bring to the notice of "*the authorities and the public*" (Allen, 1932: 299-300) and thus warrants mention. Allen proposed that, in order to help lift South Africa out of the Depression, huge "*carefully planned reconstruction works of a public nature*", as were being planned in the USA at the time, should be undertaken (1932: 299-300).

I could find no other references to the impact/result of his proposal.

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP TWO PLAYERS

### PLAY GROUPS AND INFLUENTIAL PLAYERS

As in the previous phase the players were at this stage all still "*men*"/male [- there were female architects (see Goodricke, 1934), but no references to "female planners" -] and still mainly architects, engineers [- most often in their capacity as officials in the City Engineers Department of larger urban centres (see Hamlin, 1934) -] and land surveyors.

However, with the passing of the Transvaal Town Planning Ordinance in 1931, requiring [some] local authorities to prepare town planning schemes, a demand for the services of planners with experience in the preparation of such schemes emerged (as discussed in the section dealing with this field in Bitmap One of this Map) - expertise that was obviously not locally available at that stage (see Cutten, under Notes and Comments, 1938: 115 and Mabin and Smit, 1992: 17-18). This led to the appointment of the English firm of Adams, Thompson and Fry and the importation of a new player, Longstreth Thompson, an engineer and surveyor, into the country (see Mabin, 1992a: 18). As both Floyd (1960: 9 and 48-50) and Mabin (1992a: 18-25) observe, Thompson and his "*resident representative*" in South Africa, Colonel P J Bowling - both of the "*honest and realistic school*" (Floyd, 1960: 9) and both strongly influenced by Dr Thomas Adams's sober, "*sound*", non-revolutionary, technical approach (Floyd, 190: 9 and 48-50 and see Auster, 1989: 213 for a brief, but clear exposition of Adams's approach) - not only prepared schemes, but had a very definite influence on the further development of South African planning - leading it on a "*sober*" path, "... *free of the naïvely imaginative as well as racketeer influence*" (Floyd, 1960: 9 and see Thompson's approach to planning in Thompson, 1936: 345-346). [Bowling for instance regarded the Le

Corbusier and CIAM-influenced "... *fantastic pictures of cities of the future ... providing for the population to be housed in a series of large towering structures ... with its destruction of privacy (and) ... all individuality*" as a suggestion "*too fearful to contemplate*" (1936: 116). Bowling, it would seem, was in any case not a lover of "*large cities*" with their "... *cosmopolitan character (which) destroys the national spirit, which flourishes better in the small dorp*" (Bowling, 1936: 117).]

But here the influence of the firm of Adams, Thompson and Fry does not end, as the prolific author of papers on zoning, T B Floyd, "*transferred*" from the staff of the City Engineer of Johannesburg to that of the firm of Adams, Thompson and Fry in 1934 (Hamlin, 1934: 70), was to become just as influential a figure in South Africa (see for instance Hamlin, 1937: 116 and Fairweather, 1935: 140). Not only did he carry forward the ideas of Adams, Thompson and Bowling[, whom he close on to worshipped (see Floyd, 1960: 8-9 and 47-50 and see his list of references in Floyd, 1935: 61).] in South African planning, but also his own particular perspectives on the advantages to be had from planning in South Africa (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of this Map), especially so in the two books he wrote on South African planning, viz *Town Planning in South Africa* (1960) and *More About Town Planning in South Africa* (1966).

## PLAYGROUND FIGHTS

As in the previous two decades antagonism between some members of different professions in the game, again came to the surface. And, as in the previous decades, the professionals coming in for the most stick, were the land surveyors who were [again] accused of:

1. being unimaginative (Baldochi, 1938: 60 and Bowling, 1936: 117);
2. applying the grid-iron *ad nauseam* (Pearse, 1936b: 128); and
3. being only concerned with obtaining "... *the maximum number of plots and stands*" (Pearse, 1938b: 9 and Powers, 1932a: 150).

According to Bowling this was due to them not being trained to design layouts - they were "*fundamentally measurers*" - and thus not able to "... *cope with the general aspects of the subject*" (Bowling, 1938b: 109). These accusations were of course:

1. vehemently denied;
2. land surveyors portrayed as the best suited "*men*" to do town planning; and
3. the "... *bad layouts and township designs of the past*" largely ascribed to:
  - \* "*the Landowner*" and "*the Speculator*" whose only concern was with profit; and
  - \* the fact that "... *townships had been planned in the office and not on the ground*" (Scott, 1938a: 63 and see Cooper, 1938: 61-62 and the comments made in the discussion following on Bowling's talk, 1938b: 111-115).

In turn, architects and engineers were blamed for the construction of multi-storey buildings leading to the congestion of streets initially planned for much lower densities (see Scott, 1938b: 63). But, just like in previous decades, not all land surveyors denied these claims, some of them suggesting that land surveyors take the recently introduced British Town Planning Institute Diploma (see Rules in Bitmap Three of this Map), so as to keep town planning work "...



*within the Institute (surveying profession), and open up vast sources of revenue that to-day was being lost" [to mainly architects submitting layout plans "... in increasing numbers", most probably as work for architects was at times scarce during the 1930s (see Howden, 1932: 318) and architecture was a "... poorly paid profession" at the time (Goodricke, 1934: 212)] (Cuttan, 1938: 114-115 and Scott, 1938b: 114). Clearly, what was at stake here, not excluding other possible issues, such as the pride of the Land Surveying profession, was money [- "bread and butter" (Scott, 1938b: 114)].*

## BITMAP THREE OF MAP TWO RULES

### WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

Despite there not being any definite rules in this regard, it would seem that there was something of a rule coming to the fore: Only those *"intelligent" "men"* [*"men"* as such was not a prescribed categorisation, but in the discourse and references to planners, mention is only made of *"men"* (see for instance Mauthner, 1938: 264; Schelin, 1932: 301 and Allen, 1933: 30)] with *"vision"* (see Allen, 1932: 299) and *"trained minds"* - i.e. training and expertise in land surveying, engineering and/or architecture or even better: a diploma in town planning (see Pearse, 1938a: 231 and 1936b: 126 and 128; Allen, 1933: 32 and Bowling, 1938a: 337). [This "diploma in town planning" could be obtained by practising professionals from 1932 onwards by writing an examination instituted in England by mutual agreement between the Town Planning Institute, the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Surveyors' Institution (Items of interest, 1932: 210).]

So strong was the faith in the role and ability of the expert, that:

1. the respected Colonel Bowling suggested the replacement of the system of elected Town Councils, which had *"... outlived its usefulness"* with *"... a small body of technical experts, each a master in his own line, with executive powers under a town manager"* (1936: 114); and
2. Andrew Allen, the President of the Town Planning Association of Transvaal for the year 1932/1933, proposed that *"... the planning and construction of all works of a public nature (be) divorced from politics and placed in the hands of an unbiased Board of Engineers and business men who would decide the plan of such works on lines which would be in the best interests of the community as a whole ..."* (1932: 300).

## HOW TO PLAY

### PROCEDURE

As town planning was still a game in the making, with players coming from various other

games, there were a diverse range of views on what the game was and should be [about], and how it was to be played. Over and above what the players themselves may have thought, there was already, of course, town planning legislation in place that prescribed specific procedures to be followed in playing the game. Out of these legal requirements, as well as the various perspectives of the players on what the game was and how it had to be played [in a particular field], three sets of rules, can be discerned:

1. *Extensions to towns - Site Planning:*

*Move 1:* Locate the terrain and plot the contours [and in some cases visit and survey terrain];

*Move 2:* Place a grid over the site [or apply scientific, artistic and economic "principles/regulations" (see Bitmap Eight of Map One)];

*Move 3:* Plot the street layout and divide the blocks into stands (see for instance the proposals of Floyd, 1938, on the division of blocks into stands and plots); and

*Move 4:* Submit the application in terms of the relevant legislation.

2. *Town Planning Schemes* (see Allen 1933: 32; Pearse, 1936a and 1936b: 128-130; Floyd, 1934: 19-20; Hamlin, 1936a: 121 and Thompson, 1936 for a full description of this procedure):

*Move 1:* Find and/or draw the necessary base maps [- the absence of such maps proved to be a major problem inhibiting planning, especially in the Cape Province (see Notes and Comments, 1933: 165 and Shaw, 1934: 255)];

*Move 2:* Do a survey of the area and map all the relevant information;

*Move 3:* Send out a questionnaire asking suggestions from all the property owners;

*Move 4:* Analyse all the various bytes of information;

*Move 5:* Plan - Prepare a draft/provisional scheme [paying particular attention to the location of future roads and the location of "native locations"];

*Move 6:* Submit the draft/provisional scheme to the Administrator [who sees to it via the Townships Board that:

\* a notification informing the public that a scheme has been submitted, is published once a week for three consecutive weeks in the *Gazette* and in a newspaper circulating in the relevant municipal area;

\* the public is invited in the notice to inspect the scheme; and

\* "every owner or occupier of immovable property within the municipality" (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 31) is given one month after the last publication of the notice in which to lodge objections to the scheme (see Ordinances of Transvaal, 1931: 30-32)], wait for objections and respond; and

*Move 7:* Finalise the scheme and submit it to the Administrator for his/her approval.

### 3. *Brave New Cities:*

- Move 1:* Locate the city/town [and be gravely disgusted];
- Move 2:* [Bravely] Design the Brave New Blueprint Plan; [in some cases assist in the establishment of a new planned society, in others, ignore completely]
- Move 3:* Alert the bulldozers; and
- Move 4:* After "the old" has been flattened, see to it that "the new" is built; and
- Move 5:* Enjoy - "... *the Task of the Architect is complete*" (McIntosh, 1938: 55).

Other than for the Geddesian procedure, i.e. Survey, Analysis, [Blueprint] Plan (see Hall, 1982: 65) in drawing up schemes, there was not really *a theory of town planning* procedure at that stage. It was a situation much like that in the British game at that time, where "... *planning was an 'art': one flew by the seat of one's pants, and planning skills were regarded as personal, intuitive*" (Chadwick, 1971 as quoted in Hague, 1991: 297)[, given that "one" had the correct training to e/Enlighten the intuition, of course].

There was however a very early reference to THE planning process that would come to pass in years to come, in a paper read by Colonel Bowling in 1936, in which he states that "(t)own planning must, ... especially in built-up areas be a continuous process, always in advance of development or reconstruction, but ever changing to meet changing conditions of life" (1936: 113).

## ROLES

Out of the various approaches/procedures on how the game had to be played, six roles that players would have to be able to fulfil/play, can be identified, viz a:

1. *visionary*;
2. *designer* of layouts and public spaces;
3. *communicator* with clients and the public;
4. *researcher* of *inter alia* all necessary aspects to compile a base map containing all the relevant information;
5. *logical analyser* of survey material/data; and
6. *synthesizer* of analysed information;

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP TWO AIMS

### WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED

In accordance with the diverse fields to which the game was attracted (see Bitmap One of Map Two) and the diverse range of other language games the players came from, there was a wide

diversity of views on *what the aim of the game* was. It was essentially thus a situation of a host of language games in a [another] game.

These views ranged from at the one extreme the followers [- architects -] of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM*, to whom the aim of town planning was the radical, rational complete creation of a better world for all, to on the other, those[- mostly land surveyors -], who evidently saw the aim of town planning as little more than the economical, rational, "... *neat, tidy, convenient ...*" (Bowling, 1936: 108) and possibly aesthetic design of layouts/town streets of extensions to existing towns - "*site planning*" (see Bitmaps One and Two of Map Two). As this was the era in which the town planning scheme rose to prominence, there were, located somewhere between these two extremes, more to the side of "*site planning*", a body of individuals (Allen, 1933: 33; Riley, 1932: 187; Hamlin, 1936b: 141; Webber, 1932: 297 and Scott, 1939: 150-151 [- Scott (1938: 150) interestingly enough sees as part of the aim of town planning "... the encouragement of development where it is needed": a rather early pro-active/entrepreneurial perspective!]) who saw the aim of town planning as "... *developing a town to the best possible advantage in every respect*" (Riley, 1932: 187) - a view very similar to the "*general purpose*" of town planning schemes as set out in Section 32 of the Townships and Town Planning Ordinance of Transvaal, 1931, viz the "... *coordinated and harmonious development of the municipality to which it relates (including where necessary the reconstruction of any area therein which has already been sub-divided and built upon) in such a way as will most effectively tend to promote health, safety, order, amenity, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process of such development*" (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931). [For F K Webber, the President of the Town Planning Association of Transvaal in 1932, this aim was, however, only the route to another greater aim: "*the advancement of humanity*" (1932: 298).] Given that this scheme-related aim of planning was also that of influential individuals (see also Players in this Bitmap), like Thompson (1936: 346), Floyd (1960: 8-9) and Bowling (1938: 26-27), as well as apparently that of a host of overseas planners at the time (see Lewis, 1939: 7-8), this notion of the aim of the game would remain very popular among players in the game in years to come.

## WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED

The reasons/aims of those in/for playing the game were strongly tied up with their perceptions of what the aim of the game was. For those to whom it was primarily site planning, it could have been little more than a way of making a living (see Scott, 1938: 114 and Cutten, 1938: 114-115). Conversely, for those to whom it was a route to a [Brave] New World[, whether on the elevated speedways of Le Corbusier and the *CIAM*, or not], it was evidently more than just making a living - it was a calling/duty, a self-imposed/inflicted Mission (see *inter alia* Allen, 1933: 31; Pearse, 1938a: 240; Jonas, 1938: 3-4 and Thornton-White, 1938: 67 for a prime set of examples of this sentiment). It was this last group of players who showed some semblance to the short-lived reformist, visionary phase which earmarked the game during and shortly after the First World War (see Bitmap Eight of Map One).

## BITMAP 5 OF MAP 2 DEFINITION[S]

In keeping with the definition of town planning during its protracted birth as *"a science in itself older than Aristotle, ... the outcome and flower of the whole civilization of a community and of an age, ... a constructive art, ... administrative and legal regulation"* (Waugh, 1916a: 11-12), *"a science"* (Waugh, 1928: 226), an *"art"* (Furner, 1929: 136 and Pearse, 1931: 2) and *"the master science of applied sciences"* (Schelin, 1931b: 30), it was, in this decade, still defined as an *art* and a *science* (see *inter alia* Mauthner, 1938: 249; Hamlin, 1936b: 141; Pearse, 1938a: 231 and Snape, 1936: 119). Two new additions were, however, made during the course of the 1930s: it was now also being defined as a *"social science"* (see Attraction 3 of Bitmap One of Map Two) and an *"economic science"* (see Bowling, 1938: 26 and Thompson, 1936: 345-347). This latter trend was in keeping with the view, coming to the fore during the 1920's in Great Britain and Australia, that town planning was a way of *"saving money"*, a way of *inter alia* ensuring that *"... roads could be laid out properly to start with, thus avoiding the later necessity of costly street improvements"* (Auster, 1989: 212-213).

[Now what exactly it means, something being defined as "a science and an art", is to me yet unclear. This uncertainty and vagueness is of course not necessarily a "bad thing" as Auster suggests that it was exactly the vagueness of the broader notion of Government/Public Sector Planning in the USA, Britain and Australia in the 1930s, that gave it its *"... potential to be a unifying intellectual force"* (1989: 207). According to Auster it was remarked by a speaker at an Australian conference on economic planning in 1934 that *"... a word can hardly gain wide popular appeal until it has become ambiguous"* (1989: 208). Interestingly enough, the definition of planning as "an art and a science" has lasted to the present day, as can be seen in the recently published eighth draft of the Constitution of the newly established South African Planning Institution (SAPI) (1996: 1). Makes one wonder.]

# MAP THREE

## 1940-1954

*IN WHICH  
THE GAME DIVERGES  
A BIT FROM ITS  
"... BIAS TOWARDS (THE) GUIDING  
AND  
CONTROLLING OF  
NEW DEVELOPMENT"* (Floyd, 1960: 9)  
**[BUT NOT FOR LONG]**

*"To date town planning in South Africa has rarely gone beyond the recording of physical data and the consequent general zoning in area and density of population of the constituent parts of the town. The vitality and the ever-changing structure of the town in accordance with over-riding social and economic changes are factors which have been seriously neglected. The result is no plan at all, but merely a sharp reflection of the schisms and class distinctions to which South African society is particularly susceptible. We have not solved or even attempted to solve the problems which our social habits and attitudes automatically raise for us" (Hanson, 1944b: 191).*

*"Locations were described as 'the Cinderella of planning' by Dr J H Moolman, Chief Planning Officer of the Natural Resources Council, in an address on regional planning delivered to a conference of the Institute of Administrators on non-European Affairs. Dr Moolman said that in a location there were no profits. Nobody wanted one near him and the establishment of a location clashed with various interests. His experience in planning in the Free State goldfields, at Pretoria, on the Witwatersrand, in Vereeniging and in the Western Transvaal had shown this time and time again" (Special Correspondent, 1954a: 13).*

# BITMAP ONE OF MAP THREE

## ATTRactions AND INFLUENCING FORCES

### ATTRACTION 1 *"THE HOUSING PROBLEM"*

During the course of the Second World War the South African economy once again, as it did during the First World War, expanded rapidly - the gross national income increasing from 395,6 million Pounds in 1939 to 666,8 million Pounds in 1946 (Wilkinson, 1993: 240). And, as was the case in the First World War, largely responsible for this growth, was the manufacturing sector, a major supplier to the Allied forces of uniforms, boots, armoured vehicles, artillery, etc., increasing its output by more than 90 percent between 1939 and 1945 (Smit and Booysen, 1982: 18 and Wilkinson, 1993: 241). These increases, in the face of the large numbers of white workers that formed part of the *"some 200 000 uniformed South Africans"* (Davenport, 1989: 331) taking part in the War, were made possible by the Smuts-government, in attempting to meet war production targets,

1. allowing African workers into jobs previously reserved for whites; and
2. relaxing the controls on African urbanisation, imposed in terms of the 1923 (Native) Urban Areas Act (see Davenport, 1989: 330-331; Kantorowich, 1962: 57-58 and 356 and Smit and Booysen, 1982: 18 and 23).

These developments, together with a continuing decline in the *"... capacity of the 'Native reserves' to sustain even subsistence production by the families of migrant workers"*, saw the African population in urban areas expand rapidly over the War years (Wilkinson, 1993: 241) and overtake the European urban population in absolute numbers [for the first time] in 1946 (Le May, 1971: 68). In for example two of the major centres in the country, Johannesburg and Durban, the increase in the African population between 1936 and 1946 was 68 and 64 percent respectively (Davenport, 1991: 14 and Wilkinson, 1993: 241). This rapid growth, coming as it did in *"... the war period when houses were not being built"* (Collings, 1947: 172) and at a time in which there was already an existing housing shortage, saw thousands of Africans, unable to find housing, and prohibited from buying land, condemned to:

1. *"... 'breeze-block slums, to sub-tenancies, to sharing rooms, to living with their families in corridors, shacks and yards'"* (Hilda Watts as quoted by Simon and Simon, 1983: 547 and see also Smit and Booysen, 1982: 21-24); and
2. overcrowded *"squatters' camps"* on farms in the peri-urban areas of most large urban centres (Simon and Simon, 1983: 547 and Smit and Booysen, 1982: 18).

Out of these terrible living conditions, coupled with a growing perception that the time was ripe to reverse the country's segregationist and discriminatory policies, came forth a series of bus boycotts, anti-pass campaigns, strikes and land invasions and the founding of the ANC Youth League in 1943-44 (Simons and Simons, 1983: 540-548 and Davenport, 1989: 340-341 and 345-348).

And, as a result of

1. these protest actions and a growing awareness of the inhumane conditions suffered by the thousands of homeless in the country of whom most, but not all, were African (Connell, 1947: 166); and
2. an expected surge in the need for housing by the ex-servicemen (Falconer, 1945), *"the housing problem"* [- a backlog in 1944 in the urban areas of 150 000 houses and a projected need of a further 290 000 urban dwellings within the next eleven years (Hanson, 1944b: 192) -] rose to a position of prominence in the *"national life"* (Pearse, 1943a: 112 and Hanson 1947: 163). [At stake here was of course also the egoistic colonial concern, voiced in the findings of the Smit Committee into the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives in 1942, that, as *"... from the hovels and filthy conditions (of our slums) come the domestic servants, nurse maids, washer women, and the labourers, (i)t is too much to expect decent servants to come out of some of the places which the Committee saw"* (paragraph 17 of the Report of the Committee, as quoted in Silberman, 1943a: 117).] And, as was the case during and shortly after the First World War, numerous players in the planning game[, mainly architects *"... quick to understand the regenerative and uplifting effects of good housing on backward and depressed or neglected sections of the population"* (Hanson, 1947: 163),] were attracted and contributed to the lively discourse on the problem [- as a matter of social conscience for some (Hanson, 1947: 163) and a recognition of the *"responsibilities of trusteeship over the natives"* for others (Pearse, 1943: 112) -] and the search for possible solutions (see *inter alia* Hanson, 1943a, 1944, 1947 and 1951; Pearse, 1943a; Howie, 1943; Bryer, 1940; Niebuhr and Pistorius, 1947 and Hamlin, 1945). One such solution, as proposed by Professor Pearse, being the appointment [in true modernist fashion] of *"... a strong committee of technicians, social scientists with experience in the problems involved, and economists ... to advise upon and control the vital national problem which involves such a vast expenditure of public funds"* (Pearse, 1944: 113 and 1942b: 367). Such a body, the National Housing and Planning Commission, *"... with extremely wide powers to act in all matters pertaining to housing"* (Myers, 1953: 31) was in fact established in 1944 in terms of the Housing Amendment Act, Act No 49 of 1944 [- an act passed by Parliament in an attempt to counter the housing problem (Special Correspondent, 1951b: 13) -] and one of the most prominent players in the planning game at the time, Norman Hanson, was appointed as a member of an Advisory Council to the Commission.

Another *"planning consultant"*[, as he called himself (see Cutten 1950 and 1952)], the town planner and land surveyor, Mr A J Cutten, not only wrote on his proposals for alleviating the problem in academic journals (Cutten, 1950 and 1952), but *"... devot(ed) most of his spare time ... campaigning on behalf of a housing programme for Natives"* (Special Correspondent, 1951c: 13). By means of *"... public lectures, addresses to associations, study groups, newspaper articles and letters to the editor and in private conversation, he strived to bring the mass of European public opinion to his point of view"* (Special Correspondent, 1951c: 13). One part of his "point of view" being that *"Native townships"* should be included in the municipal rated area as suburbs and that *"Natives"* should be allowed to *"... build, buy or own their houses on some sort of leasehold basis"* in this municipal area (Special Correspondent, 1951c: 13).



[As long as "*Native townships*" were not incorporated in municipal areas, the installation of services in sub-economic schemes in these townships was not subsidised by local authorities from the General Rate Fund, as was the case when sub-economic housing schemes were laid out for Europeans; the costs in this regard thus had to be borne by the African residents of the schemes themselves (Special Correspondent, 1951c: 13).]

Sadly, despite the protest campaigns by Africans in which the ANC Youth League featured strongly (Davenport, 1989: 340-341; 345-353 and 367) and all the "professional" talk, extending beyond the War and peaking in the middle 1950s (see for instance the reports on housing by Special Correspondent on Housing in the 1945, 1946, 1951 and 1954 issues of the *South African Builder*), the housing position of the Africans showed little improvement by the mid 1950s, the majority of the new houses, far below that which was required, being constructed for Europeans (see Special Correspondent, 1951a: 13 and 1954: 13; Hanson, 1947: 164 and Collings, 1947: 172). [In 1946, for instance, while there was a need for 70 000 houses for Africans on the Reef alone, only 6 800 houses for African occupation were constructed in the whole of the country - less than the number needed only to cope with the natural increase in the African population in that year (Collings, 1947: 172).] By the early 1950s this lack of house-building did not only lead to immense overcrowding of dwellings and an estimated 50 000 families in Johannesburg alone being in need of housing, but it was also believed to have been directly responsible for a grave crime situation in the city, which saw "... *the Native community ... being terrorised by lawless groups, composed in many instances of youthful tsotsis, who had reached the stage of being beyond the pale of authority*" (Special Correspondent, 1952: 18).

In a sense, it was a case of history repeating itself, twenty/thirty years after the optimistic fervour which led to the passing of the 1920 Housing Act, but which did very little to relieve the plight of the homeless urban Africans (see Bitmap Eight of Map One).

## ATTRACTION 2 RECONSTRUCTION AND REGIONAL AND NATIONAL PLANNING

During the early 1940s a number of developments/factors would work together to create the first *real major* discourse[, as opposed to the earlier odd call for regional planning and the quasi-regional work of the Joint Town Planning Committee in the 1930s (see Attraction 2 of Bitmap One of Map Two),] on regional and national planning in South Africa:

1. The Smuts cabinet, in line with their British counterparts at the time (see Wannop and Cherry, 1994: 29), and in tune with a "... *terrific urge for social reconstruction*" in the country (Morris, 1943: 8 and see Le May, 1971: 68), became "... *increasingly concerned with 'reconstruction' in the post-war world*" (Mabin, 1992: 414). A concern which *inter alia*

led to the establishment of the Social and Economic Planning Council in March 1942 with the aim of advising the Government on all matters pertaining to economic and social policy "... with a view to promoting the balanced development of the resources of the Union and its external and internal trade as well as the prosperity and well-being of the population as a whole" (Wilkinson, 1993: 249). [Furner, however, insinuates that, as a result of a visit by a deputation from the Central Council of the Institute of Architects to the Minister of Finance, "urging" him to appoint "... a Commission to enquire into the need for National Planning", the Government decided to appoint the Social and Economic Planning Council (1942: 96 and see also Borckenhagen, 1942: 105-106 for a similar point of view).]

2. Along with the decision to enter the War, the State became far more involved in the South African economy in an attempt to meet "*production targets*" (Davenport, 1989: 330 and see Attraction 1 of this Bitmap); in the process illustrating to some what benefits State planning and involvement in the economy can achieve (see Wilkinson, 1993: 246-248; Harper, 1944: 10 and Davenport, 1989: 330-331).
3. Planners were becoming acquainted with regional planning initiatives in Britain and the USA[, especially the American Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)], National planning in Russia, the research of the National Resources Board in the USA and the findings of the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt Committees in Britain (Bryer, 1940: 433 and 1942; Hanson, 1943b: 229-230 and 1946: 39; Pearse, 1942b: 362-364; Harper, 1943: 177; Proceedings of a symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943: Supplement and Professional Notes and News, 1944: 289).
4. Influential players, such as Norman Hanson (1944 and 1947: 164), Professor Pearse (1942b) and Monte Bryer (1940: 427-431) were coming to believe that town planning and the "*tackling*" of the "*the housing problem*" had to be "... *linked up with Regional and National Planning*" if there were to be any hope of success - a view very similar to that of the British Town Planning Institute, who "... *by 1936 already envisaged land-use regulation as an element within a much broader scheme of national socioeconomic planning*" (Hebbert, 1983: 6).

In this climate of War-driven national planning, a desire for social reconstruction, a growing awareness of overseas examples of [attempts at] national and regional planning, and political support for the concept, numerous planners entered into an intense discourse on the need for and desirability of regional and national planning in South Africa; many of the participants clearly seeing in such planning a road towards rational, State-planned reconstruction of the country [and its planning apparatuses] after the War (see for instance Floyd, 1943 and the Discussion on Floyd's paper, 1943; Hanson, 1943b; Pearse, 1942b, Bryer, 1940: 427-431 and Proceedings of symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943a and 1943b: Supplement). One exponent of this discourse, Monte Bryer, [just like J M De Casseres, the influential Dutch planner who gave the Dutch the term "*planology*" (see Bosma, 1990: 137-140).] even spoke of a "*World Plan*" which needed to be drawn up (1940: 434). In this discourse, *a modern mix of rationality, social conscience and optimism*, a substantial number of players in the planning game [- more than just the odd individual player as in previous decades -] displayed, for the first time, a genuine concern with the living conditions of the Africans, the long commuting distances Africans suffered,

and seriously pondered ways to attain a more equitable, better life for all (see especially the Proceedings of symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943a and 1943b: Supplement; Hanson, 1943b: 233-234 and 262-263; Kantorowich, 1943: 259 and Pistorius, 1943). It was even suggested by one of the reformist players that planning be used to reduce the segregation "... *between the races which make up the community*" (Harper, 1943: 178).

There were also other firsts in this discourse, *viz*:

1. the suggestion that a State Department devoted to Planning should be established, eg. Floyd's "*Department of National Planning and Development*" (1943: 100) and Pearse's "*Department of Planning*" (1943b: 266); and
2. a critique of town planning schemes: according to Hanson (1943b: 233) schemes were too focused on regulation and had to be reformed so as to make "*positive planning*" [- i.e. planning making provision for, not hampering, the dynamic forces in urban areas -] possible.

And then there was a second [for only slightly more than a second]: On the sixth of September 1944 the Transvaal Town Planning Association, after having faded away in the late 1930s, "... *its objects achieved*" (Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1944: 231), was resurrected in an attempt to *inter alia* act as a "... *propaganda and advisory body*" in the expected post-War reconstruction phase (Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1944: 232-234). In keeping with the British example - the Town and Country Planning Association of Great Britain - and most probably also in line with the wider role envisaged for the Association, the name of the Association was changed to the *Town and Country Planning Association* (Town Planning Association (Transvaal), 1944: 232-234). The body was sadly not able to contribute as much to post-War reconstruction as it clearly intended to [and as its namesake was able to in the UK (see Hardy, 1991: Chapters 1-3)], as it ceased to exist a few years later (Muller, 1993b: 8).

But let us [rather] stick to firsts.

The high-water mark of this discourse on firsts [in the wider discourse on national and regional planning] must, however, surely be Report No 5 of the Social and Economic Planning Council on Regional and Town Planning, published on the thirty-first of August 1944 (Union of South Africa, 1944). In this report,

1. highly critical of *inter alia*:
  - \* existing town planning legislation in South Africa;
  - \* the state of the country's towns and the apathy of the public in this regard;
  - \* the absence of regional planning in the Union; and
  - \* the concentration of the population in a few urban centres (Union of South Africa, 1944: 1; 4; 13; 14 and 16),
2. dedicated to the social objectives of:
  - \* the prevention of exploitation of one [hu]man by another;
  - \* equality of opportunity;
  - \* a guarantee of minimum standards for all sections of the population;

- \* conservation of land and other resources;
  - \* full employment; and
  - \* a pattern of economic development and land use, facilitating the other objectives (Union of South Africa, 1944: 1),
3. it was *inter alia* proposed that:
- \* a national [super-]Department of Physical Planning and Regional Planning be established;
  - \* zoning be done on a national level;
  - \* extensive surveys of regions be done, followed by regional plans to ensure a more balanced and economic use of the nation's resources;
  - \* regional planning be undertaken prior to the construction of "*large-scale housing and public works programmes*";
  - \* neighbourhood units be used in the planning of new cities and the redevelopment of existing ones;
  - \* green belts be used to separate European and "*non-European*" neighbourhoods;
  - \* the neighbourhoods of "*non-Europeans*" and low and medium income groups be located closer to their places of work so as to minimise their cost of transport;
  - \* town plans be integrated with regional plans; and
  - \* extensions to towns be undertaken by local authorities instead of by private developers (Union of South Africa, 1944: 5; 10; 11; 23 and 24).

In essence, thus, the Social and Economic Planning Council proposed far more public, and important, more *centralised* control over:

1. the use of land and other resources;
2. housing;
3. the location of industrial activities; and
4. the natural environment.

Now, given the fervour for reconstruction and regional planning in both government circles and among planners, it would be expected that this Report would be warmly welcomed. Unexpectedly so, this was not the case, not at institutional level, nor in planning circles (see Wilkinson, 1993: 272-279). At institutional level the negative response has been attributed by Wilkinson to the Report's strong centralist tendencies, which did not go down well with provincial administrations[, especially not that of Natal (Brooks and Harrison, 1994: 216 and see Thorrington-Smith, 1948, as quoted in Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 16).] and the Smuts-government's subsequent unwillingness "... to disturb the constitutional status quo" (Wilkinson, 1993: 273). Furthermore, the establishment of, in the words of Mr Waterson, the then Minister of Economic Development in the Smuts-Government, a "... *super-state department with the power to dominate and control other State departments*", was not seen as "*practical and desirable*" (my translation of Waterson in SA, 1947: 5433).

Judging from the papers read at a Symposium on the Report, organised by the Town and

Country Planning Association in December 1945 [more than 15 months after the Report had been published], it would seem that the planners' lukewarm response to the Report was due largely to a feeling that many of the proposals were impracticable, premature, too anti-private enterprise, and/or too strongly focused on the physical side of development at the cost of excluding the social and economic sides, and *not* really the result of a dissatisfaction with the sentiments or the objectives of the Council as such (see especially Hanson, 1946: 41-42; Cooper, 1946: 48; Cutten, 1946: 46-47 and Douglas, 1946: 50-51). As Sholto Douglas, the Surveyor-General of the Transvaal, and one of the speakers, remarked: *"I do not for one moment suggest that planning on a regional or even on a national scale should not be striven for, but I do feel strongly that we are not yet in a position to launch grandiose regional and national planning schemes"* (1946: 51). [Two years earlier, in a discussion of a paper by T B Floyd on national planning, Douglas made a similar comment, stating that *"... the magnitude of the problem of planning the use of land on a National scale dismays me"* (1943: 169).]

While Report No 5 did not create the New Planning System for South Africa as envisaged by its authors, it nevertheless:

1. played a substantial part in the thinking behind the establishment of the Natural Resources Development Council, the first national/central statutory planning body, set up in terms of the Natural Resources Development Act of 1947, Act No. 51 of 1947, to primarily *"... promote the better and more effectively coordinated exploitation, development and use of the natural resources of the Union"* by declaring areas in need of such *"coordination"* as *"controlled areas"* and then preparing plans/schemes for the exploitation of the resources and the use of land in such areas [- its first area of intervention the newly established Free State goldfields (see the Aim and Sections 4 and 14 of the Act in Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1946-1947: 498-520 and SA, 1947: 5432-5437 and 3459) -], but also to:
  - \* *"... encourage the teaching and study of regional and town planning and to advise and assist administrators, townships boards and local authorities in regard to the establishment of townships and town planning;*
  - \* *... advise and assist associations established for the purpose of promoting regional or town planning;*
  - \* *... advise the Minister as to the financial assistance to be rendered to institutions by which provision is made for such teaching and study, and to such associations (established for the purpose of promoting regional or town planning), out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose"* (Sections 4.(f)-(h) of the Act in Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1946-1947: 502);
2. did find eclectic expression in the proposals put forward by the Department of Native Affairs in 1951 for the planning of Apartheid's cities, eg. the 500 meter wide buffer strips segregating the "Native" location from the European residential areas (see Oranje, 1996b: 281-282; Smit and Booysen, 1982: 75 and Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 56); and
3. contributed to the establishment of the neighbourhood concept as the norm in layout design/planning in the years to come (see also Attraction 3 of this Bitmap).

In all three senses, it was a pale and even a tarnished shadow of the major reformist social and economic objectives Report No 5 set out to achieve. In a sense also, it was a dismal testament to the fervour for regional and national planning and reconstruction in the planning discourse in the War years - a discourse which petered out shortly after the War had ended and entered a fallow period towards the end of the 1940s.

Now, while this might have been the case nationally speaking, in Natal events took a different turn with the establishment of the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission in 1951 in terms of Section 2 of the Natal Town Planning Ordinance, No 27 of 1949 (see Brooks and Harrison, 1994: 212-223). This body, also a child of the heady days of post-war reconstructionist thinking (see Brooks and Harrison, 1994: 213-217 and Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 1-16), which had as one of its aims the conduct of "*regional surveys*", actually produced a regional survey/study in 1952, the well-known Tugela Basin Study, which "... *attracted international attention and received favourable comment from professional journals in the UK and USA ...*" (Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 34).

With the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 the idea of reconstruction would take on a completely new dimension - that of designing, what Davenport (1989) has termed a "*New Model State*". Regional and national planning would also, with the election of Dr Verwoerd as Prime Minister in 1959, acquire new objectives - those of constructing/creating the new Apartheid state.

### ATTRACTION 3

#### THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT, NEW [CELLULAR] TOWNS AND THE FAMILY

While planners were strongly attracted to the largest planable unit in the modern nation state, the nation itself, there was an equally strong attraction to what they perceived as the smallest planable units, *viz*:

1. the "*family house*"; and
2. the organic, cellular neighbourhood unit [- a concept imported from abroad] (see *inter alia* Simon, 1943: 241; Niebuhr and Pistorius, 1947; Hanson, 1943b: 234; Mallows, 1954a: 32; Harper, 1944 and Kantorowich, 1948: 99-100).

Bytes like, "*The basis of planning is the family*" (Proceedings of symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943b: Supplement), "... *the neighbourhood is the unit of modern town planning practice*" (Hanson, 1943b: 234) and "*The community (is) the minimum social group*" (Hanson, 1944b: 191 and 1951: 182), abounded. And so it was in the UK, where in planning circles, "*The family, of course, (was) the main field of study*" (Royal Institute of British Architects Conference, 1946: 126). For the modern rational planners the dual concern with these two extremes, the nation and the neighbourhood, so different in scale, were completely rational, as they were part of the same

*"organic whole"*, in which the nation was a pyramid built up from at the lowest level:  
hundreds of thousands of family houses on individual stands,  
*grouped together*  
IN CELLULAR NEIGHBOURHOODS TO FORM *"COMMUNITIES"*,  
*together forming*  
TOWNS AND CITIES,  
*in turn making up*  
REGIONS,  
*together constituting*  
THE NATION

(see the Proceedings of symposium entitled *"Rebuilding South Africa"*, 1943a and 1943b: Supplement; Hanson, 1943b, Pearse, 1943b: 266; Mallows, 1954a: 32; Pistorius and Niebuhr, 1947 and Silberman, 1943b: 217). Or, happy, healthy families in happy homes, in [well planned] happy neighbourhoods[/cells], in [well planned] happy towns, in [well planned] happy regions, equalled a [well planned] happy nation. [This "family", on which the whole schemata was built, and which was largely borrowed from abroad along with the neighbourhood concept, was *"a nuclear family"*, consisting of "... *father or wage earner, mother or housekeeper, high school, primary school and kindergarten children*" (Pinnock 1989: 167). While this may have been a true reflection of "the family" in most sections of the *"European"* population at the time, it did not, as Pinnock so forcefully argues, apply in the case of "... *the urbanised African and coloured family*" (1989: 167). Government planners, however, despite its inappropriateness, went ahead and also employed the concept in the case of "... *large coloured and African extended families*", leading to untold suffering in forced removals as families were broken up and "... *often rehoused in different townships - sometimes far apart*" (Pinnock, 1989: 167).

The "community"-concept would translate equally well into "... *planning communities for the various racial groups*" as a "... *virtually non-controversial issue, being both realistic and equitable*" (Hanson, 1951: 182 and see Sonnabend, 1947: 26).]

It was this simplistic line of reasoning, together with

1. the apparent common-sense logic of the neighbourhood idea (see for example Hanson, 1943b: 234);
2. the order and legibility/readability this would impose on a sprawling city, seemingly out of control (see Kantorowich, 1948: 96 and 99-100);
3. the recognition of the idea in Report No 5 (see Attraction 2 of this Bitmap);
4. the intense exposure to the "modern" [read "with it"] concept through the numerous articles on the new wave of New Town and neighbourhood-oriented British planning after the War (see *inter alia* McAllister, 1945 and 1946; Richmond, 1945; Osborn, 1947; Bennett, 1948; Professional Notes and News, 1946: 153) [This *"watching of developments in Britain"*, it was somewhat wryly said by the Editor of the *South African Architectural Record* in 1947, Duncan Howie, was the result of *"nothing tangible in town planning"* having by then yet resulted from the studies of the Social and Economic Planning Council

in South Africa (1947: 292)];

5. the initial support given to the concept by Mr Wilfred Mallows (1954a: 32), at that time a lecturer in *Architectural Design and Theory and Practice of Town Planning* at WITS (Personalia, 1954: 46); and
6. the visit by Roy Kantorowich (1942c) to the three Greenbelt Towns in the USA and his enthusiastic report back on the application of the principles of neighbourhood design in these towns in the *South African Architectural Record* [- Kantorowich for instance writes: "*One's immediate desire is to lease a house and settle down comfortably in Greenbelt*" (1942c: 388)],

which, I believe, made the neighbourhood concept so popular among planners in this country. Between 1943 and 1954 it for instance found expression [in a very undiluted form] in the design/planning of no less than eight New Towns associated with mining and industrial activities (see *inter alia* Floyd, 1966: 206-267; Brockett, 1993; Backhouse, 1954 and Oranje, 1996b for a discussion of the layouts and other stories around and about these towns). The building of these towns in themselves further cemented the neighbourhood concept, especially so as [town and regional planning] student trips to the new town of Sasolburg were a common occurrence (Personal Interview: Badenhorst, July 4 1996). And, apparently, so did the publication of the story of the planning of Sasolburg in the late 1950s (Kirchhofer, 1958), judging from the following extract from the Editorial in a Special Issue of the *Journal for Town and Regional Planning* in 1982, devoted to the planning of Sasolburg and a later new town, Secunda, both designed by the same architect-planner, Max Kirchhofer:

*"I am sure many of you will remember the article on Sasolburg which appeared in the SA Architectural Record of March 1958, and the impact it had on planning thought at the time.*

*Because planning at that scale and the planning of new towns in the country were in their infancy, the pioneering efforts of Max Kirchhofer at Sasolburg were of inestimable value to the furtherance of the science and art of planning and to the promotion of planning as a profession" (Tod Welch, 1982). [Taking Lynch and Carr's cue of "The Educative City" (see Rodwin and Southworth, 1981), one/I wonder/s how strong the cognitive impact of the Apartheid planning principles (eg. buffer strips and the African location segregated from the "European" residential component of the town by the Sasol-factory) followed to the smallest detail in the design of Sasolburg (see Oranje, 1996b: 281-282), was on the apparently impressionable players and prospective players of the game.]*

Essentially though, the neighbourhood concept was once again a version of modernisation as routine - the application of reason together with simplistic, undertheorised social concepts such as "the family", to establish an ideally desired, end state product.

## ATTRACTION 4

### TOWN PLANNING SCHEMES

Not only did the Second World War lead to the players in the game being attracted to new fields/niches[, including of course some to the Battle Fields of North Africa and Europe], it



also led to previous fields of attraction, temporarily taking a back seat (see Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 57). One such field being the finalisation and approval of town planning schemes in the Transvaal, of which many, in provisional/draft format, had been in operation since 1941 (Pearse, 1945: 258). This resulted in the first town planning scheme - that of Pretoria - only being approved and promulgated in November 1944, followed by Germiston in June 1945, Brakpan in May 1946 and Johannesburg in October 1946 (Eaton, 1948: 190; Notes and News, 1947: 239 and van der Westhuizen, 1992: 3).

The War was, however, only partially to blame for the slow progress that was made in the approval and promulgation of the schemes: A hangover from the past, the restrictive conditions laid down in the Title Deeds of erven at township establishment (see Bitmap Four of Map One), placed a further burden on the implementation of these schemes, as in many instances these very restrictive measures made the exercising of the rights conferred in terms of the schemes, illegal (Pearse, 1945: 258 and SA, 1946: 9712). An attempt at overcoming this problem - amending the Ordinance and granting the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Authority the power to remove such restrictive conditions - was, however, declared invalid by the Supreme Court (SA, 1946: 9712 and Pearse, 1945: 258). With this ruling the only remaining option for having the restrictive conditions removed, was to petition to the Supreme Court for such a removal - a procedure which proved to be an unsatisfactory route as the Court was not willing to scrap conditions in cases where objections were lodged against such applications (SA, 1946: 9712). Against this backdrop and following on the approval of the first schemes, it was thus decided by the Transvaal Provincial Administration [and, according to Floyd (1966: 62) largely as a result of the behind-the-screens-work of Colonel Bowling.] to approach the Central Government with the request that an Act, providing for the removal of restrictive conditions in such instances where they thwarted the implementation of town planning schemes, be passed as a matter of urgency (SA, 1946: 9712). The request was favourably received and resulted in the submission of the *Bill on the Removal of Restrictions in Townships* to Parliament in 1946 [to be applicable at first only in the Transvaal (SA, 1946: 9715)] where it was greeted by a few very concerned voices about the perceived implications of such an Act (see SA, 1946: 9710-9713 and 9732-9735), viz that the restrictive conditions prohibiting

1. "coloured persons" and "natives" from buying erven in townships from "whites" (SA, 1946: 9721; 9732-9735); and
  2. the sale of alcohol on certain stands (SA, 1946: 9723 and 9735),
- would be up for removal. The Minister of Post and Telecommunication, Mr J W Mushet, was, however, not daunted, and quickly responded to the segregationist fears, countering that there was no need for alarm as they could be easily resolved by ensuring that the Transvaal Townships and Town Planning Ordinance, No 11 of 1931, provided for "racial zoning" [in Afrikaans: "streekindeling ... vir blanke bewoning of vir gekleurde bewoning" (SA, 1946: 9737)]. As we know, this did not happen, but the segregationists and those fearful of the sale of liquor not being restricted, nevertheless won the day, as Clause 1.(2) of the Removal of Restrictions in Townships Act, Act No 48 of 1946, that was eventually passed, explicitly forbade the "... altering, suspension or removal (of) ... any condition prohibiting or

*restricting the sale or supply of intoxicating liquor, or the sale, lease or occupation of any land to or by a non-European*" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1946: 734).

Returning to town planning schemes, after the approval of the first schemes more followed in the late 1940s, in the process not only opening up a new field for players in the game - the submission of applications for the amendment of schemes (see Douglas, 1950: 70) - but also signalling the restoration of the "bond" between the planning game and town planning schemes.

## ATTRACTION 5 A GRAND REDEVELOPMENT SCHEME

While South Africa was in many ways emulating the latest trends in planning in Britain during and shortly after the War, the one aspect South African planners luckily did not need to involve themselves with, was the replanning of war-ravaged cities.

One big redevelopment scheme was nevertheless planned in this era, the Cape Town Foreshore Plan, but this was an outcome of "*construction*", not "*destruction*" (Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, 1947: 19): A land reclamation project, part of the construction of a new dock by the Railways and Harbours Administration, had made available more than 200 hectares of "*virgin land*", presenting the opportunity to not only develop this land (Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, 1947: 15 and Muller, 1996: 212), but to improve upon a harbour area which had become a "*most unworthy gateway*" (Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, 1947: 12), "*... not only to Cape Town, but to the whole of South Africa*" (Pearse, 1947: 65).

Two plans for the Foreshore were produced in 1940, one by consultants appointed by the Minister of Railways - the English planner Longstreth Thompson and UCT Professor Leslie Thornton-White - and another by a French architect-planner, E Beaudouin, appointed by the City Council (Cape Town Foreshore Joint Technical Committee, 1947: 20-25 and Pearse, 1947: 58). Tensions regarding *inter alia* the location of the Railway Station in the two plans led to the appointment of a Committee to mediate in the dispute, which in turn led to the establishment of a Joint Technical Committee to prepare a scheme agreeable to both parties (Pearse, 1947: 58 and Muller, 1996: 216). This development saw Roy Kantorowich being appointed as town planning officer of the Joint Technical Committee and the production of a scheme in 1947, *inter alia* proposing the construction of a number of monumental approaches and broad boulevards, as well as the "*... wholesale demolition of District Six*" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 58 and see Kantorowich, 1949: 88), with which both parties were satisfied (Muller, 1996: 216).

Very little of the scheme was eventually built, largely as a result of the decision by the City Council to embark on the construction of a major road network, necessitating the abandonment and/or adaptation of major sections of the Plan (see Morris, 1980: 6-29 and Pinnock, 1989: 152). The Plan has nevertheless remained controversial, largely as it is held that both

the plan and the planning approach adopted in it - believed by Parnell and Mabin (1995: 58), Pinnock (1989: 154-155) and Trevor Manuel (see van der Bank, 1991: 3) to be that of Le Corbusier and his Surgical Method - contributed towards the later "... *apartheid reconstruction of Cape Town*" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995: 58; Pinnock, 1989 and van der Bank, 1991: 3). Whether the approach adopted in the 1947-Plan was that of Le Corbusier and his knife, a view disputed by Muller (1996), is of course an interesting topic, but what to me is more worrying about the Plan, is the ease with which planners, in Le Corbusierian mode or not, succumbed to the allure of cold, *remove-as-needs-be* functionality - a functionality which would in years to come, become increasingly restricted to the needs and designs of Capital and Apartheid aspirations.

## ATTRACTION 6

### THE LAYOUT/DESIGN OF TOWNSHIPS

After more than two decades of intense debate on the [ab]use[s] of the grid-iron layout, this aspect of the *art and science* of the layout of townships [as far as I could determine] disappeared in the printed discourse of planners. Filling its place were three new foci, of which the first two were closely related:

1. the cost of various layout types, especially regarding engineering services (Floyd, 1944; Cutten, 1952: 121 and 125);
2. the design of economic and sub-economic schemes, in particular the "*native township*" and "*native village*" (Cutten, 1950 and 1952; Cooper, 1943; Lunn, 1943; Ballenden, 1943; Connell, 147: 169-170 and Begg, 1943); and
3. the design of the neighbourhood unit (see *inter alia* Simon, 1943: 241; Pistorius and Niebuhr, 1947; Hanson, 1943b: 234 and 1947: 164; Harper, 1944 and the Proceedings of a Symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943a and 1943b: Supplement).

About the discourse on the design of the neighbourhood unit there is not much to say as all it really was, was an echoing of the tenets of the concept and the eulogising of its perceived advantages.

Regarding the other two, which, essentially were part of the search for solutions to "*the housing problem*" (see Attraction 1 of this Bitmap), [at least] four observations can be made, *viz* that:

1. the neighbourhood concept was also employed in the designs for economic and sub-economic schemes/townships[, including schemes/townships for "*natives*"], but with smaller erven and less internal roads, so as to keep costs of surfacing and upkeep down (Cutten, 1950: 35 and Calderwood, 1953: 147 and 180 and Kirchhofer, 1958: 22 and 27);
2. the "*native townships*" were to a large extent treated as *functional* units/"ingredients"/components in the economic and domestic life of white industry and white households respectively and thus had to be located "... *near their places of employment*" (Special Correspondent, 1954b: 15 and Cutten, 1950: 40 and 1952: 114; 117-118);
3. despite having to keep "... *costs as low as possible*" (Floyd, 1960: 73) in the layout of the "*native townships*", there was nevertheless an honest desire prevalent among some

- of those taking part in this discourse to design quality living environments (Calderwood, 1953: 176-188; Cutten, 1952: 120; Lunn, 1943: 132-133 and Oranje, 1996b: 281-282); and
4. there were attempts at incorporating elements of African culture [as the players read it] in the designs for "*native townships*" (Cutten, 1952: 121-122 and Spence, 1943 and 1950: 221).

However misplaced and paternalistic some of these concerns might have [proven to have] been, there was nonetheless a humane approach prevalent in some of these schemes/townships - something which was to wither away as Apartheid settled in.

## ATTRACTION 7

### THE PUBLIC [OPINION]

As in the previous three decades the players remained convinced that vital ingredients in the passing and actual implementation [in practice] of planning legislation [to a large extent for regional planning in this era.] were still an "*informed public opinion*", an "*enthusiastic public*" and "*public support/pressure*" (see *inter alia* Proceedings of symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943b: Supplement; Cowin, 1946; Thorrington-Smith, 1948 as quoted in Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 16; Harper, 1946: 10; Hanson, 1946: 42 and Special Correspondent, 1951c: 13) - a view which is encapsulated in Cutten's simple statement: "*No planning is practical unless the people are behind it*" (1946: 47).

Public education on the *need* for planning (Cooper, 1946: 48 and Douglas, 1946: 51) and civic art/design (Lectures on "Civic Art and You", 1954), as well as the involvement of the public in planning[, after they had been of such kind assistance in getting the laws passed,] was thus seen as imperative (see Kantorowich, 1943: 259 and Harper, 1944: 10). Presumably in line with the propaganda campaigns during the War years, it was even suggested that the education involved in the creation of such a *planologically-informed* public, should begin at school level by making use of "... *talks and films illustrating the advantages of planned development*" (see Douglas, 1946: 51).

This concern with the public was, however, not at a constant high throughout this era: After having peaked during the euphoric phase of reconstructionist thinking in the final years of the War and shortly after it had ended (see especially Kantorowich, 1943: 259-261; Harper, 1944: 10 and Hanson, 1946: 42), it withered away, only occasionally to flicker up again, but never to return to these levels again for more than forty years.

And, far, far away, this time really quite far away, in the UK, the campaign[ers] for planning managed to create a public consensus on the need for planning[, albeit only a short-lived one,] out of which was born [the legislation putting in place,] the comprehensive post-War British planning system (Hardy, 1991: 4-6) still largely intact to this day.

## ATTRACTION 8 CIVIC DESIGN

After an absence of the discourse of civic design from the planning game during the War years, it picked up again towards the end of the 1940s and in the early 1950:

1. on the pages of the South African Architectural Record (see *inter alia* Kantorowich, 1948 and Fassler, 1947);
2. in the proposals for the Cape Town Foreshore Scheme [and the discussion of these proposals (see *inter alia* Pearse, 1947 and Kantorowich, 1949)] and those for the central area of Pretoria in the 1949-Holford-plan (see Muller, 1995c: 242-243); and
3. in a host of public lectures given on the topic during 1954 (see Lectures on "Civic Art and You", 1954).

The clearest indicators of its post-War vitality, most probably, being:

1. the suggestion by the then Dean of the WITS Faculty of Architecture, Professor Fassler [ Professor Pearse having retired at the end of 1947 -] at the School's 1948-Annual Exhibition and Prize-giving, that a Chair be created in "*Town Planning and Civic Design*" (1948: 234-235, bold my own); and
2. the newly formed South African Town Planning Institute (see Rules in Bitmap Three of this Map) stating as one of its prime objectives the promotion of "... *the art and science of town and regional planning and civic design*" (Marsh, 1962: 5, bold my own).

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP THREE PLAYERS

### PLAYGROUPS

As had been the case since its birth, the players mainly came from the fields of Architecture, Engineering and Land Surveying and were, judging from the discourse all still "*men*". [Betty Spence, a female architect, did numerous surveys into the living conditions and housing in the "native townships", the results of which were published in the South African Architectural Record (1943 and 1950); her presence did, however, not lead to a recognition of women in the planning discourse.] The attraction of the members of the three professions to the various niches/fields in which the game was played, was however not the same: while members of the Architectural and Engineering professions were for instance far more prolific than members of the Land Surveying profession in the discourse on housing, national and regional planning and reconstruction, the surveyors were far more involved in the drafting of layouts and the submission of applications for township establishment (see Snyman, 1941: 108-109; Kantorowich, 1962: 57 and Maré, 1956). [This state of affairs was very similar to that in Australia where the huge tracts of suburban extensions in one of the most suburbanised countries in the world (Johnson, 1994: 1) were laid out primarily by land surveyors (Smith, 1966).]

An interesting development in this era, actually an intensification of a trend with its origin

in the late 1930s], and again, this phenomenon was not unique to South Africa, as it was also prevalent in Great Britain at the time (Hebbert, 1983),] was the entrance of social scientists, such as Mr Silberman (1943a and 1943b and 1944) and Dr Sonnabend (1947) from the Department of Social Studies at WITS and Dr Kuper, a Professor in Sociology at the University of Natal (1954), into the planning discourse. It was especially these social scientists who put forward very strong proposals on community planning and planning for the family (see especially Silberman, 1943b and Sonnabend, 1947: 25-26). It was also Dr Sonnabend who at one occasion placed the focus on "*women in the city*" (1947: 25) - to my knowledge a first in the local planning discourse.

## PLAYGROUND FIGHTS

Contrary to the antagonism between members from the various professions in the game, this was, judging from the printed discourse, no longer as prevalent as it had been before. It does, though, seem that these illish feelings were not dead yet (Hanson, 1944a: 104) and that there was still some "... *sniping at one another*" by players in the game (Cooper, 1946: 48). Also, according to Muller (1993b: 8-9), the endeavours aimed at establishing a professional body (see Rules in Bitmap Three of this Map), were not skirmish-free.

# BITMAP THREE OF MAP THREE RULES

## WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

While there were still not any definite rules in this regard by the early 1940s, there was a definite deepening in the belief, already prevalent in the 1930s (see Bitmap Three of Map Two), that players, whether from the language games of Architecture, Engineering or Land Surveying, needed an additional qualification and/or far more extensive training in town planning for them to be[come] players (see Hanson, 1944a: 103; Kantorowich, 1943: 260; Pearse, 1944: 3 and Muller, 1993b: 9). As the British post-graduate Diploma in Town Planning (see Bitmap Three of Map Two) had, in Professor Pearse's words, proven to be "... *unsatisfactory in so far as South Africa is concerned*" (Pearse, 1943, as quoted in Muller, 1993b: 9 and see Pearse, 1944: 3), the urge for more extensive training in Town Planning became translated by the middle 1940s into a "... *proper course in Town Planning as applicable to South African conditions*" (Pearse, 1943, as quoted in Muller, 1993b: 9).

This resulted in the institution of the first course in Town Planning in South Africa - a post-graduate diploma course, in the Faculty of Architecture at WITS in 1944, largely due to the tireless work of Professor Pearse (Hanson, 1944a: 104). The course, which was open to architects, civil engineers and land surveyors (Hanson, 1944a: 104), turned out to be very popular, as by 1948 there were already 46 students studying for the diploma (Fassler, 1948: 235). Within "*a few years*" after its inception it was also included by the British Town

Planning Institute in its System of Recognised Schools (Muller, 1993b: 9) and was praised by the prominent Mr Thorrington-Smith, the Natal Provincial Town and Regional Planner, for performing a service " ... *not only to the town planning profession, but also to South Africa*" (Thorrington-Smith, 1952: 150). This service was further extended in the late 1950s to that of "... *act(ing) as a consultant to other Universities wishing to establish post-graduate (town planning) courses*" (Fassler, 1959, as quoted in Muller, 1991a: 1), notably the Universities of Natal and Pretoria, where post-graduate courses - a diploma in the case of Natal and a Masters degree and a diploma-course in the case of Pretoria - were subsequently instituted in 1957 and 1959 respectively (Viljoen, 1965b: 134 and Landman and Claassens, 1996: 9-13).

Together with this urge for a local Town Planning course came the desire for the establishment of a local professional body. In the story of the manifestation of this desire, Muller (1993b: 8-9), after briefly informing us of an earlier attempt at establishing a "*small chapter*" of the British Town Planning Institute in South Africa, takes us on a journey,

1. starting in 1944 with the formation of the Southern Africa Branch of the British Town Planning Institute;
2. followed in 1951 by the founding of a rival body, the South African Town and Regional Planning Institution; and
3. culminating in 1954, "... *after considerable hand wringing and head scratching*" in the creation of an independent body, the South African Institute of Town Planners (SAITP), and the registration of its first 55 Corporate, 2 Graduate and 11 student members (figures obtained from Lamont-Smith, 1994: 1). [Membership to this body was gained by passing a qualifying examination, which could only be taken by a person who had:
  - \* two years practical experience in town planning plus a town planning diploma or an approved overseas degree, or who held a degree in Land Surveying, Engineering or Architecture; or
  - \* five years practical experience in town planning and had been exempted from an Intermediate Examination in Town Planning approved by the Council (Marsh, 1962: 5).

Membership was thus initially open to those without a town planning qualification, but who had "practical experience in town planning" (Terblanche, 1969: 8).]

With the establishment of the independent body the bonds with the British Town Planning Institute were, however, not cut, as by 1958 "*cordial negotiations*" had produced an "*Agreement of Affiliation*" (Muller, 1993b: 9). This affiliation was to last for twenty years, after which it was severed by the Council of the RTPPI "... *following the destruction of squatter settlements in the Cape and the death of Steve Biko*" (Muller, 1993b: 9).

Essentially it was these two developments - the institution of the Diploma course at WITS and the founding of the local Institute - which were to establish town planning in South Africa as a professional discipline in its own right (a view similar to that of Muller, 1993b: 9-10); in the process writing the first set of concrete [but not statutory set of] rules [from the side of the players] regarding who may be[come] a player.

# HOW TO PLAY

## PROCEDURE

While there was not much deviation in the basic set of rules as developed in the 1930s (see Bitmap Three of Map Two) in this era, there were however some new developments and some shifts in focus which I briefly discuss in the following few paragraphs.

1. *Survey(s)*. While this aspect of Geddes's approach had of course also been regarded as important in the previous decades, it was now accorded a scale of comprehensiveness and a place of importance in the discourse of planners way beyond that granted to the "Analysis" and "Plan" phases (see for instance Calderwood, 1953: 136-138; Douglas, 1943: 169; Niebuhr and Pistorius, 1947: 27; Bryer, 1940; Hanson, 1943: 145 and Floyd, 1943: 335). Planners, it would seem, had entered an era of radical positivism where more was positively more.

Some planners, most probably in reaction to this trend, were, however, proposing a new approach to planning: One such player was the engineer S Morris who argued that the strong focus on surveys, a "... *preoccupation so typical of English planners*" (1943: 163) was misplaced. Surveys, to him, were not unimportant, but he felt that "... *there is also a greater urgency - an urgency for getting on with the job*" (1943: 163). What he suggested was that the plan formulation-phase could proceed concurrently with surveys being done, as "... *in many aspects of planning the problem is well known and there is no need for delay*" (1943: 163). Another such player was the social scientist, L Silberman, who suggested that "... *planning be limited, confined to the strategic points of the system rather than exhaust itself in an attempt to subordinate the vast human field to finished plans*" (Silberman, 1943b: 215). In a sense we have here the makings of the *much-later-to-arrive-in-South-Africa* strategic planning approach of the 1990s.

2. *Team/group work*. Whereas individual genius in the preparation of plans/solving of problems was regarded as an all-important component in the discourse of some planners in previous decades (see Bitmap Three of Map Two), the best vehicle in this endeavour was now [as was the case in the UK at the time (Hebber, 1983: 4)] seen as a group/team of experts (Kantorowich, 1943: 258; Calderwood, 1953: 182 and Hamlin, 1943: 159).

This can most probably be attributed to:

- \* the modernist view that as many experts as possible, in as many specialities as possible, will present the most comprehensive picture [- survey -] of the world/problem at hand as possible and lead to the production of the best possible plan; and/or
- \* the War effort demonstrating what can be achieved if people [collectively] work together towards a common goal.



3. *Recognition of the socio-econo-political framework in which planning takes place.* Albeit not a strong strain in the discourse, Hanson's [base-superstructure?] remark that physical planning is "... *only possible in so far as social and economic conditions allow, and the tactics of advance should be conceived within the given social framework*" (1946: 41 and see also Harper, 1944: 4 for a similar remark) is an important one, as it contained a prophetic message for both the Apartheid planners of the years to come, as well as for the "radical planners" of the 1970s and 1980s (see Attraction 2 of Bitmap One of this Map and Wilkinson, 1993: 279 for a personalised interpretation of this phrase of Hanson's).
4. *The placing/location and layout of "native townships".* Over and above the rules for planning extensions to towns (see Bitmap Three of Map Two), the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act, 1945, and the requirements of Dr Verwoerd's Department of Native Affairs (1951) now created a host of new rules to be observed in the layout of "native townships" (see Attraction 2 in Bitmap One of this Map).
5. *An early breath of the rational planning process.* Muller, in discussing the method used by Thompson in the Cape Town Foreshore Plan, suggests that through Thompson's "... *very careful consideration of all possible alternatives*", he "... *brought the essence for the rational planning procedure to South Africa*" (1996: 216).

## ROLES

Out of the various rules and proposed rules on how the game should be played, a few new and proposed roles to be played by players, in addition to those of designer [down to the finest detail, according to some of the players (see Oranje 1996c: 275-276 and Kirchhofer, 1958: 30)], *visionary, researcher, logical analyzer, synthesizer and communicator* as in the previous phase, can be identified:

1. *Coordinator.* In the team in which the planner was to be involved, the task of coordination was to belong to the planner (Kantorowich, 1943: 257; Hamlin, 1943: 159 and Van Biljon, 1945: 261). As Hamlin (1943: 159) suggested: "*A planner is at best a coordinator and must have a wide general experience in his many functions. He need not be a specialist in any one function, but must know his limitations in each and when to call in the specialist.*"
2. *"A true South African".* According to Floyd (1943: 109) any planner wanting to work in South Africa needed to have "(a)n intimate knowledge of the people, conditions and customs in our country as well as that of the growth of our towns" - a view seconded by Morris (1943: 166).
3. *Servant.* Most probably in keeping with the wave of social reformist thinking, it was suggested that the planner should be "... *the servant ministering to the community's requirements and aspirations*" (Harper, 1944: 4).
4. *Technical administrator.* Together with the approval and promulgation of town planning schemes and the passing of the Removal of Restrictions Act, No 48 of 1946,

came the role of the planner at local authority and provincial level responsible for the processing of applications submitted in terms of the schemes and the Act.

## **BITMAP FOUR OF MAP THREE AIMS/OBJECTIVES**

### **WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED**

While there were differences in nuance and scale [ranging from the neighbourhood to the nation], the aim of the game, in keeping with the wave of social reconstructionist thinking and the popularity of the neighbourhood concept, was primarily about the realization/creation of a better, healthier and happier life for all those [to be] touched by it (see Niebuhr and Pistorius, 1947: 29; Kantorowich, 1948: 102; Lunn, 1943: 133; Truter, 1943: 166; Kirchhofer, 1958: 30-31; Mallows, 1954b: 29 and Harper, 1944: 5). An interesting deviation from this basic aim was Thorrington-Smith's view that "... *the object of town planning in all parts of the world (is) to provide an environment to which people will be instinctively attracted*" (Thorrington-Smith, 1948, as quoted in Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 12).

As it was, however, also a time of fervour around regional and national planning, the aim of the game was also seen as that of ensuring a better, more rational, more efficient use of the country's resources (see for instance Floyd, 1943 and the Discussion on Floyd's paper, 1943; Hanson, 1943b; Pearce, 1942b, Bryer, 1940: 427-431 and Proceedings of symposium entitled "*Rebuilding South Africa*", 1943a and 1943b: Supplement and Union of South Africa, 1944). Applying this functional perspective to the town, Dr van Biljon, one of the members of the Social and Economic Planning Council, described the aim of the game as ensuring that a town perform better according to "*functional requirements*" (Van Biljon, 1945: 261).

Now, once again, as had been the case since its inception, despite what the planners' intentions might have been, and despite a fervour for improving the lot of the Africans in the heat of the reconstructionist wave, in the end the Africans were at best treated paternalistically by planners, at worst, as mere links in the wheels of white industrial and domestic life.

### **WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED**

Compared to the 1930s very little had changed. There were clearly two groups, who were of course not mutually exclusive:

1. Propagandists for planning, and in a sense of course for a "better life for all", who were primarily playing the game for "a/the cause".
2. The PAYEs [Play As You Earn] - who were either doing paid work for clients in terms of planning legislation, eg. preparing town planning schemes and doing rezoning, removal of restrictions and township establishment applications, or

administering to these applications in the public sector, either at local authority or provincial government level.

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP THREE

### DEFINITIONS

Town planning was still seen as an art and a science, but at least now there were some players willing to wager a more substantial definition. Some examples of the definitions of town planning being offered in this phase being the following three. Town planning is:

1. *"(t)he science of organising human environment, ordering it according to human needs, and improving its order so that human life may ascend progressively to higher and higher planes"* (Bryer, 190: 428);
2. *"... not so much a science dealing with the completed structure as with its growth"* (Pearse, 1942b: 364) [- an early allusion to the 1980s and 1990s notion of planning as the management of growth?]; and
3. the *"... anticipat(ion) of growth, (the) provision of a scheme that is ahead of (its) time, ... the mak(ing) (of) arrangements for the reception and distribution of a town's industries, a town's houses, its places for recreation, and for all the other needs of the townsmen for many years to come. These things, considered broadly and systematically make the science of Town Planning. In its application, the arts of architecture and landscape design, and the sciences dealing with sociology, civil engineering and hygiene are contributory. Haphazard methods, the result of land speculation and real estate development, should not be tolerated, but the town plan should be made to conform to the Regional and National plans, the town being, in fact, the nucleus of regional development"* (Pearse, 1942b: 365, bold my own).

As we know by now, this era also saw the first real delving into *regional planning* by the players in the local game, out of which endeavour came forth some thoughts on what regional planning was. Professor Pearse (1942b: 363), for one, proposed that: *"Regional planning may be defined as planning a region or district to coordinate the existing resources, whether human, industrial, agricultural, urban, natural and man created, for the benefit and use of present and future generations"*. Hanson (1943b: 232) and Dr van Biljon (1945: 261) were largely in agreement with this definition in their suggestion that town planning and regional planning are basically the same in that they are both about coordination; it is only in regional planning that *"... the scale is larger, (and) the task (thus) more difficult"* (from Van Biljon, 1945: 261). And, even though *civic design* was not a field of major attraction in this phase, a definition of this term was presented by Roy Kantorowich, who defined it as *"... the art of that sphere of activities where architecture and town planning overlap. It deals with the appearance of the urban environment, not considered as an overall whole, (that would be town planning), nor at the level of isolated individual buildings (that would be architecture), but in terms of relatively local ensembles of buildings and their settings and enveloping spaces"* (1948: 94).

# MAP FOUR

## 1955-1970

### IN WHICH THE PLAYERS AND THE GAME SETTLE INTO A NARROWER LINE OF VISION

*"In short planning is essentially an application of method" (Mallows, 1965a: 38).*

*"... planning is nothing more than a certain manner of arriving at decisions and actions the intention of which is to promote the social good of a society undergoing rapid change" (Friedmann, 1959: 329).*

*"In a democratic and multi-racial country like South Africa, physical planning must necessarily take place against the political background of the racial policy of the Government-of-the-day. Group areas planning is, therefore, not merely an exercise in town and regional planning, but must be based on a combination of the principles of physical and political planning in which the racial policy of the Government must be given full recognition" (Barker, 1974: 29-30).*

*"Even Karl Mannheim misunderstood the nature of planning ... . He forgot that planning could become a tool in the hands of both dictators and democrats, to be used or misused by either" (Friedmann, 1959: 328).*

*"The natural course of professionalization (in American planning) has taken its toll, by turning many would-be missionaries into security-conscious bureaucrats" (Webber, 1963: 232).*

# BITMAP ONE OF MAP FOUR ATTRactions AND INFLUENCING FORCES

## ATTRACTION 1 TOWN PLANNING SCHEMES, [OR DEVELOPMENT CONTROL, IF YOU LIKE]

Although this was a field not nearly as prevalent in the printed discourse of planners as in the 1930s, it was nevertheless one to which the players were still strongly attracted (Kantorowich, 1958; Pikholtz, 1959; Bouchier, 1959; Fassler *et al*, 1959; Cooper, 1959; Anderson, 1959; Howard, 1956a and 1956b; Personal interviews: Mallows, March 1 1995 and Ferero, June 25 1993), and one in which they primarily prepared town planning schemes [of which 75 were proclaimed by 1965 in the Transvaal (Van Vuuren, 1965: 123)], but also submitted, or administered to applications for the amendment of such schemes (see Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 37-44; Ball, 1965: 64-65; van Vuuren, 1965: 122-125; Rosenberg, 1959 and Cutten, 1959). For interest sake, in the Transvaal these actions, after 1965, were undertaken under a new Ordinance, the Transvaal Town-Planning and Townships Ordinance, No. 25 of 1965, which in its basic content and aims showed very little deviation from the 1931 Ordinance - its Section 17 dealing with the "*General purpose of (a) town-planning scheme*", a nearly exact copy of Section 32 of the 1931-Ordinance (Ordinances of Transvaal, 1931: 30 and Town-Planning and Townships Ordinance of Transvaal, 1965: Section 17). [Note the move from "*Town-Planning*" in the 1931 Ordinance from second to "*Townships*" in the title of the Ordinance to first in the text of the title by 1965.]

On the topic of new legislation, also worth mentioning is the promulgation of the new Removal of Restrictions Act, Act No. 84 of 1967 (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1248-1263); this time round applicable in all four provinces, and providing *inter alia* for some form of public participation in the process (Section 2.(4)(b)), but, as could be expected, still precluding the removal of "... *any condition specifically prohibiting or restricting the sale, lease or occupation of land to or by a non-white person*" (Section 2.(2) of the Act). A new addition to this clause was, however, made: it would now be possible to lift such clauses in cases where the land was to be "... *used for public purposes by the State or a local authority*" (Section 2.(2) of the Act).

Back to the discourse of planners. While the reasons for zoning and town planning schemes had not changed much since the 1930s (see Anderson, 1959: 83 and Kantorowich, 1958: 36 for an endorsement of this statement), there was prevalent under a number of planners a belief that

- schemes had not achieved the goals they were meant to, and that this was largely due to:
1. planners zoning too much land for business purposes - a practice called "*overzoning*" (Pikholz, 1959: 71; Kantorowich, 1958: 38 and 1962: 63; Cooper, 1959: 81-82 and Bouchier, 1959: 20);
  2. a lack of finances for implementing schemes (Pikholz, 1959: 72 and Kantorowich, 1958: 38-39; Cooper, 1959: 82) [- measures to overcome this were, however, formulated, presented to co-players and discussed (see Kantorowich, 1958: 38-40 and Rosenberg, 1959: 85-86)];
  3. town planning schemes becoming mere "*zone plans*", their only function being "*negative control*" and no longer that of guiding future development (Viljoen, 1959: 37);
  4. schemes becoming far too restrictive, leaving "... *no scope for the developer or for the man in the street*" (Collings, 1959: 179);
  5. the inappropriateness of some terminology "... *uncritically taken over from overseas models*" in local schemes (Pikholz, 1959: 76) [- something which is still often mentioned/seen as a problem];
  6. an absence of town planning standards for use in schemes (Pikholz, 1959: 76-77; Cooper, 1959: 82; Viljoen, 1959: 37 and Rosenberg, 1959: 86);
  7. a lack of coordination between various government bodies involved in planning (Pikholz, 1959: 77 and Kantorowich, 1958: 37);
  8. a lack of "*appreciation of regional factors*" in the preparation of town planning schemes - a concern very similar to that raised in this regard in the 1940s (Kantorowich, 1958: 37 and see Attraction 4 in Bitmap One of Map Three); and
  9. a shortage of trained staff (Pikholz, 1959: 78-79; Cooper, 1959: 82-83).

The discriminatory practice of excluding the "*native townships*"/"*Black areas*", from town planning schemes, a legal measure dating back to the 1923 Native (Urban) Areas Act (see Section 1 of this Act, in Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1923: 142), and included in town planning legislation under Section 61.(a) of the Transvaal Townships and Town-Planning Ordinance, No 11 of 1931 (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931: 39), and Section 2 of the Transvaal Town-planning and Townships Ordinance, No. 25 of 1965 (Transvaal Town-Planning and Townships Ordinance, 1965: Section 2), did not, as far as I could ascertain from the printed discourse, come up for discussion (see Muller, 1991: 21 for a similar opinion). Nor did the proviso in Section 2.(2) in the amended Act on the Removal of Restrictions, Act No. 84 of 1967, once again preventing the removal of "... *any condition specifically prohibiting or restricting ... the sale, lease or occupation of any land to or by a non-white person ...*" (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1250-1252). Clearly, the rhetoric of racial segregation had become internalised in the language game of South African town planning.

## ATTRACTION 2

### TOWNSHIP ESTABLISHMENT

Government-imposed controls [including the banning of the PAC and the ANC and the mass detention of prominent figures in these movements] to resuscitate the South African economy in the wake of

1. an international outcry;

2. a loss of foreign investor confidence; and
3. a subsequent withdrawal of hundreds of millions of Rands by foreign investors, following on the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960, saw the economy recover miraculously and South Africa enter an era of *since-then-not-to-have-been-repeated-again* prosperity by late 1962 (Davenport, 1989: 397-398). The main beneficiaries of course, were the whites, whose living standard "... *reached record heights*" (Frederikse, 1990: 92); Bill Johnson (as referred to in Bundy, 1960: 9), for instance writes that "... *at some point around 1970 white South Africans overtook Californians as the single most affluent group in the world*". The African population, on the other hand, their political movements declared unlawful organisations and their ablest leaders "... *banned, jailed or exiled*" (Bundy, 1990: 9), entered a period labelled by Frederikse (1960: 92) as "*The Lull*".

White South Africans, with their new found wealth, and in their droves, embarked on a journey to a place of calm to dream dreams of the American dream - suburbia, provided with the compliments of numerous township developers, quick to see and grab a dream opportunity (Personal Interview, Ferero, June 25 1993 and Badenhorst, April 14 1997).

For many of those in the planning game, this was also a dream come true - the huge demand for suburban erven meant mass township establishments - and this meant lots of work for planners. And a lot of work there was - according to a town planning consultant practising in those days, a township developer could easily sell 400 erven over a weekend (Personal Interview, Ferero, June 25 1993). No wonder then that the late 1960s and early 1970s saw numerous planners leave the public sector for private practice (Personal Interviews: Ferero, June 25 1993; Viljoen, July 13 1993 and Osborne, July 5 1993).

But, alas, also in the case of township establishment segregation ruled, as in Section 2.(2) of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No 25 of 1945 [a repeat of Section 1.(1)(b) of the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act (see Bitmap Seven of Map One)] it was stated that, "*The provisions of any law in force in the province concerned governing the establishment of townships shall not apply in respect of any area defined and set apart (for "native" occupation)*" (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1945: 114). Applications for the establishment of "*white*" townships were thus submitted to and "*scrutinised*" by the Townships Boards of the various Provinces, while those for African townships were referred to the Central Government Department that was responsible for "*Native affairs*" at the time - during the 1960s the Department of Community Development (Prinsen, 1966: 26).

### ATTRACTION 3 NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PLANNING

While there is no indication of any real vigour for national planning in the discourse of planners in this period - there being a much stronger inclination towards the more local [and clearly defined] town planning scheme and township establishment fields - regional planning was still quite alive and kept so, mainly through the work of:

1. the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission and the publications and/or talks by planners connected to this body (Scott Brown, 1964; Thorrington-Smith, 1956, 1958, 1962 and 1965; Pistorius, 1962 and Harrison and Mabin, 1996: 100-103 and see the list of publications of the Commission in Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1972: 53-54); and
2. the Natural Resources Development Council (see *inter alia* Maré, 1956: 1 and Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne, 1964), including its plans, such as that for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Region, in which:
  - \* "(t)he Government's policy of separate development for Whites and non-Whites (was) incorporated"; and
  - \* explicit proposals were made on separating "White and non-White residential areas" by locating industrial areas between them (Moolman, 1961: 37 and 40) and publications on the work of the Council (see Page, 1966).

The Apartheid Government, however, in its growing urge to delineate, restrict, ban, control and dictate whatever happens wherever in the country, between and/or by whom, became strongly attracted to the idea of national planning (see Davenport, 1989: 389-407). An attraction which would see the establishment on the fifth of August 1964[. in terms of Government Notice 1239 of 1964.] of "... a department of State, to be known as the Department of Planning" with *inter alia* the function of: "The coordination of all group areas, regional and physical planning with which the State may be concerned, the exercise of control over the work of the Group Areas Board and of the Natural Resources Development Council, and the administration of the following legislation:

- (i) *The provisions of the Group Areas Act, 1957, ...; and*
- (ii) *the Natural Resources Development Act, 1947"* (Government Gazette, August 14 1964: 3).

Now, it has been suggested that the establishment of this Department can be attributed to the Social and Economic Planning Council's proposal for the establishment of a national planning department in their Report No 5 (Claassen, 1990: 7). This I doubt, as the National Party was strongly opposed to the Council and its recommendation for a "super-body" to oversee and regulate all aspects of planning (SA, 1947: 5445). While it is true that this was a national planning department, it was a far cry from the Godfather-Department proposed by the Social and Economic Planning Council; its function was far more restricted, essentially being to coordinate the various endeavours at planning, especially Apartheid planning, in which Government was involved (see Wilkinson, 1993: 272 for a similar opinion and see also Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990 for an exposition of the functions of the department).

Whatever the reasons for the establishment of this Department were, it was to have a major influence on the future of town and regional planning in South Africa in particularly two ways, which I discuss in the following two paragraphs.

1. *Planning Education.* Officials in the Department fervently took up the task placed on the Natural Resources Development Council in terms of the 1947 Natural Resources Development Act to "... encourage the study and teaching of town and regional



*planning*" (see Attraction 2 in Bitmap One of Map Three) by:

- \* organising a Conference on the "*Training of City and Regional Planners*" (Department of Planning, 1965) to ascertain the need for town and regional planners in the country, to determine the desired employer-requirements [especially public sector employers] of planners [for universities to respond to in their curricula] and to establish cooperation between the Department and universities to "... ensure the successful realisation of the momentous task" of creating "*desired development patterns*" in South Africa (my translation of Van Niekerk, 1965: 3 and 1 and see Van Niekerk, 1965: 1-3); and
- \* creating an awareness of the dire need for planners in the country and urging Universities to undertake the education of town and regional planners (Haak, 1965: 86 and Landman and Claassens, 1996: 10).

As a direct result of these endeavours the "*Institute for Planning*" was established at the University of Potchefstroom in 1965 and the training of town and regional planners at undergraduate level embarked upon [at this institution] in the following year (Haak, 1965: 86). In the next eleven years, in the favourable environment created by the Department of Planning for the institution of planning courses, post-graduate courses were instituted at the Universities of Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein and Cape Town and a diploma course at the Cape Technikon. In the case of Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein this was largely in response to the Minister of the Department of Planning and the Natural Resources Development Council's call for such courses to be set up (see Fourie, 1965: 152 and Nel, 1965: 148 and see also 145-147). In the case of Cape Town, the idea to start a course [as an offshoot of the School of Architecture, and from the outset designed with the emphasis on Urban Design (see Viljoen, 1965a: 150 and Beinart, 1965: 30),] was initiated in 1944, died away and picked up again in 1959 (Robertson, 1962: 105 and Marsh, 1962: 4), and was thus not so much a function of the moves made by the Department of Planning.

In this same period, but more as a result of

- \* the realisation that there was a "... need for a fuller training period for planning students than had been provided in (the) previous part-time courses ..." (Norton, 1972: 1 and see Mallows, 1965b: 14-15 and Viljoen 1965b: 135-136); and
- \* the fact that very few graduates completing the diploma courses became "*full time Town Planners*" (Marsh, 1962: 7 and see Mallows, 1965b: 13-14)[, taking the diploma courses "... merely to improve their general efficiency in the field of practice in the(ir) basic profession ..."] (Kinmont, 1962: 51 and see Floyd, 1962: 69),

the University of the Witwatersrand "upgraded" its diploma-course to an undergraduate Bachelor's degree-course, the University of Natal its diploma-course to a post-graduate Masters degree-course and the University of Pretoria added an undergraduate Bachelors degree-course to its existing post-graduate Masters and diploma-courses (Muller, 1991a: 1; Viljoen, 1965b: 136; Landman and Claassens, 1996: 9-13; Robinson, 1996 and Personal interview, Badenhorst, April 14 1997) © University of Pretoria

2. *The establishment of a direct link between town and regional planning and Apartheid planning.* While

- \* it was already suggested in 1955 that "... *it would be the obvious thing to do to employ town planners to advise them (the Group Areas Board)*" in their activities, especially in "... *the development of the areas*" to which those to be relocated in terms of the Group Areas Development Act of 1955, were to be moved (Hiemstra, 1955: 35); and
- \* an "... *eminent town planner [T B Floyd (see backflap of Floyd, 1966)] was ... appointed to the Group Areas Board*" in 1961 (Reinecke, 1962a: 15-16),

it was only with the location of the Group Areas Act in the Department of Planning, that town planning and the implementation of the Act became inextricably tied up with each other (see Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 1; du Toit, 1979: 54-55 and Personal interview, Badenhorst, April 14 1997). The reason for Government wanting planners to assist them and the role planners were to play in this regard, clearly summarised in the following extract from a speech read by Minister J F K Haak, the first Minister of this Department (Government Gazette, August 14 1964: 4), at the opening of the Institute for Planning at the University of Potchefstroom on 8 September 1965: "*To me, it is an outright fact that territorial segregation in urban areas is a town planning problem that should be undertaken by or in collaboration with town planners. The Government's aim of racial segregation is defeated if the basic patterns it creates are uneconomical, unrealistic or totally impracticable*" (my translation of Haak, 1965: 82). That planners accepted this role very quickly, is clear from a remark made by Charl Viljoen, a senior planner at the Department at the time, in 1965 that "... *we look at group areas firstly as a planning problem (basically city planning)*" (1965a: 51 and see du Toit, 1979: 54 and Barker, 1974: 29-30).

The "bond" between town and regional planning and Apartheid was further strengthened in 1967 with the passing of the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act, Act No 88 of 1967 - an Act which has been described as the Vorster-Government's forceful and negative response to the Verwoerd-cabinet's inability to achieve the decentralisation of industries to areas bordering on the "Homelands" [a crucial part of "The Plan" (a bastardised version of the well-known Tomlinson-Commission's 1955-recommendations (see *Unie van Suid-Afrika*, 1955: 209-219 for a summary of these recommendations)) in operation since 1960 to "... *discourage the flow of Bantu to certain predominantly White areas*" (Ott, 1972: 8), i.e. to reverse the African urbanisation process -] and to create economically independent ethnic African states (Davenport, 1989: 409; Pretorius *et al*, 1986: 237-240 and Moolman, 1961: 40). Contained in this Act was an important Apartheid-related measure, the administration of which resided in the Department of Planning and with which town and regional planners would become involved for the next 20-25 years: Sections 2 and 3 of the Act (see Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1416) made

- \* the approval of "... *any town planning scheme or any amendment thereof which provides for the zoning for industrial purposes of land not zoned for*

*such purposes*", the subdivision of land zoned for industrial purposes and the establishment of any industrial township; and

- \* the extension or establishment of a factory in certain proclaimed areas [i.e. "... *the metropolitan areas excluding the Durban/Pinetown metropolitan area - as it was argued that the whole complex in effect formed a border area - and other important centres such as Sasolburg, Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp*" (Pretorius *et al.*, 1986: 240 and see Davenport, 1989: 409)],

subject to "... *the prior written approval of the Minister*" (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1416). The line of reasoning behind this measure was very simple: "... *an extension of a factory mean(t) any increase in the number of Bantu employees in such factory*" (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1418).

The impact of these measures was devastating, as the following byte suggests: On 11 February 1976, barely four months before the Soweto Uprising, it was disclosed by the Minister of Planning in Parliament that since 19 January 1968, when the measures came into operation, until 31 January 1976, the potential number of African employees who had been denied jobs through the refusal of applications for the establishment or extension of factories in "*proclaimed areas*", was 92 645 (SA, Questions and Answers, 1976: 186-187).

As this Act also repealed the Natural Resources Development Act of 1947, and terminated the National Resources Development Council (see Potgieter, 1993: 150), the important Section 15 of this 1947-Act, which provided for the proclamation of "*controlled areas*" was retained in much the same wording in Section 6 of the 1967-Act (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1967: 1418-1420). This measure, not tied up with Apartheid planning *per se*, would in the not too distant future lead to the preparation of Guide Plans (see Attraction 3 in Bitmap One of Map Five), documents by which Central Government, with the smallest amount of public involvement (see Muller, 1991b: 23), could determine the future land use in these "*controlled areas*". [Many authors confuse these "*controlled areas*" with the areas which could be "*proclaimed*" as areas in which factories were not to be extended or established without the permission of the Minister.]

Looking at this Act thirty years later, it (this Act) was a peculiar and watershed one, as it earmarked one of the first wilful actions by the Apartheid demagogues to sacrifice the country's economic heartlands for their segregationist ideological aims. In a sense it signalled an embarkation on a modernist journey in which functionality would become subservient to a rationality with segregation and Homeland development as the deciding arbitrators in the weighing of alternative routes of action.

## ATTRACTION 4 URBAN RENEWAL

Whereas planners in the USA and the UK were strongly attracted to and involved with urban renewal in this era (see Cullingworth, 1993: 159-160; Hall, 1989: 279 and Ward, 1994: 143-157), South African planners, even though they were evidently [made] aware of the field (see Korsman, 1966 and Floyd, 1966: 268-283), were much less so (see Van Vuuren, 1965: 127 and Floyd, 1960: 66-67 and 1966: 268-269 and the redevelopment plans prepared by William Holford for a number of local authorities as discussed in Muller, 1995: 243-256). It was, however, one for which Government had a particular liking, as it, somewhat perversely, gave a veneer of respectability to its underlying goal with slum clearances - that of racial segregation. This is maybe best illustrated in the following byte of *Apartheid-style-rationality* from a speech read by Mr P W Botha, the then Minister of the Interior, in 1961 at the opening of a Conference organised by the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa: *"As you have no doubt noticed, slum conditions have almost always developed in mixed residential areas. The removal of the evil of mixed residential areas, therefore, very often results in the clearance of slum conditions. To put it differently: If planning of areas for each racial group had not been undertaken, planning of areas to remove slum conditions or blighted areas (as the Americans call such areas), would nevertheless have been necessary"* (1961: 93).

By *"in many instances"* actively assisting in the *"slumming"* of *"mixed residential areas"*, by *"... 'freezing' development and creating a climate of uncertainty"* (Slabbert, 1993: 64 and see Pinnock, 1989: 165-166 and Smit, 1989: 137), Government set this simple line of reasoning in motion, demolishing inner urban areas, breaking up families and relocating the former inhabitants, as had been the case in the earlier cases of slum clearances (see Attraction 4 in Bitmap One of Map Two), on the margins of cities (Davenport, 1989: 379-380; 420 and 551 and Pinnock, 1989: 166-167). While Government was, apparently, not unaware of the suffering it created, this suffering was simply dismissed as an issue of subservient importance to its own ideological aims. This is clearly illustrated in the following extract from a booklet on District Six, published by the Government department which, after April 1964, became responsible for these and other "urban renewal" projects - the [ironically called] *Department of Community Development*: *"It is acknowledged that removal of families means uprootment and a disturbance of life. If these are, however, to be the only concerns that are important and decisive, then slum areas should never be cleared up"* (Department van Gemeenskapsbou, undated: 19, translation my own).

Now, employed in this Department of Community Development were of course town planners (see Korsman, 1965: 41-42; 1966 and 1996), and, appointed by this Department to undertake some of their work, were town planning consultants (see Korsman, 1965: 42; Hentrich, Mallows and Beinart, 1967 and Interplan, 1970), once again making it a case of town planners [willingly or not] being deployed in the service of Apartheid. But not only that: In for instance a proposed redevelopment scheme for Pretoria-Central, the consultants appointed by the Department, in their analysis of the area, were not shy to use their own value judgements to portray some

of the inhabitants as people with personality defects and low mores (Interplan, 1970: 67-68). Sadly, though, in this display of arrogance they were not unique, as this behaviour was, according to Ward, also prevalent among some planners involved in urban redevelopment in the UK at the time (1994: 153). It does nevertheless raise the interesting question: Was the local *arrogance-phenomenon* a textual import from abroad, or was/is it a more universal modernist *power-thing*?

## ATTRACTION 5

### HOUSING AND THE PLANNING OF HOMELAND TOWNS

As was pointed out in Bitmap One of Map Three, the neglect in the provision of houses for Africans in the 1940s and early 1950s, despite it being an issue of national concern, led to an estimated 50 000 African families in Johannesburg alone in need of housing, overcrowding of existing dwellings and a rampant crime wave. Largely in response to these malconditions an *"Interdepartmental Committee on the Housing Shortage"* [on central government level] was set up in June 1953 to "... investigate and report on the housing situation" (Korsman, 1996: 154). The Committee's primary recommendation, that the State "... had a fundamental role to play in the provision of housing" (Korsman, 1996: 154), saw a renewed flurry of thinking on the problem in Governmental circles, which led to Dr Verwoerd's Department of Native Affairs coming up with a proposal for a *"site and service"* scheme by the middle 1950s (see Special Correspondent, 1955a: 13 and 1955b: 15 and Davenport, 1989: 548). In terms of this proposal only *"rudimentary"* services - i.e. "... communal water at street corners, instead of individual connections, and a bucket system instead of water-borne sewerage" - were to be provided by the local authority; the onus for building a house on the site leased from the local authority, would be that of the *"Native family"* (Special Correspondent, 1955a: 13). Given the weak financial position of most of the homeless African families (see Korsman, 1996: 155), it was furthermore suggested that "... African residents should build shanties for their immediate use at one end of their plots ... while the building of more solid homes at the other end of their plots (would take) place under municipal supervision" (Davenport, 1989: 548 and see Special Correspondent, 1955a: 13).

The *"site and service"* scheme was accepted by a number of local authorities, such as Johannesburg, Benoni, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Kimberley, Vereeniging, Durban and Pretoria (Special Correspondent, 1955a: 15 and 1955c: 15; Morris, 1958: 89; Anon, 1957 and Davenport, 1989: 548-550), and in the case of Johannesburg, largely through loans raised by Johannesburg's mining houses, as well as Governmental subsidies, a total of 65 564 houses were built by 1969 in Soweto alone (Frescura, 1992: 13). While these houses so built were of the infamous NE 51/6 and NE 51/9 types, and the environments so created were racially segregated, dull and monotonous, they did alleviate the housing shortage to some degree (see Frescura, 1992: 13 and Davenport, 1989: 410 and 548-550).

This "*site and service*", combined with *mass housing-phase* was, however, to come to an end in the late 1960s with the Government's decision to focus its house building endeavours in the Homeland towns - towns that were already "home" to many of the hundreds of thousands of Africans Government had forcefully removed in especially the 1960s (Davenport, 1989: 410-412 and 549 and Frescura, 1992: 15 and see Smit and Booysen, 1982: 26). In so doing, Government was primarily hoping to thwart the African urbanisation process, as permission to reside in towns and cities outside the Homelands was made dependent on the availability of housing in such towns and cities (Davenport, 1989: 410). One result of this action was that by 1972 the housing backlog for Africans in Johannesburg had surpassed its 1944-level (Davenport, 1989: 550).

And what about planners?

In contrast to the 1940s and early 1950s, planners had grown far more subdued about housing by the late 1950s - a trend that would continue in the decades to come. The only printed discourse on housing I could find, was in a discussion of a paper entitled "*Native housing policies and problems*" read by the architect, Dr Douglas Calderwood - the father of the NE 51/6 and NE 51/9 house types (Frescura, 1992: 13) - at the 1959-Summer School, organised by the South African Institute of Town Planners (SAITP) (see Reinecke, 1959 and Cutten, 1959 for the full discussion). For the biggest part the discussion was about technical detail, such as standards to be applied in the planning of "*native townships*" (see especially Reinecke, 1959) and the placing of the NE 51/6 house[, at for instance a right angle to the road "... to overcome monotony"] (Reinecke, 1959: 143 and Cutten, 1959: 152). It was nevertheless suggested by the town planning consultant and City Councillor of Johannesburg, A J Cutten, that "... the European must subsidize the better conditions (for the Africans) that are so necessary [partially, to "... increase the productivity of the labour force" (sic)] (Cutten, 1959: 152). [Floyd (1960: 83-84) included a short section on "*Housing*" in his text "*Town Planning in South Africa*", but only specified how housing was financed in the country at the time, how much Government money was spent on housing the lower income groups and who the bodies at Central Government level responsible for housing were.]

Now, of course this does not mean that town planners were not involved in the housing process; they were most certainly involved, but at both local government level (see Cutten, 1959: 152) and at central government level, in the then Department of Community Development (Korsman, 1996: 155-156 and 159-160 and Departement van Gemeenskapsbou, 1967), it was more about the layout and establishment of towns[hips] [under strong detailed restrictions as per Handbook/Guide (see Departement van Gemeenskapsbou, 1967 and Department of Native Affairs, undated) to *inter alia* ensure that the costs were kept "... as low as possible" (Floyd, 1960: 73)] than housing *per se*. Also, with Government's decision to start establishing towns in the Homelands and to redirect the provision of houses to these towns, town planners were responsible for the drafting of the layouts of these towns (Olivier, 1965: 41 and Personal Interview: du Plessis, June 25 1993). In this latter action, albeit not a party to the making of the decisions to forcefully remove people and relocate them in these Homeland towns, becoming a [technical] party to the realisation of the Grand Apartheid Homeland Vision.

## ATTRACTION 6 SUBURBAN SHOPPING CENTRES

In the early 1950s the trend towards decentralisation of shopping facilities to planned suburban shopping centres arrived in South Africa with the development, on "*modern lines*" (Floyd, 1966: 194), of the Rosebank shopping centre in Johannesburg (Floyd, 1966: 194 and see Marsh, 1956: 28-29). By the late 1950s it had grown into a more common feature of the South African cityscape (Behrmann, 1959: 110-111), and one on which local planners could hold a lively debate on *inter alia* the impact of these centres on the CBD, their "*siting*" and the technicalities of their development (see Discussion of Behrmann, 1959: 112-116). It was, however, only with the mass suburban exodus in the 1960s that it became an important field/issue for the players in the planning game, especially so for those town planners involved:

1. in the design of the suburban townships, as sites for shopping centres often had to be incorporated in these layouts (Tod Welch, 1969); and
2. in the submission and administration of rezoning applications for "business rights" for such centres (Floyd, 1966: 181-205 and Personal Interview, Ferero, June 25 1993).

In the following two decades this involvement would grow even stronger.

## ATTRACTION 7 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CONCEPT

While the theoretical discussion on the concept peaked in the printed discourse of planners in the middle 1940s/early 1950s, the published stories of its practical application in a number of new towns, most notably those of Sasolburg and Vanderbijlpark, only found their way into the planning discourse towards the late 1950s/early 1960s (see Kirchofer, 1959 and 1958; Anderson, 1959 and 1958; Collings, 1959; Floyd, 1960: 71-73 and also 1966: 206-267 and Kantorowich, 1962: 58-59). In these stories the concept clearly still had nirvana-status; the critique of the concept, as had entered the planning discourse in especially the USA in the 1960s (see for instance Jacobs, 1961; Chermeyeff and Alexander, 1963: 63 and Gans, 1971) was clearly absent in the local discourse. By the late 1950s there was, however, a slight deviation, in that it was being acknowledged that "*the family*", which formed the base of the neighbourhood idea, was a far more problematic concept than was initially thought, as it could be the extended family, the nuclear family or "*... some other cooperative unit*" (Mallows, 1958: 35). Studies had also been done which showed that "*... some native tribes have always had some small social groupings based on the 'extended family' idea ...*" (Mallows, 1958: 35-36) - findings which ran counter to the main tenet of the neighbourhood concept: the nuclear family.

In the second half of the 1960s the critique of the concept did, however, also arrive in South Africa, in a strongly worded, emotionally-laden paragraph, in a chapter actually dealing with shopping centres, in T B Floyd's 1966 text *More about town planning in South Africa*. In it Floyd ostensibly disapproved of the concept as follows:

*"Much 'blarney' has been written about 'neighbourhood' planning. Nonsense about a town being broken down into neighbourhood cells, then family cells and then*

*individuals has been propounded ad nauseam. The fact is that a town is comprised of individuals and family units. There is no such thing as a neighbourhood unit or cell. From the family the grouping is into various units which fluctuate and change from time to time. These are often temporary associations only. Examples are the church, primary school, high school, political party, recreational club ..., etc" (1966: 182).*

A similar line of critique was also directed at the concept in the middle 1960s by Charl Viljoen (1965: 133), but other than for these two criticisms, I did[~~not~~/have] not [yet] come across other local critiques in the printed discourse of planners in this era. The concept, judging from the application, not in its pure form, but of many of its main tenets in many of the suburban extensions designed in this era[~~, mainly through layout types designed to overcome the dangers of the loved/hated motor car - the machine of 1960s modernity -~~], was generally still very popular.

## ATTRACTION 8 METROPOLITAN PLANNING

While not yet a major focus, planners were once again beginning to show signs of interest in metropolitan planning (see Haak, 1965: 85-86; Morris, 1958: 89 and 1968; Floyd, 1966: 177-179; Page 1968 and Van Vuuren, 1965: 127-131). Government was also keenly interested in this field, for one, as these [metropolitan] areas were seen as "*... of vital importance to the development of the Republic, and it is therefore imperative that they are properly planned*" (my translation of Haak, 1965: 85). For another it may have been that these were the areas where the Apartheid-ideology was most impracticable and therefore areas where Government saw a definite need for "planning".

## ATTRACTION 9 CIVIC/URBAN DESIGN

During the second half of the 1950s civic/urban design remained alive in the discourse of planners, having resurfaced in the late 1940s after an absence during the War years (see for instance Cutten, 1957; Proceedings of an exhibition entitled "Cape Town - Your City" by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1956 and McIntosh, 1956). An interesting new development in the discourse, in contrast to earlier periods in which especially the architects [in the planning game] treated civic design as being a key area of concern of the planning game, was the view expressed by two prominent town planners [at the time], T B Floyd in 1960 and 1962 and A J Cutten in 1957, that civic design "*... is in fact a complete art in itself*" (Cutten, 1957: 27 and see Floyd, 1960: 90 and 1962: 69 for a very similar opinion). Floyd even went so far as to suggest that "*(t)he time has arrived when civic design should be recognised as a separate profession*" (1960: 90). In the middle 1960s Floyd again expressed this view, but this time round, stating that "*town designers ... who know little about town planning and yet do town planning work, ... cause confusion and often do town planning a great deal of harm*" (1966: 23).



Floyd's division of the game into two dimensional planning and three dimensional design did not go down well at the SAITP's Education Conference in 1962. From a number of sides he was attacked for this separation (see SAITP, 1962: 75-76) and it was stressed that "... *if we as Planners attempt to think in the two dimensions excluding Town Design - in my view, we will fail and likewise our work will deteriorate ...*" (McManus, 1962: 75).

Other than these few references to civic/urban design, there was a silence in the printed discourse of planners in the 1960s on this attraction. [The work of Holford in South Africa, as discussed by Muller (1995c) albeit at times touching on urban design, was not primarily about design *per se* and did not, as far as I could ascertain, make it into the published discourse of planners.] There were [in fact] only two other places where I did find the word being used by a town planner. These were:

1. in the Proceedings of the 1965-Conference on the training of city and regional planners (see Attraction 3 of this Bitmap) in a reference by Charl Viljoen (1965a: 150) to Prof Beinart of UCT's intention/wish to place the emphasis in the proposed town planning course at that university on "*urban design*"; and
2. by the same Charl Viljoen in a paper he read at the opening of the Institute for Planning at the University of Potchefstroom, where he remarked in the summary to his paper, that "*(p)lanning is not only design*" and "*(c)ertain aspects of planning do not need design*" (1965b: 143).

## ATTRACTION 10 MASTER/GUIDE PLANS

During this period a planning concept, the Master/Guide Plan, not to be confused with the Guide Plans instituted by Central Government in the 1970s (see Attraction 3 of Bitmap One of Map Five), made its appearance in the South African planning discourse and in the planning activities of the City Engineer's Departments of the major cities, such as those of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria (Morris, 1958: 88; Personal interview, Viljoen, July 13 1993; Bouchier, 1959: 20-21; Cooper, 1959: 35-36; van Vuuren, 1965: 126 and Departement van Gemeenskapsbou, 1967). These plans, essentially non-statutory, comprehensive and coordinated advisory policy statements by local authorities on the proposed [longed for] future development - "... *the next 10 to 20 years and longer*" (van Vuuren, 1965: 126) - of their municipal areas or portions thereof (see van Vuuren, 1965: 126, Morris, 1958: 88 and Departement van Gemeenskapsbou, 1967: 3), would:

1. in the case of for instance Cape Town, have profound effects on the future development of the Peninsula, providing as they did, in the late 1950s, for "... *the development of neighbourhood units of the well-known kind (for) ... all races and income levels*", as well as for "... *the free-flowing highway with limited access, in place of the old corridor traffic street*" (Morris, 1958: 88-89); and
2. in the years to come prove to be very attractive [and lucrative] to local planners.

Incidentally, they were also used by the Department of Community Development in their ["thrifty"] planning for the "*coordinated spatial structures*" of newly created Group Areas -

an activity in which town planners came in very handy (Department of Community Development, 1967: Preface and 3-4).

Interestingly enough, it was even proposed by a participant in the discourse on this field that, together with these Master/Guide Plans, a financial programme should be drawn up, which should be used to ensure a coordinated implementation of municipal works as proposed in the plan (Van Vuuren, 1965: 126) [- a very early draft of some of the thinking in the Development Facilitation Act, No 67 of 1995, and the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act, No 97 of 1996, (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Six) 30 years away in the future?].

## ATTRACTION 11 MAJOR ROAD SCHEMES

Albeit an exercise undertaken by the City Engineer's Departments of the larger local authorities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria (Van Vuuren, 1965: 125 and Pinnock, 1989: 152), it was something which interested planners and of which those in the employ of local authorities had to take[, or rather, were forced to take,] cognisance of in the drafting of their Master Plans (Personal Interview, Badenhorst, April 14 1997). Again, as had been the case in the 1930s (see Attraction 8 in Bitmap One of Map Two), it was not a case of planners becoming active players in the field of transport planning, but of becoming acquainted with the field and its ramifications on/in the fields in which planners were playing.

## ATTRACTION 12 THE PUBLIC [OPINION]

Whether it was

1. the professionalisation of planning [to a large extent through the creation of the SAITP in 1954];
2. the result of the strange sensation of for the first time being needed/desired/coveted by "the country" [and of course employers in the country];
3. a realisation that the "necessary legislation" had been passed/was in place;
4. the strict adherence to the dictates of the *super-scientific* approach to planning (see Bitmap Three of this Map on Rules); and/or
5. part of the broader high-handedness, arrogance and/or inhumanity which accompanied Apartheid and in particular Apartheid-planning[ in which, as we saw, town and regional planners were strongly involved], such as for Group Areas and "native areas" in which Government "... desire(d) unfettered discretion" (Bouchier, 1959: 28), the education of the public, the public opinion and participation by people in planning, were, judging from their absence in the printed discourse of planners, no longer regarded as of major importance. There were of course exceptions, such as:
  1. Monte Rosenberg who, at the 1959 Summer School, repeated the dictum that had driven so many of the founding players, i.e. "... planning can only be effective and

*can only achieve anything just so long as the planners work with the consent of the planned*" (1959: 38);

2. Mr Cooper who, at the same Summer School, suggested to the delegates that if they "... *don't take anything else away from this Summer School*", it should be that "... *the planned should know what proposals are being planned*" (1959: 42);
3. Mr Ron Pistorius, who, also at the same Summer School, spoke of the need "... *to go out to the public and get them to support us in our efforts*" (1959: 132); and
4. Professor Quine-Lay who pointed out that planners must as students learn that they "... *must meet and talk with the people (they are) actually working for*" (1962: 125).

And then of course there were those, like Mr Bouchier, who regarded the idea of public participation as "*a lot of poppycock*" as, according to him, "*You can't get it if you want to do something*" (1959: 43).

Generally speaking, it seems from the discourse of planners that the people that were planned *for*, were described in terms of technical categories such as income, family size and structure and of course, race. Wishes, values, desires and ideals were not recognised.

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP FOUR PLAYERS

### PLAYGROUPS AND PLAY AREAS

In 1967 the first study (Terblanche, 1969) of which I know, was undertaken to *inter alia* determine the profile, income and workplace of the players in the town and regional planning game. In the study, conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), it was *inter alia* found that the dominance of the three professions of Architecture, Engineering and Land Surveying in the game was still rife, with 79.7% of the players holding a first degree/diploma in these three professions (calculated from Terblanche, 1969: Paragraph 2.1.1 and Tables 2.1 and 2.8). Whereas in the case of architects and engineers, where a large number (45.5% and 43.8% respectively) of those who had a town planning diploma, or who gave up one of their occupations as "*town and regional planner*", did not actually do what was described as "*town planning work*", this figure was only 17.1% in the case of land surveyors (calculated from Terblanche, 1969: Paragraph 2.1.1 and Tables 2.1 and 2.8). The percentage of land surveyors who had a diploma in town planning or who gave up one of their occupations as "*town and regional planner*", relative to the total number of surveyors in the country - 7.7% - was also higher than the corresponding 5.5% for architects and 0.33% for engineers (calculated from Terblanche, 1969: 4 and Tables 2.1 and 2.8). According to the researcher who conducted the study, the strong attraction of land surveyors to the game *vis-a-vis* the other two professions, was most probably attributable to them being able to earn a higher income from doing town planning work than from practising their original trade - something which did not apply in the case of the architects and the engineers [at the time] (Terblanche, 1969: 6 and Tables 2.4 and 2.5 and see

Mallows, 1965b: 13 for a similar point of view regarding the architects and engineers). Given that the land surveying profession was apparently in a crisis [again] in the early 1960s (see Anon, 1960: 67 and Gerke, 1963), and that it was suggested that land surveyors should focus on "*town planning work*" to stay afloat (see Gerke, 1963), this preference for town planning, could of course also have been a survival mechanism [for some surveyors].

With regards to *workplace* it was found that of the players who actually played the game,:

1. 48.8% were employed in the public sector [consisting of 20.3% in Provincial Administrations and Central Government and 28.5% in local authorities];
2. 48.8% were involved in private practice [but of this figure 14.6% indicated that they practised mainly their original occupation and only did planning work on the side, while the other 34.2% did mainly "*town planning work*"; and
3. 2.4% of the players were employed in the "*Other*" (unspecified) category (compiled from Terblanche, Table 2.2 and Table 2.8).

The HRSC-study does not give a break-down of the representation of the various professions in the various places of employment, but it was said by the President of the Institute of Land Surveyors of the Transvaal in his Presidential Address in 1962 that "... *it was a fact that in the Municipal, Provincial and Central Government service, the majority of Town Planners have come from a survey background*" (Reinecke, 1962b: 65).

And, lest I forget, for the first time there was a definite acknowledgement of the existence of women-planners in the discourse of planners (see Thorrington-Smith, 1965: 101) and even a suggestion that "... *perhaps one should do more to recruit women into planning and not to consider it so much a profession for men*" (Nichol, 1965: 161).

## STATUS

Contrary to what many would like to believe for a variety of reasons, the town planning profession was not a major profession at the time. In his Welcoming Address at the Conference on the Training of City and Regional Planners in 1965, the Secretary of the Department of Planning, Mr A J van Niekerk, for instance said that: "*Until very recently planning was the cinderella of the professions. At universities it was an appendage to other faculties and in public organisations it was never more than a subsection in a big department*" (1965: 2-3). According to practitioners playing the game at the time, clients did not regard town planners as professional people and often "*shopped around*" for the best price, in many cases resulting in very "*unprofessional work*" being done, as well as in very low fees for planners in private practice (Personal Interviews: Ferero, June 25 1993 and Viljoen, July 13 1993 and Viljoen, 1972: 113).

Numerically speaking the profession was also still not a big one (see also Bitmap Three of Map Three on the formation of the SAITP), something which must have surely contributed to its low ranking. In the 1967-study conducted by the HRSC there were approximately only 180 people in the country with a town and regional planning qualification or who gave up one

of their professions as *"town and regional planner"* (Terblanche, 1969: 1-8). Of these 180 people, only 105 did full time *"planning work"* (Terblanche, 1969: 1-8 and see Mallows, 1965b: 14 for a similar statistical story regarding the small number of qualified town planners who actually took up full time planning work). To put these figures in perspective, in 1965 it was estimated that there were approximately 9 500 engineers, 1 000 architects and 450 land surveyors in the country (Terblanche, 1969: 4).

## A GENTLE[MANLY] BREEZE OF MODERNITY AS ADVENTURE

In 1939 Mr Wilfred Mallows, a Cambridge educated historian and qualified architect, arrived in South Africa and set up practice with another architect, Mr A R Meadley, in Pretoria (Anon, 1954: 46). After serving with the South African Air Force in the War, he did a nine month demobilisation course in town planning in the UK under Jacqueline Tyrwhitt (Personal Interview, Mallows, March 1 1995), a *"landscape architect and Geddesian sociologist"* strongly involved with the regional planning and reconstruction drive in the UK during and after the War, whose contributions in this regard, *"... perhaps better than any other, (captured) the bracing sense of what could be achieved by a scientific regional planning which tackled land use and social and economic problems not piecemeal but holistically as elements of a single community design"* (Hebbert, 1983: 7). From Tyrwhitt Mallows got his mental, as well as his spiritual approach to planning (Mallows, 1965b: 10 and Beyers and Oosthuizen, 1996: 248). His *mental* approach a Geddesian one which saw towns, cities and regions as holistic biological organisms *"... that grew like animals and plants"*, the full working of which you had to understand before you could intervene - thus necessitating a very thorough survey and analysis, only then to be followed by the plan phase (Mallows, 1965b: 9-10). His *spiritual* approach, bearing in mind the buoyant mood of the time in which he took the demobilisation course, as well as the views of his lecturer, that *planning could create a new and better world* (Beyers and Oosthuizen, 1996: 248). In later years he would also, by his own accounts, become strongly influenced by a visiting French planner, Maurice Rotival, a prime exponent of the *"classic French tradition"* - *"... rigid discipline combined with humanity and imagination"* (Mallows, 1996 and Personal Interviews, May and July 1996).

Now what?

Well, four years after returning to South Africa in 1947 and settling in Johannesburg, he began lecturing to town planning and architecture students on a part time basis in the Faculty of Architecture at WITS (Anon, 1954: 46). From 1952 he became permanently involved in the training of planners in the town-planning diploma course on a part-time base, as well as in the establishment of town planning courses at the Universities of Natal and Pretoria (Muller, 1991a: 1 and Mallows, 1965b: 12). In 1965 he became the first Professor in Town Planning in South Africa (Viljoen, 1965b: 136 and Oosthuizen and Beyers, 1995: 15-16) - a position he retired from four years later, nevertheless retaining a very active involvement in the planning game - even to this day.

And [so]?

Well, the arrival of Professor Wilfred Mallows on the South African planning and especially the planning education scene at the time that he did, one of numerous events in his life he attributed to "*luck*" (Personal Interview, Mallows, March 17 1995), was a very fortunate[/lucky] occurrence for South African planning, for:

1. he was instrumental in establishing planning as a separate academic/mental discipline, no longer an offshoot of architecture, surveying and/or engineering, albeit one in which these and "*all other relevant technologies*" had to be meshed/coordinated (Mallows, 1965b: 14 and 1965a: 36);
2. he brought his mental and spiritual approach to planning to bear on the game - giving it a rigorous, disciplined, intellectually defensible foundation and methodology [thesis/proposition, analysis/classification, diagnosis/evaluation, generalization/synthesis and creation (Mallows, 1965a: 30-31)], as well as reinvigorating the game's socially conscious aim - *the invention/creation of a better world* (see Muller, 1991: 2 and Mallows; 1965a: 39 and 1968a: 2);
3. he argued strongly for planning education to be about the creation of "*trained/critical minds*" [minds in which the minds of the "*artist and humanist*" on the one hand and the "*scientist and technologist*" on the other, would meet/be combined: thus creating a humanised technology and/or a technological humanism (see Mallows, 1965a: 39 and 62-63)], not the teaching of *soon-to-become* obsolete technical details and practical skills cast in stone (see Mallows, 1965a: 6 and 12 and Chapter 2; Muller, 1991a: 1-2) [which a number of practising planners were clearly in favour of (see Viljoen, 1965: 136 and Ball, 1965: 66)] and which was the norm in planning education before he entered the halls of academe (Viljoen, 1965b: 135); and
4. he gave town planning academic respectability, as well as a *focus on the future* [something which was also lacking at the time (Viljoen 1965b: 138)], through his incisive and insightful writings on the [technological] trends impacting on urban settlements, the transformations they implied, as well as the need to plan for them (see Mallows, 1958; 1961; 1965c; 1968b and 1988).

But, most of all, he brought a fresh new modern breeze to South African town planning - an ingenious breeze which gently, though decisively, swept away [any suggestion of] final formats/answers (see Mallows, 1965a: 23 and 1968a: 14-15). He brought the creative genial spirit of "*modernity as adventure*" - the restless, creative journey in which both material and spiritual progress matter[ed] (see Mallows, 1965a: 1 and 36 and 1968a: 14-15) and in which "... *all that is solid melts into air*" (title of Berman, 1989), to this country. [Sadly though, it seems, there have not been that many players who shared his belief in the importance of continuous creation - the far easier wave of "*modernity as routine*" (Berman, 1989: 243) apparently holding a much stronger allure.]

# BITMAP THREE OF MAP FOUR

## RULES

### WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

The establishment of the SAITP and the institution of the first local diploma courses at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Natal and Pretoria, saw a marked change in the rules on who may be[come] a player. Town planning had, in the eyes of the players of the language game of planning, become a profession and this entailed that persons interested in playing, needed to obtain the necessary qualification now locally available (see Archibald, 1958: 72; Reinecke, 1962b: 65 and Botha, 1965: 66). It was for instance regarded by the President of the Institute of Land Surveyors of the Transvaal in 1962, Mr P S Reinecke, himself a qualified town planner, as "... *one of the most unethical practices of all*" for "... *land surveyors who have no special training in town planning (to) still persist in billing themselves as Townships Consultants or 'Dorpsbeplanners' ... as it amounts to an attempt to mislead the public with a view to securing town planning work*" (1962b: 65 and see Botha, 1965: 66 for a similar opinion).

With regards to the Institute, as time progressed, membership to the body became more exclusive: While it was initially open to people with an approved town planning qualification, as well as to people without such qualifications, but with game-playing experience (see Bitmap Three of Map Three), it was from the late 1960s reserved for persons with an approved town planning qualification only (Terblanche, 1969: 8).

### HOW TO PLAY

#### PROCEDURE

In contrast to the major moves/advances that were made in the 1950s and 1960s by theorists [such as Meyerson and Banfield - the rational comprehensive model (see Muller, 1992b: 134-136 and Banfield, 1959), Davidoff and Reiner - "*choice theory*" (1962), Etzioni - "*mixed scanning*" (1967), Lindblom - "*muddling through*" (1959), Davidoff - *advocacy and pluralism in planning* (1965) and McLoughlin (1970) and Chadwick (1971) - the systems approach] on the method/procedure of planning in the American, and later also the British planning game, no new advances in the theory or practice of planning procedure, other than Professor Mallows's amendment to the basic Geddesian procedure (see Bitmap Two of this Map), were really made in this era in the local game. Procedures inherited from previous eras stayed basically the same, albeit with an even stronger positivist belief in the ability to produce better, even "*optimum*" (see Morris, 1968: 15) plans, through the application of expert scientific surveys and analyses by experts, under the "*coordinating*" /guiding hand of the expert planner, of course (see Harrison and Mabin, 1996: 95; Thorington-Smith, 1962 and 1965; Pistorius, 1965: 53; Page, 1966 and Howard, 1956a: 31). In especially Government [planning] circles the word "*coordination*" reached new heights (see Haak, 1965: 82 and 84 and Van Vuuren, 1965: 120).

As in the previous phase there was also the odd planner, in this case Charl Viljoen, a planner in the Department of Planning and a part-time lecturer in the Diploma course at the University of Pretoria, who saw in the masses of surveys planners were doing, a waste of time and money, as much of the information was, according to him, "*never used*" (Viljoen, 1965b: 142).

## ROLES

Whereas the "social turn" in American planning in the late 1960s brought forth a new role for planners - that of advocate for the weak and powerless in planning [arenas] and plan preparation (see *inter alia* Davidoff, 1965; Davidoff *et al*, 1970; Peattie, 1970 and Heskin, 1980), South African planners, in a country in which the weak and powerless were even made more so through draconian legislation, displayed no inclination towards this role. Nor was there a [ny] place for advocates in the new playing spaces/pits created by Government for planners. Government required a very specific planner: a planner able to translate Apartheid "ideology" into practicable, coordinated physical structures - an *apolitical technical expert*.

There was clearly the belief that there was a *political* level on which decisions were made, and a *technical* level, at which the realisation of the political ideas would be "*objectively*" planned for and implemented (Department of Community Development, 1967: 3). We find, for instance a player attached to a local authority, after having being asked a question on what the Town Council does with recommendations from its technical sub-committee, responding: "... *it is a political question and I don't want to get mixed up with that sort of question*" (Howard, 1956: 36). There was, however, one voice making a case for speaking out about the technical, social and political implications of the system of Apartheid - that of Dianne Scott Brown, in a paper entitled *Natal Plans*, which appeared in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* in 1964. It was especially in the conclusion to her paper that she asked what would for many planners become a very vexing question in years to come: "*What should the planner do when faced with such a problem [i.e. "... required to go along with what he does not believe"]? Continue to work within the system? Leave? Deny that there is a problem? Agitate, and be asked to leave? This is the dilemma of the conscientious committed*" (1964: 166).

Whereas the Government's needs for planners actively excluded the role of advocate, there was a role that was intensified by the strong public sector need for planners - that of *technical administrator/bureaucrat*. It was this role, together with that of the *apolitical technical expert*, which was to, I believe, over the next twenty to thirty years, establish a very routinised/circumscribed role for the players of the planning game in the state machinery.

For the rest, as there was little change in procedure, there was little change in the roles of planners. The role of *consultant* was, however, highlighted in this era, as a growing number of planners entered private planning practice (Viljoen, 1965b: 137-139 and see Gerke, 1963: 7 and also



Attraction 2 of Bitmap One of this Map). And, Professor Mallows, of course, made a strong case for the role of the planner as *innovator* - a role which, as suggested in Bitmap Two of this Map, was not actively taken up by the players of whom many were admittedly caught up in routine administrative tasks].

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP FOUR AIMS/OBJECTIVES

### WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED

While there was still a strong sprinkling of the notion of planning as the way towards a better world/the good life by creating a physical framework which made this aim [more] possible/achievable/attainable, a new aim made its appearance - that of *the most rational, economically feasible conceptualisation and realisation of the idealised Apartheid landscape*. [Ironically, many of the proponents of this aim, must also have seen this as a way towards a better world - in their frame of reference, of course.] As we saw in Bitmap One of this Map on Attractions and Influencing Forces, there were very few fields in which planners were not called upon to be of assistance in the realisation of this aim. [By the end of the 1960s there could have been very few planners who could say, like Roy Kantorowich did in the early 1960s, that "... in reviewing the work with which I have been connected, I discover, much to my amazement, that it has been affected only in a marginal rather than in a fundamental degree ..." by the political system in the country (1962: 57).] This cooptation of planning and planners into the Apartheid system was of course not difficult: most of the ideas government was employing, such as exclusionary "zones" [Group Areas for various races in this case], buffer strips and slum clearances, were not new. In fact it could even be argued that they were part of the discourse of planners by the time the National Party was elected into power in 1948. It was simply a case of Government eclectically picking from the planning vocabulary those concepts it required and fine tuning them for its own devious purposes (see also Attraction 2 in Bitmap One of Map Three and see Mabin and Smit, 1992: 26 for a similar opinion).

### WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED

Professionalisation and demand for planners was to have two major impacts on the reason for playing the game. It:

1. terminated the need for propaganda (see also Attraction 12 of Bitmap One of this Map); and
2. left the game to be played by the professional [Play As You Earn - PAYE] town and/or regional planner [of whom some of those who were involved in Apartheid-planning might have thought that they were doing something for the salvation of the white/Afrikaner nation].

Propagating the case for the players of the planning game, as the planning zealots had done

in the 1920s and 1930s for the **planning game**, was[, although it was one of the functions of the newly established SAITP (Marsh, 1962: 5),] clearly not pursued with the same vigour. Interestingly enough, it was during this time that a prominent land surveyor, speaking at a time in which the land surveyors were in a knot about their future, suggested that the weak position of the profession was largely attributable to the lack of advertisement of the profession and the resulting "... *comparatively few people (who) know what a Land Surveyor is*" (Botha, 1962: 66).

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP FOUR DEFINITIONS

In this phase there was a dearth in definitions of town planning. Maybe, as it was now a profession, there was a perception that there was no longer a need to define it.

There were, nonetheless, some planners who gave their definition of town planning or who expressed some thoughts on what it was and/or was not. One of these planners was Professor Mallows who defined town planning as:

1. "... *essentially an application of method*" (Mallows, 1965a: 38) [- a definition akin to that of the overseas consultant, William Holford, who defined planning in a paper he read at a symposium in Durban as "... *essentially a method of getting things done*" (Holford, 1958: 31)];
2. "... *the process of exploiting land areas and natural resources for the benefit of an organized society*" (Mallows, 1962: 95-96); and
3. "*The art and science of handling the physical environment for the use and enjoyment of mankind. It is indeed simply the creation of the physical framework for human life*" (1965a: 2) [- a definition much like that of Kirchhofer, who defined town planning as the shaping and guiding of "... *the physical growth of towns in harmony with social and economic needs*" (1962: 71)].

T B Floyd, in contrast to Professor Mallows, no longer saw town planning as also being an "art". To him town planning had become an activity "*released*" of the earlier aesthetic component with an "*economics-engineering*" base (1966: 19-23). This view of Floyd was quite different to that of Pistorius, to whom town planning was a "... *matter of social conscience rather than an intellectual exercise*" (1959: 118-119) - an opinion somewhat at odds with the positivistic mood of the time.

[P.s. An interesting development in the discourse of planners in the 1960s was the switch from "*European*" to "*white*" and "*native*" to "*bantu*" or "*non-white/s*". Possibly this was as a result of the decolonisation in Africa and the desire for the "white settlers" not to be regarded as immigrants in the country of the "native people of the land". Non-whites", as has been said by so many others so many times before, an indication of the arrogance of whites to use their "colour" - or the absence thereof - as the norm.]

# MAP FIVE

## 1971-1990

### *IN WHICH*

# THINGS START COMING TOGETHER AND FALLING APART AT THE SAME TIME

*"The reorientation of American and British planning philosophy in response to social upheaval is markedly at variance with the local profession's docile retention of the status quo following, and despite, the widespread unrest in the latter half of the 1970s. It is now six years since the ground-swell of dissatisfaction erupted in Soweto, and yet the profession appears to remain unconcerned about, possibly uncomprehending of, the real meaning of 16 June 1976 and its aftermath" (Muller, 1983: 21).*

*"Ennerdale is served reasonably well by rail and road transport facilities and located far enough from Johannesburg to be able to develop into a full-fledged city" (my translation of Department of Community Development, 1977: 6).*

*"For Weber 'bureaucracy' has a rational character: 'rules, means, ends, and matter-of-factness denote its meaning'. This kind of rationalism implies that officials act in an efficient, technical, and continuous manner to attain some specific state ends. In this form of technical or functional rationality the ends are treated as unambiguously given, and the role of the bureaucrat is to act as efficiently as possible to achieve these given ends" (Hasson and Goldberg, 1987: 18).*

*"It is one of the ironies of the town planning movement in Britain that, as the movement has become professionalised, this vision (of a better world) has been lost" (Taylor, 1992: 240).*

# BITMAP ONE OF MAP FIVE ATTRACTIONS AND INFLUENCING FORCES

## ATTRACTION 1 DEVELOPMENT CONTROL AND TOWNSHIP ESTABLISHMENT

As in previous decades town planners were strongly attracted to the job opportunities created by the Town Planning Ordinances of the various provinces, as well as the Removal of Restrictions Act, No 84 of 1967, either preparing and submitting applications in private practice [strictly according to the latest rules and regulations in regular Circulars - from heliports to pan handle erven - drafted by the Provincial Planning Authorities] or processing these applications [in many cases according to a comprehensive set of strict rules and policies set out in a thick manual issued to each new recruit at arrival (Personal interview: Kingston, June 28 1993)] in either local or provincial authorities (Personal interviews, Ferero, June 25 1993, Osborne, July 5 1993; Ehlers, July 5 1993 and van der Westhuizen, June 28 1993). Although it was very much a case of business as usual, there were some new developments/trends which deserve mention:

1. The large township establishments of the late 1960s, which initially continued on into the 1970s, came to a sudden halt in 1975 in the then Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area [- the present day Gauteng Province -] with the freezing of all applications for township establishment by the Transvaal Provincial Administration in this area (Personal interviews, Ferero June 25 1993 and van Helden, July 6 1993). This was done to enable the Provincial Authority to plan, plot and reserve servitudes for a set of major roads it regarded as imperative for the future development of the PWV-metropolitan area (PWV-Konsortium, 1975: 1-2; Personal interviews, Waanders, July 6 1993; Ferero June 25 1993 and van Helden, July 6 1993). As soon as the freeze was lifted three years later, township establishment picked up again, booming along with the rest of the economy in 1980, but without many of the big companies responsible for the massive township establishments of the late 1960s and early 1970s - a large number of them having perished in the fallow "frozen years" (Personal interview, Ferero, June 25 1993). Less than three years later the major boom of 1980 was over and township establishments in terms of the Provincial Ordinances generally began taking on a much smaller scale [- i.e. less erven -] in the face of a weakening economy and a white population approaching a zero growth rate (Personal interview, Ferero, June 25 1993; du Plessis, June 25 1993 and Badenhorst, July 7 1993). The spin-off of the masses of suburban erven created in the waves of township establishments - rezoning applications - was, however, available to keep many of the firms that had focused primarily on township establishment, afloat (Personal interview, du Plessis, June 25 1993).
2. During the late 1980s, following on
  - \* the abolition of influx control in 1986;

- \* the recognition of African ownership of land in urban areas [albeit only in certain areas]; and
- \* the passing of the Black Communities Development Act, No 4 of 1984 [to "... provide for the purposeful development of Black communities outside the national states" (extract from the purpose of the Act as quoted in Williams, 1990: 9)],

a number of private practitioners became intensely involved in the establishment of new townships in the then so-called "Black/African towns" closer to the metropolitan areas, many of which were of the same magnitude and even larger than the massive "white townships" of a decade earlier (Personal interview, Ferero, June 25 1993).

3. The number of objectors to especially rezoning applications increased dramatically during the 1980s [- many of these objections, "economic/business" objections to new shopping centres and the apparently universal NIMBY-syndrome -] (see Oranje, 1991: Chapter 1), resulting in higher costs for developers, lengthened time periods to complete applications and the need for planners to take on new argumentative skills (Ferero, June 25 1993 and du Plessis, June 25 1993 and see also Bitmap Three of this Map).

4. Many town planning schemes in the Transvaal "went monochrome" in the 1980s following the example set by Johannesburg with the approval and publication of their monochrome scheme in 1979 (van der Westhuizen, 1992: 4). [The monochrome scheme was propagated by the Chief Planner of the Transvaal Provincial Administration at the time, Mr P C van der Hoven, who, himself said to be colour blind (Personal interview, Badenhorst, July 7 1993), made a case for such a scheme in a M Sc-dissertation submitted in 1967 (see van der Hoven, 1967: Chapters 5 and 6)].

5. The Transvaal and Cape Province adopted new town planning ordinances in 1986 and 1985 respectively, largely in response to:

- \* high erf prizes;
- \* the slow delivery of erven under the earlier ordinances; and
- \* the Government's new policy of devolution of decision-making to lower tiers of government (van der Westhuizen, 1992: 3 and Theunissen, 1987).

In the case of the Cape Province an urgently felt need for "*forward planning*" to be separated from development control and to be given legal status, was also addressed by providing for the preparation of structure plans in a separate chapter in the Ordinance (Theunissen, 1987: 2 and Kannenberg, 1987: 5). While both ordinances were born in the time of "devolution of power", the Transvaal Ordinance, in which the decision-making powers on applications for township establishment and the amendment of town planning schemes were delegated *in toto* to the bigger local authorities[- the Provincial Authority still retained the deciding power in the case of smaller towns -], went much further in this regard than the Cape Ordinance, where one commentator suggested that instead of devolution, "... *the Administrator's control over local authority planning and policy changes (was) formalised and extended*" in the new Ordinance (Ketelbey, 1987: 48). [This "devolution of power" in the Transvaal, however,

made "territorial mercantilism", whereby each city in a locality tries to "... zone within its borders the most desirable uses and exclude those that are costly or noxious" (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1982: 388), a very real possibility. This, a number of East Rand towns would learn in the early 1990s with the perpetual extension of a massive shopping complex on the border of three adjacent local authorities, robbing, it is said, the two non-benefitting towns of huge amounts of consumer spending and existing and potential shopping floor space (Personal interview, Ferero, June 25 1993 and Bisschoff and Viljoen, 1996). ]

6. New "Guidelines for the provision of engineering services in residential townships" were published by the Department of Community Development in 1983 which to a large degree entrenched the engineering perception of a road as only having two functions - movement and access - and assisted in creating inward-looking residential areas, strongly resembling the neighbourhood concept.
7. The President's Council suggested that town planning schemes be used "... to delineate group areas" in the late 1980s (Kannenbergh, 1990b: 1 and Waanders, 1988: 2 and see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map One). The Council of the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP), however, rejected the notion (Kannenbergh, 1990b: 1).

In the printed discourse of planners[, over and above the reports and letters written for, and in response, to applications by players,] matters relating to, and around development control and township establishment, featured strongly; in many cases in well argued articles/papers in which the authors were highly critical of the existing system, but had little to say in terms of new/fresh alternatives (see Floyd, 1971; Claassen, 1983 and 1984; Faccio, 1984; Williams, 1990; Fair, 1990 and Journal for Town and Regional Planning, 1987: Special Edition). An exception in this regard being the contributions by Professors Roelof Uytenbogaardt and Dave Dewar in which they [ceaselessly] pleaded for the review of all forms of development control and the adoption of methods of settlement and place making which would, *inter alia*, enable the creation of choice-generating, not choice-suppressing, urban environments (see *inter alia* Uytenbogaardt, 1974; Dewar, 1985 and SAITRP, 1972: 129-130 and 1977: 265-266).

## ATTRACTION 2

### NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PLANNING

During the 1970s and the early 1980s the idea of national and regional planning reached its zenith in Government thinking (see Steyn, 1994: 8-11 for a good summary of the major developments in this regard in these two decades). For Government to achieve the Idealised Economically Functional Apartheid End State (IEFAES) the *ad hoc* measures aimed at curtailing the growth of industries in metropolitan areas and redirecting them to the border areas were not sufficient - a national policy of Total Planning Onslaught (TPO) was required. As such a national planning endeavour would, however, entail a much broader involvement of central Government with "physical planning", traditionally a concern of provincial and local

government, the Minister of Planning instructed the Planning Advisory Council [- a non-statutory advisory body to the Prime Minister, and the successor to the National Resources Development Council (Potgieter, 1993: 150), appointed in 1966 (Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 1) -] to investigate and work out a system by which the division of functions between the *"Government and provincial and local authorities in the field of physical planning"* could be achieved on a practical basis (Department of Planning, 1970: Annexure 1). The desire for a *"national physical development plan"* was, however, clearly expressed by the Minister at the outset (Department of Planning, 1970: 9-10). The Planning Advisory Council, in turn, appointed the Pretorius Committee [on which Dr Danie Page and Mr Ron Pistorius, two prominent planners, served (Department of Planning, 1970: 33)], which, given that it had to *"... occupy itself with decisions that had already been taken and only needed to fill in specifics in a broader framework which had already been decided upon"*, recommended that a national physical development plan be *"... drafted and made public as soon as possible"* (Department of Planning, 1970: paragraph 4.2.1). This plan, they suggested, should *inter alia* indicate the *"... Bantu homelands, areas proclaimed in terms of the Group Areas Act for other population groups and the white areas"*, as well as *"... socio-economic development or planning regions"* (my translation of Department of Planning, 1970: paragraph 4.2.3 (i)).

And so it came about that the Department of Planning *and the Environment* [- as its name had been changed to on February 2 1973, arising out of the increasing involvement of the Department in environmental matters as a result of the growing concern over the problems and dangers that pollution of the environment posed (Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 3) -] produced the non-statutory *National Physical Development Plan (NPDP)* in 1975 - a broad *"physical framework"* - to *inter alia* ensure:

1. the *"optimal utilisation"* of the surface and resource potential of the country; and
2. *"effective planning"* by the various government planning bodies (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 7).

As could be expected [in Apartheid South Africa], it would also, according to the Department, *"... determine where the various national groups ought to live, work and relax in future"* (my translation of Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 7, bold indicated as italics in the original text).

Key components of the Plan, from which the *"Bantu homelands"* were excluded, were:

1. the division of the country into 38 *"planning regions"* and 4 metropolitan areas, making it possible, it was believed, to develop each region according to its *"unique development potential"* (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 9);
2. the setting up of voluntary regional development associations in each of these regions which were to work *"... in close collaboration with the Department of Planning and the Environment"* and act as *"... channels of communication between the people and the government, thus providing a means whereby the people could participate in the planning and development of their local region"* (Davies, 1976: 23), but which, in practice, *"... turned into political pressure groups to obtain development incentives for specific regions"* (Pretorius et al, 1986: 242) - something an official of the Department

of Planning and the Environment explicitly warned in 1975, should be "guarded" against (Reynecke, 1975: 53)];

3. the identification of a hierarchy of decentralisation points [from planned metropolitan areas to principal towns] in the various regions, where "physical and well as social infrastructure" would be provided to act as counter to the further concentration of people in the existing metropolitan areas and the depopulation of the "platteland" by whites (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 14-15); and
4. the introduction of the concept of "development axes" which would connect metropolitan and proposed metropolitan areas with [proposed] harbours and/or major centres of mining and/or other industrial activities or just "the interior" (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 17).

Despite various changes being made to these key components in the years to come, such as

1. the recognition of the "Bantu homelands" as part of a "common South African economic system" in the early 1980s [in the Good Hope Plan for Southern Africa];
2. a reduction in the number of regions from 38 to 8, and later extending it to 9;
3. the recognition that some areas were in greater need of aid than others and should be treated as such; and
4. a greater incorporation of economic factors in its planning (Pretorius *et al*, 1986: 242-243 and Steyn, 1994: 11),

the basic premise behind the 1975-NPDP - of a nationally planned [physical] onslaught, remained intact until at least the middle 1980s. It was only with the abolition of influx control in 1986 and the devolution of the planning functions and powers acquired by central government in the 1970s to provincial level in the same year (see Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 6-8), that central Government retreated from its total and direct involvement in physical planning. The old Department of Planning and the Environment, by then having gone through a number of name changes[, and by 1990 known as the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs], after that primarily occupied itself with the monitoring and coordination of regional development initiatives and "... the formulation of broad regional development strategies" (my translation of Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 8).

Now, as could be expected, town and regional planners in the Department of Planning and the Environment, together with geographers, economists and sociologists, were involved in the formulation of the NPDP (Visagie, 1976 and Personal interview, van der Westhuizen, June 28 1993). [According to one of these planners (Personal interview, van der Westhuizen, June 28 1993) the exercise of demarcating the development regions, was, however, an endeavour far removed from the "rationality" so often referred to in the section dealing with the aims of the Plan (see Department of Planning and the Environment, 1975: 8); the word "arbitrarily" being, according to him, far more descriptive of the way in which regions were in many cases demarcated.] Also, in the regional surveys and regional plans, planners were extensively used (see Meyer, 1996: 24-42). And, in the preparation of regional plans [- in Apartheid-speak termed "National Development Plans" -] for the various self-governing and independent homelands, planners,



especially academic town planners at Afrikaans universities, were utilised (see for instance Botha *et al*, 1983; Page, 1977 and 1982 and Piek, 1979). In a sense it was a repeat of what had become the norm in so many Government Departments since the 1950s - the incorporation of town and regional planners and planning ideas in vogue in other countries [national and regional planning in this case] for Apartheid aims.

Interestingly enough, while Central Government was increasing its involvement in regional planning, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, during this time, underwent a "... shift away from the regional planning exemplified by the Tugela Basin study towards metropolitan planning" (Harrison and Mabin, 1996: 101).

Regarding the discourse of planners, while regional planning definitely peaked in this discourse during the 1940s, it again featured strongly [in this discourse] in the 1970s (see for instance Pistorius and Little, 1972; Page, 1972; van Zyl, 1977; Pistorius and Anderson, 1977 and du Toit, 1977). Other than for the examples in the discourse itself, two other clear indicators of this trend were:

1. the first publication of the *Journal of Regional Planning* in December 1974; and
2. the change in the name of the South African Institute of Town Planners to the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP) "... in the early 1970s" (Muller, 1993: 9).

Barely ten years later, in the early 1980s, the interest of planners [along with that of Government] in regional planning had waned considerably - the name change of the *Journal of Regional Planning* to the *Journal of Town and Regional Planning* in September 1981 one of the best indicators of this development.

### ATTRACTION 3 GUIDE PLANS

As a result of

1. one of the Recommendations of the *Niemand-Commission of Inquiry* [into the high selling prices of residential sites in urban areas], viz that central non-statutory committees should be established to draft "guide and regional plans" for:
  - \* the metropolitan areas; and
  - \* any "... exceptional growth point (that) develops at a place remote from large urban areas", such as the then new Witbank mining/industrial complex (see Niemand *et al*, 1970: 30-31 and Otto, 1974: 5); and
2. a desire by Central Government to make "an input" in the planning of metropolitan and new industrial/mining areas (Personal Interview Claasens, July 5 1993) [- i.e. "... to create a forum where interested Government bodies could deliberate with a view to the formulation of an overall land use pattern for the urban areas concerned ..." (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1986: 4)],

the Planning Advisory Council of the Prime Minister established a number of Central Guide Plan Committees consisting of officials of various State Departments and provincial and local

authorities in and after 1971 (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1986: 4). The initial idea was that these deliberations would lead to *consensus-seeking* non-statutory Guide Plans, of which the first, for the mining/industrial area of Witbank, was produced in 1973 (Personal Interview Claasens, July 5 1993 and see Department of Planning and the Environment, 1973). On this plan for Witbank and a number of those that were to follow (see *inter alia* Office of the Prime Minister, 1980 and Department of Planning and the Environment, 1976), "*racially-defined swathes of land*" (Mabin, 1995: 77) for future "*white, coloured, asian and bantu occupation*" were indicated, as it was held that "... (t)he arrangement of group areas ... does have a determining influence on the urban structure ..." (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1973: 17). [In the case of the Guide Plan for East London/King Williams Town no future land was set aside for "*Bantu occupation*" as "... it (was) accepted that the relocation of Bantus to homeland towns would continue ..." (my translation of Department of Planning and the Environment, 1976: 5).] In the plans it was, however, stated that these areas were subject to the statutory demarcations of the Groups Areas Board and that the "... necessary adjustments will have to be made ..." if these racial zones did not correspond with those determined by the Board after their "*thorough investigations*" (Department of Planning and the Environment, 1973: 17 and see 1976: 7).

These non-statutory Guide Plans were however not regarded as satisfactory as they were "... not sufficiently binding on the constituent authorities concerned ...", and did not "... give sufficient opportunity for public participation in that the existing procedure permitted only for duly elected bodies to participate" (Van Tonder, 1978, as quoted in Jaspan, 1979: 9 and see De Beer, 1979: 19). The need that was thus subsequently expressed for Guide Plans to become statutory documents, saw the amendment of Section 6 of the Physical Planning Act, Act 88 of 1967 [- i.e. the section dealing with the proclamation of "*controlled areas*" inherited from Sections 14 and 15 of the Natural Resources Development Act of 1947 (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1946-47: 508-511 and see Attraction 3 of Bitmap One of Map Four) -] in July 1975 to make this possible. In this Section provision was made for the establishment of a Guide Plan Committee to prepare a Draft Guide Plan for an area defined by the Minister of Planning and the Environment (Government Gazette, 16 July 1975: 6). Such a plan would, after it had been made available for comments from the public, be submitted to the Minister, together with all the comments, for approval (Sections 6A (6)-(9) of the Act in Government Gazette, 16 July 1975: 8). After it had been approved the Guide Plan became statutory binding and no land was to be used in any other way than indicated on the plan, nor was any town planning scheme to be amended to introduce a zoning on a portion of land inconsistent with the Guide Plan (Section 6A (10) of the Act in Government Gazette, 16 July 1975: 8). Amendments to an approved Guide Plan were of course possible, if the Minister "... deemed it expedient to do so" (Section 6A (11) of the Act in Government Gazette, 16 July 1975: 8). In March 1981 the Physical Planning Act was further amended to make the provisions of Section 6A binding on the State as well (Section 10 in Government Gazette, 27 March 1981: 24).

In the twenty-one years between 1973 and 1994 seven non-statutory and eighteen statutory Guide Plans (own calculation and see Steyn, 1994: 8), with their very limited opportunity for public participation were produced for a range of areas, including metropolitan areas, ecologically-

sensitive areas and mining and/or industrial areas. It was, however, a far cry from the intention expressed in 1977 to prepare a statutory Guide Plan for "... *every region, city and town in the Republic*" (my translation of Gräbe, 1977: 60). Furthermore, the Draft Guide Plans for metropolitan areas in the present day Gauteng Province seldomly reached the stage of approval.

An interesting development in the statutory Guide Plans was that they did not indicate racially based areas/zones for the future expansion of residential areas. The plans had only one category for future residential areas termed "*township development*" (see for instance Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1984: Map 4 and Department of Internal Affairs, 1982: Map 4). There was of course no need to be more specific in this regard, as Government's policy/desire for urban racial engineering was attended to by the Group Areas Board.

Now, senior town and regional planners in the public sector on national and provincial level in Pretoria were strongly involved in the groundwork that resulted in the Guide Plan concept (Personal Interview Claasens, July 5 1993) and so were planners in the preparation of the Guide Plans that followed (Du Toit, 1979: 54; Jaspan, 1979 and Otto, 1974: 4-5). The result being that, once again, on the one hand, town and regional planners were involved in planning on an Apartheid base in the early non-statutory Guide Plans, whether of course, they agreed with it or not. On the other hand, town and regional planners were caught up in a process which only permitted very limited public input and only after the plan had been drafted (see Jaspan, 1979: 10 who saw this as an advantage).

## ATTRACTION 4 METROPOLITAN PLANNING

During the first half of the 1970s metropolitan planning attained a position of elevated importance in the discourse of planners. The reasons being:

1. a realisation [- in the wake of the suburbanisation boom of the late 1960s to middle 1970s (see Attraction 2 of Bitmap One of Map Four and Attraction 1 of this Bitmap) -] that:
  - \* "*Local authority boundaries have become meaningless as urbanisation spreads;*
  - \* "*Urban sprawl makes the provision of essential service expensive ...; and*
  - \* "*Sprawl requires an efficient metropolitan transportation plan ...*" (Marsh, 1972: 81); and
2. the exposure to, and growing awareness of, the concept as discoursed and employed in the USA and the UK at the time (see *inter alia* Marsh, 1972: 82-86 and 1973: 211; Viljoen, 1972: 93-94; Patricios, 1972: 102-105 and van der Hoven, 1973: 224-229).

The first lines in this period of heightened attraction appeared in the discourse of planners in 1972 in papers presented by Tony Marsh (1972) [on the need for metropolitan planning] and Professor Charl Viljoen (1972) [on metropolitan planning and its implications for planning education] at a conference organised by the SAITRP on *Planning and Education*. In the

course of the discussion of these two papers suggestions were made that the Institute should take the metropolitan issue further and organise a conference on metropolitan planning (see Patricios, 1972 and General Discussion, 1972). The result of these tentative allusions was that a resolution was passed at the conference that "... *the Institute initiate a programme of regular seminars in 1973 to study metropolitan planning*" in Southern Africa (SAITRP, 1972: 179). A Steering/Controlling Committee was subsequently established by the Institute to attend to this resolution and through their endeavours branch seminars on metropolitan planning took place in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth during the course of 1974 and a National Conference on Metropolitan planning was held in Durban in September 1974 (Muller, 1974: Editor's Foreword and Marsh, 1973: 210 and see the Proceedings of the Conference in SAITRP, 1974a and of one of the one day branch seminars in SAITRP, 1974b). At roughly the same time (May 1973) the Institute for Urban Studies of the Rand Afrikaans University organised a symposium with the title *Focus on Metropolitan Areas*, at which three planners, Tony Marsh (1973), Ron Pistorius (1973) and Bokkie van der Hoven (1973), presented papers. The major themes addressed in the papers read at the two conferences and four symposia were:

1. the dimensions, functioning, implications and problems of the phenomenon (Marsh, 1972: 87-90 and 1973: 213-218; Viljoen, 1972; Pistorius, 1973; Morris, 1974; Buchanan, 1974; Fair, 1974; Davies, 1974; Watts, 1974 and Dewar, 1974);
2. the [in]practicability - especially on an administrative level - of instituting metropolitan planning/governance (see van der Hoven, 1973; Marsh, 1973: 222 and Sturgeon, 1974);
3. transportation and communication networks on a metropolitan level (Lichtman, 1974; de Waal, 1974; Floor, 1974; Mallows, 1974 and Viljoen, 1974: 139-142);
4. conservation in the metropolitan area (Rees, 1974; van der Spuy, 1974; Fox, 1974 and Uytendogaardt, 1974);
5. shopping and shopping centre hierarchies on a metropolitan scale (Oosthuizen, 1974 and Viljoen, 1974: 142-145);
6. data banks, modelling and systems theory and their use in metropolitan planning (Burrell and Eaton, 1974; Kruger and Wilmot, 1974; Boaden, 1974 and March, 1974); and
7. housing provision at the metropolitan level (Fouche, 1974 and Barac and Gersholowitz, 1974).

What is very striking about these papers [by local authors] is, despite the wide array of fields covered, other than for the papers by Professors Dave Dewar (1974) and Watts [a sociologist] (1974) and Mr Ron Pistorius (1973), their almost total neglect of the political situation in the country and its implications at metropolitan level, such as the long[est] travelling distances for the poor (see Mabin, 1995: 79, for a similar opinion). The topics covered were essentially ones of interest to the white inhabitants of the metropolitan areas.

With the 1974-Conference the phase of intense attraction to metropolitan planning peaked, thereafter becoming [just] another important field of attraction for the planning game and its players; the topics of discussion in the field, however, remaining very much the same, even into the 1980s (see for instance Oosthuizen, 1983; Rossouw, 1983; McCarthy, 1984; van Zyl, 1983a; Wall, 1983; Gasson, 1983; Mandy, 1983 and van der Merwe and Reyneke, 1989). All in all though, this phase

of intense attraction, despite its lack of appreciation of the South African spatial-political context, was important, as it clearly established the metropolitan concept as a key component in the vocabulary of the players of the language game of South African planning.

As for *actual, institutionalised* metropolitan planning, three prominent developments were to take place in this regard in the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s:

1. A year after the 1974-Conference, Guide Plans (see Attraction 3 of this Bitmap), which a number of prominent planners in the public sector saw as the answer to the call for metropolitan governance/planning (see van der Hoven 1973: 231 and 233 and Rossouw, 1983:442-443 and see Mabin, 1995: 77-79), became statutory (see Attraction 3 of this Bitmap), leading to the production of static legally-binding blueprint plans for a number of metropolitan areas.
2. The Urban Transport Act, which was passed in 1977, resulted in the setting up of Metropolitan Advisory Boards in a number of "*core cities*" of the country, "... which rapidly acquired a central position in metropolitan planning" (Mabin, 1995: 79). According to Mabin (1995: 79), in the hands of these Boards, "... the preparation of transport-based plans by engineers rather than planners predominated as the central form of metropolitan planning".
3. The Regional Services Councils Act, which was passed in 1985, led to the creation of Regional Services Councils [from 1986 onwards] which had as their primary aim the provision of bulk services on a regional/metropolitan scale, but were also empowered in terms of the Act to undertake "*land usage and transport planning*" on a regional/metropolitan base (Pistorius, 1985: 46-47; Mabin 1995: 80 and van Zyl, 1985). This latter aspect, however, only took off in the early 1990s (Mabin, 1995: 80).

Considering the views and proposals of the planners in the early 1970s and the actual outcomes of these developments, it would seem that neither of the three really created the system of metropolitan governance and planning that the planners had hoped for; the Regional Services Councils, most probably coming closest. The Regional Services Council-concept did, however, due to

1. its race-based participation by segregated local authorities [based on the limited 1983-reform-Apartheid-jargon-of-the-day: "... self determination over Own Affairs and co-responsibility over General Affairs" (my translation of van Zyl, 1985: 4)]; and
2. the perception that it would lack legitimacy in the eyes of the oppressed, lead to serious debate among planners [and the possibility of a split] at the 1985-SAITRP Conference over whether they should support it or not (see SAITRP, 1985: 67-84 and 138-139).

## ATTRACTION 5

### THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE AND/OR THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH PLANNING FUNCTIONS

While the majority of planners were either serving [white] clients in private practice or the needs[, including the Apartheid needs,] of the State in the public sector as if their game were

a purely technical one and the [Apartheid-driven] State actions they were party to, caused no sorrow, a small trickle of critical voices began speaking out against their co-players' perceived obliviousness to the political nature of planning. In a vein much similar to the earlier revolt of Kurt Jonas and Roy Kantorowich against the apolitical stance of Rex Martienssen and the Modern Movement in Transvaal in the late 1930s, players like John Muller (1971), Dave Dewar (1974) and a sociologist-planner Professor H Watts (1974) began probing the moral and humane implications/dimensions of silently serving [in] the Apartheid State. It was especially Dave Dewar (1974) who raised the alarm about the negative implications the State's ideologically-based manipulation of space was having on the disposable income, life chances and living conditions of the disenfranchised poor.

After the June 1976 Soweto Uprising:

1. Muller and Dewar's criticism of Apartheid planning became more focused and included alternatives to the State's policies [- in the case of Dewar, especially the State's metropolitan "planning" strategies, and on a more physical/product level, while in the case of Muller, on a more procedural/process level] (see *inter alia* Dewar, 1976, 1977, 1984, 1985 and 1985: 31; Dewar and Watson, 1980 and 1990 and Muller, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1987 and 1990); and
2. more voices joined in the recognition of the wider *socio-econo-political* context in which planning operated and the negative implications of the Apartheid policies planners were involved in (Robbins, 1977; Lamont, 1983; Robinson, 1979 and 1980; Ketelbey, 1980; McCarthy, 1983; McCarthy and Smit, 1984; Pistorius, 1985: 78; Mallows, 1985; McCormack, 1985; Tod Welch, 1985; Smit, 1989 and 1985: 77-78 and see Harrison and Mabin, 1996: 14).

Running through most of these critiques was a call for planners to wake up, defrost themselves from their narrow client-centred approach and recognise and speak out for what these authors perceived to be, and have been, the reason for planning in the past - a better life for all. However, bearing in mind the segregatory/exclusionary road much of South African planning, and many of its players had travelled, this recourse to some "better planning past" was evidently a question of barking up a tree which did not exist. So, while these voices were going up [into the branches of the tree to be heard only by the paper tigers who lived in it], the majority of planners were continuing to play the game in the mould as it had developed in the *segregation-and-control-orientated* South African playing environment. Many of them arguing in later years that it was not as if they agreed with what they were doing or did not try to soften the blows the Apartheid system was delivering. According to them they were caught up in a system that would kick them out or trample them down, were they to speak out against it (Personal interviews, Kingston, June 28 1993; du Plessis, June 25 1993). Some even suggested that they worked behind the scenes/from within the system, gradually turning politicians away from the draconic Apartheid measures such as influx control (Personal interview, van Zyl, July 7 1993). However, as these silent personal disagreements with their Apartheid employer and their *behind-the-scenes-enterprises* did not reach the planning playing field, the distance between the *context-aware* players and the *client-driven* players grew, coming to a head at the SAITRP's 1985-conference in Durban. In both the discussions of papers and the resolutions put forward, the schism, and its extent, were starkly apparent (see especially SAITRP, 1985: 67-84 and 138-139), and even made it to the

pages of a Natal Newspaper on two consecutive days (see Daily News, October 22 1985: 22 and October 23 1985: 3). Despite some movement of the client-driven planners in the direction of the "other side" in the post-1985-Conference phase (see for instance Waanders, 1988: 1), it would only be with Mr F W De Klerk's February 2 1990-speech that that which the critics had previously asked and implored players to do, suddenly became necessary for the survival of the profession.

Looking at planning in an international context, the late 1970s and early 1980s, were of course also the highpoint of the radical/Marxist critique against planning (see Rydin, 1993: Chapter 2 and Hall, 1983: 44-45 for two brief summaries of this development). One could thus be tempted to connect the international and local critiques, and pigeonhole the local critique as a copy-cat fashionable enterprise of local academics. While the local critics were surely aware of the international critique (see *inter alia* Muller, 1980 and 1987) and there were those - like Dan Smit and Jeff McCarthy (1984) - who took more than just an academic interest in these writings, the seeds of the local critique lay, I believe, far deeper and far stronger in a moral, humanist, liberal, and at times a pragmatic outcry against the system of Apartheid, than in a superficial/frivolous fad.

## ATTRACTION 6

### THE ENVIRONMENT, DENSIFICATION AND CONSERVATION

In the early 1970s South Africa, just like most other countries in the world, was hit by the fuel crisis and the predictions of environmental collapse (see for instance Kotzé, 1973). These conditions saw, as mentioned in Attraction 2 of this Bitmap, a greater involvement by the Department of Planning in environmental matters and its name changed to that of the Department of Planning and the Environment on the 2nd of February 1973 (Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, 1990: 3). Players in the planning game, especially so in the Western Cape, were also, just like their counterparts in the USA and the UK, quick to bring environmental issues into planning and *vice versa* (see *inter alia* Gasson, 1974; 1983 and 1987; Mallows, 1972b and 1973; Rees, 1974; van der Spuy, 1974; Fox, 1974; Uytenbogaardt, 1974; van Zyl, 1980b; Claassen, 1990a and Kannenberg, 1989). Out of *inter alia* the environmental consciousness also came forth:

1. a strong interest in, a concern with, and a vigorous call for compacter cities and higher density living (see *inter alia* Pistorius, 1972; Myers, 1972; Abramowitch, 1972; Viljoen, 1980; Watts, 1980; van Zyl, 1980a; Dewar, 1976, 1977 and 1985 and Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1977); and
2. a growing awareness and concern with the conservation of historical buildings and areas in cities/towns (SAITRP, 1984).

## ATTRACTION 7

### PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

In contrast to the 1960s in which the players were generally not strongly attracted to the notion of involving the public in planning, "public participation" became a key attraction in the local game from the middle 1970s onwards, as it had become in the game in the UK and

the USA from the late 1960s onwards (see *inter alia* Moyle, 1974; Little, 1979: 61; Muller, 1980; Burke and Drake, 1980: 7; Robbins, 1977: 299; Hardie *et al*, 1986; SAITRP, 1985: 115-116 and van Biljon, 1990). In Apartheid South Africa this, of course, in many cases meant either public participation by "whites only", or separate, racially-divided/determined participation. Also, public participation was in many cases understood to be the once off *speak-now-and-shut-up-forever-after* market analysis-type survey or the *quick-peek-at-the-expert's-proposals-at-the-end-of-the-road* (see Otto, 1977: 115). The notion of empowerment, which made a strong showing in the 1990s, only arrived in the discourse towards the end of the 1980s (see Bernstein, 1990: 39).

While participation, in contrast to the 1960s, became a strong attraction in the 1970s and 1980s, the old conviction that the public had to be educated on/informed of the need for planning, remained, as was the case in the 1960s, a forgotten cause. At the end of the 1980s it was, however, taken up again by the SAITRP and a private company appointed to assist them (the SAITRP) in this regard, but this time round it was not so much about "selling the game", as it was about selling the players (see Kannenberg, 1990a: 1). [I am not sure what transpired from this appointment as I could not find any later reference to the endeavours of the company; maybe I did not search hard enough ....] An event which can be seen as part of the renewed concern with marketing the game, was the "creation of an awareness of planning" by the Transvaal Branch of the SAITRP in their organisation of a one day symposium in August 1990 with the title of *Planning for Non-Planners* (see SAITRP, 1990).

## ATTRACTION 8 URBAN DESIGN

After a dearth in the 1960s this field picked up again strongly in the 1970s and 1980s, with especially

1. Western Cape-based planners/urban designers (see *inter alia* Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1977; Hutton-Squire, 1990; Tod-Welch, 1983 and 1988), in whose proposals "*activity-spines*" made a strong showing; and
2. Gauteng-based planners (see *inter alia* Segal, 1990; Bristow, 1983; Freer and Segal, 1990; Anon, 1986 and Kraehmer, 1978),

leading the field. The establishment of a post-graduate course in Urban Design at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1976 (Personal interview, Boden, 14 October 1997), also further strengthened the field and led to a small, but growing number of planners with the additional qualification in the field.

Regarding the issue, as touched upon by players in the previous Map (see Attraction 9 of Bitmap One of Map Four), as to whether urban design was a *field* in which players of the planning game played, or a completely different *language game*, the players were silent, as far as I could ascertain.



## ATTRACTION 9

### STRUCTURE PLANS/"FORWARD PLANNING"/"LONG TERM PLANNING" [the latter term was suggested by Claassen (1983: 228) in place of "forward planning" as "... all planning is 'forward'"]

The Master Plans of the 1960s (see Attraction 10 of Bitmap One of Map Four) made place for a plan with a new name, but with much the same function: the Structure Plan - a paper, data and shelf hungry text of ideas with no statutory power/"teeth", even though their preparation was prescribed in both the Cape and Natal Planning Ordinances (see Claassen, 1990a: 8). Not only were planners strongly attracted to these "forward plans" [partially for the feeling of occupying themselves with "the real *planning* thing"] and the monetary rewards they offered, they also featured prominently in the printed discourse of planners (see SAITRP, 1986; Prinsloo, 1983; Williams and Forster, 1984; van Zyl, 1985; Fair, 1990; Claassen, 1990a: 8 and Kannenberg, 1987).

[An interesting phenomenon which appeared in some of these plans, which not only indicated the Belief in Science/Reason, but also the Belief that socio-political conditions would remain as they were, was the following: population projections were made way into the future - for instance the year 2025 in 1975 - and racial categories were used in the land budgets for this date, a half a century away (see Viljoen, 1977: 11 and 1980).]

At the end of the 1980s these plans took on a different nature for one firm of planners who came up with a new type of Structure Plan - a management/decision-orientated framework plan (see Druce, 1990 and van der Schyff, Baylis, Gericke and Druce Town and Regional Planners, 1990).

## ATTRACTION 10

### IMPLEMENTATION, STRATEGIC PLANNING, LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND BEING PRO-ACTIVE

Throughout these two decades there was a regularly expressed concern with "getting things done", rather than just waiting for plans on shelves to do everything all by themselves (see for instance Marsh, 1973: 217-218; SAITRP, 1979: 47 and 1985: 113 and van Zyl, 1984). Toward the end of the 1980s this concern saw planners being attracted to Local Economic Development (LED) (see Claassen, 1990b), strategic planning (Pistorius, 1990; McCormack, 1985 and see Harrison and Mabin, 1996: 109-110) and pro-activeness (Segal, 1990; McCormack, 1985; van Biljon, 1990: 12 and Viljoen, 1990: 3 and 7). These attractions would, however, only blossom in the 1990s.

## ATTRACTION 11

### SHOPPING CENTRES AND [THE FUTURE OF] THE CBD

Whereas the 1950s and 1960s gave South Africans their first taste of the planned suburban

shopping centre, the 1970s and 1980s saw the concept expand in leaps and bounds in urban areas and in the discourse of planners (see *inter alia* Kahn, 1983; Ehlers, 1980 and Oosthuizen, 1974 and 1983 and Viljoen, 1974: 142-145). Policies on "handling" the phenomenon, or rather, attempts in this regard, were also prepared by Provincial authorities (see Dacomb *et al*, 1982 and Kahn, 1983) and many town planners in private practice were appointed to do the necessary applications in terms of these policies to acquire the required development rights (Personal interview, Ferero June 25 1993). At the same time, however, the demise of the Central Business District (CBD) led to it [- actually the "problems/future of the CBD" -] becoming an area of attraction for planners (see Mallows, 1975; Williamson, 1984; Oosthuizen, 1980 and Floor, 1976). Out of this concern with the flagging CBDs came forth primarily two [faddish] attempts at revitalisation in a number of CBDs across the country: pedestrianisation and the construction of Malls (Wicks, 1980; Williamson, 1984 and Town Council of Randburg, 1972).

## ATTRACTION 12 "REFRESHER COURSES"

During the early 1970s the idea of short courses for practising players "... to ensure continual education" was proposed (see Mallows, 1972a: 44) and a formal resolution taken at the SAITRP's 1972-Conference to "... investigate the possibility and feasibility of arranging refresher courses at a University for Town and Regional Planners ..." (SAITRP, 1972: 179), but very little came of this. In 1979 it was again discussed at a one day seminar organised by the Transvaal Branch of the SAITRP, but, once more, nothing transpired (see SAITRP, 1979: 25-26). In 1985 the idea was *again* captured in a formal resolution taken at the end of the 1985-SAITRP Conference in Durban (SAITRP, 1985: 138), with once more, no response. And, *again*, in 1990, Professor Peter Robinson (1990: 3), in the wake of F W de Klerk's February 2 1990-speech, suggested that planners be re-educated "... by means of short, mid-career courses ..."; once more, to no avail.

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP FIVE PLAYERS

### PLAYGROUPS AND PLAY AREAS

In these two decades two studies into the profile, educational qualifications and workplace of the players were conducted - the first by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 1977 (van der Merwe and Terblanche, 1979) and the second by Badenhorst in 1983 (Badenhorst, 1984). The Department of Manpower (year unknown) also published a small publication in the early 1980s with statistical information regarding the abovementioned aspects of the players. From these three sources of information the following bytes on the players of the game at the time are presented/were compiled/calculated.

1. The 1970s was the decade in which the dominance of the three *founding playgroups* - architecture, engineering and land surveying - in the planning game came to an end. In the study conducted by Badenhorst in 1983 it was found that the percentage of players with a postgraduate diploma in town planning [- the typical qualification for players from one of these three fields -] was only 17.8% of the total (see Badenhorst, 1994: 97 and see confirmation in Department of Manpower, year unknown: 97), way down from the 79.7% in 1967 (see Bitmap Two of Map Four). The game was increasingly being played by players who held a Bachelors or a Masters degree in town planning - each group representing approximately 40% of the total number of players at this time (see Badenhorst, 1994: 97 and Department of Manpower, year unknown, 97).
  
2. As regards to *gender* and *race*, the picture, however, remained nearly unchanged with 95% of all players in 1981 being male (Department of Manpower, year unknown, 98), and the first African member only elected to the Institute in 1982 (The Sowetan, July 5 1982). Nevertheless, despite the small number of women in the profession, one of the female members, Nola Green, was elected as President of the SAITRP in 1974 (see Green, 1974).
  
3. Regarding *place of employment*,
  - \* in the survey conducted by the HSRC in 1977 it was found that 59.0% of the players were employed in the public sector [of which 38.5% were employed by local authorities and 20.5% by provincial authorities and state departments], 34.1% were employed in the private sector, 5.2% lectured and/or did research in town and regional planning schools and 1.6% were employed by the "Other" category [- i.e. research institutions and semi-state institutions other than universities] (compiled from van der Merwe and Terblanche, 1979: Table 1.4 and 2.3); and
  - \* Badenhorst found that 49.6% of the players were in 1983 employed in the public sector [with provincial authorities and state departments employing 22.4% and local authorities 27.2% of the total number of players], 33.9% of the players were employed in private planning practice, 6.4% lectured and did research at universities, and 10.1% of the total were employed in the "Other" category [which included "research institutions, property development, project management, etc."] (Badenhorst, 1984: 7 and 1994: 100).

Compared to the 1967-figures (see Bitmap Two of Map Four), that which Lamont (1979: 41) referred to as "*a planner explosion*" in the public sector in the 1970s, is apparent in the substantial jump in employment in this sector from 48.8% in 1967 to 59.0% in 1977 and a huge fall in the relative number of players employed in the private sector from 48.8% to 34.1%. Closer inspection reveals that this increase in the public sector was solely attributable to a huge increase in the number of planners employed by local authorities [- up from 28.5% in 1967 to 38.5% in 1977 -] in a time of rapid growth in the size and complexity of most major towns and cities in the country.

By 1983, during a time of rationalisation in the public sector, the share of planners employed in this sector shrunk again, from 59.0% in 1977 to 49.6% of the total in 1983 - very close to what it had been in 1967. Closer inspection, again, however, reveals that the relative share of employment in the provincial authorities and state departments rose by 1.9%, while the relative percentage of players employed in local authorities dropped by 11.3% - most probably an indication that employment in the public sector had reached a saturation point, while the number of planners entering the field continued to grow (see the section on Status in this Bitmap for some figures regarding the growth in the number of planners). While it would seem that private sector employment remained relatively stable in the period 1977-1983, the growth in the "Other" sector from 1.6% to 10.5%, with its "private sector nature" (Badenhorst, 1994: 100), paints a different picture: a shift away from the public to the private sector (see Badenhorst, 1994: 98-99 for a similar deduction).

An interesting development, with no statistics involved, which was very prominent in the 1970s, and which also occurred in the late 1930 and 1940s, was the participation of sociologists in the planning game (see Watts, 1974 and 1980, Piek *et al*, 1979; Lamont, 1973, 1974 and 1979 and Otto, 1974: 6-7). While some of them

1. brought a critical awareness of the dire social implications of Apartheid planning to the [players of the] planning game (see Watts, 1974 and Lamont, 1979); and
2. stressed the duty planners had of making Government aware of "... *the probable outcome of various courses of action*" (Watts, 1974: 52),

others participated in the furthering of the State planning endeavours in the "Bantu homelands" (see Piek *et al*, 1979).

## STATUS

During the 1970s and 1980s the planning profession experienced a rapid growth in the number of players, with:

1. in 1974, two decades after its establishment, the membership of the Institute having grown to "... *little more than 300*" (Green, 1974: 3), more than five times up from the figure of 55 members in 1954 (see Bitmap Two of Map Three); and
2. in 1985, the figure having more than doubled from the 1974 number, to 675 members (Osborne, 1985: 3).

This increase in the number of players alone must have led, and also have been the result of a rise in the status of the profession.

The number of tertiary institutions offering planning education also rose from six in the late 1960s to ten during these two decades with the University of Bloemfontein, M L Sultan Technikon (Durban) and the Technikons of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) and the Cape (Cape Town) also setting up town planning courses.

Another development during the middle 1980s was, however, to add substantially to this

rising status: the passing of the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984 (see Osborne, 1985: 2). One of the main reasons for this Act was exactly that of status - all the other professions town and regional planners regularly worked with, such as engineers and architects, had Acts and Statutory Councils, and the SAITRP felt [not unanimously though, as a section of the players were concerned about the ethical implications of acquiring statutory recognition under an Apartheid Government (Waanders, 1995: 12),] that an Act would give planners "*professional recognition*" in the eyes of these other professionals, as well as in the eyes of the public (SA, 1984: 1132). [There was apparently a trend in the country in the 1970s to "turn" professional bodies/institutes into Statutory Councils through Acts of Parliament (SA, 1984: 1134).] Another prominent reason for the Act was to protect the public against unscrupulous behaviour by planners (SA, 1984: 1132) - something which the SAITRP was apparently not able to do effectively (Lamont-Smith, 1995). [Ironically, of course, one of the prime reasons why the planning game was called into existence was to protect the public against unscrupulous "others", such as speculators (see Bitmaps One and Five of Map One).]

The primary ways in which the Act (see Government Gazette, March 7 1984: 1-31) was to deliver on these two calls for professional recognition and the protection of the public, was by providing for:

1. the establishment of a statutory council called the South African Council for Town and Regional Planners (SACTRP) (Sections 1-9 and 11-13);
2. the registration of town and regional planners and town and regional planners in training with the SACTRP and the reservation of the titles of "*town and regional planner*" and "*town and regional planner in training*" for these duly registered members (Sections 20-23);
3. the establishment of an Education Advisory Committee to primarily assist and advise the SACTRP in all matters relating to the education of town and regional planners (Sections 14-19);
4. the prescription by the SACTRP of a tariff of fees to which town and regional planners would be entitled for certain kinds of work done (Section 28.(1)(g));
5. the punishment of members of the profession found guilty of "*improper conduct*" [a definition of which was also written into the Act] (Section 24-26); and
6. the institution of work reservation by the relevant Minister (Section 10) [- a measure which has till this day not been used].

While the Bill was warmly accepted by all the parties in Parliament (see SA, 1984: 1132-1142), it was treated with a large dose of animosity by a number of players in the planning game, such as:

1. players at universities who felt that their autonomy would be compromised; and
2. players who, as mentioned earlier on, did not want to gain statutory recognition under an Apartheid Government; and
3. members of other professions, especially land surveyors, who did "*planning work*" and who saw themselves being excluded from registration and cut off from their livelihoods (Waanders, 1995: 15-16).

While many of the concerns could easily be resolved, a so-called "grandfather [registration] clause" (Section 20.(3)(b)) had to be included in the Act to bridge the other professions' grievances (Waanders, 1995: 17).

The Act came into effect on the 15th of February 1985 (Waanders, 1995: 17) and two [smallish] newspaper reports, one in *The Star* on 3 March 1985 on page 4, under the heading *Town planning gets 'muscle'* and another on page 9 in *Die Transvaler* of 12 August 1985, under the heading *New Act on town planning a step forward* (my translation of the Afrikaans title) proclaimed its arrival. Evident in these reports were the high expectations some planners had of the Act, with suggestions being made that:

1. "... the council would advise Minister of Communications and Public Works Dr Lapa Munnik and comment on town planning issues" (The Star, March 3 1985);
2. "... the Town and Regional Planners Act, by which the council was formed, implied that the profession would give advice to local authorities" (The Star, March 3 1985); and
3. the historical practice by which "... architects, land surveyors and anybody who wanted to, tried their hand at planning, ... belongs to the past" (my translation of Die Transvaler, August 12 1985).

However, since its promulgation, very little of these expectations have come to fruition, as:

1. Apartheid planning, impacting extremely negatively on the lives of millions of members of the *public*, and clearly operating against any basic notion of "good" city planning [- such as locating/dumping people huge distances away from possible places of employment -] continued unabatedly, without any formal outcry by the SACTRP; and
2. the Section (Section 10) providing for the institution of work reservation by the Minister, was never used, leaving the fields in which the game was/is being played, effectively open to any prospective player. [An amendment to this section of the Act, made in the Town and Regional Planners Amendment Act, No 40 of 1987, lessened the chance of any action being taken in this regard, as the amended clause required the Competition Board to give its blessing to any request for work reservation from the Minister (see Government Gazette, September 16 1987).]

## BITMAP THREE OF MAP FIVE RULES

### WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

During this phase the trend towards a game played primarily by players with a town and regional planning qualification continued. Clients in the private sector and employers of players in both the private and the public sector [- in which a post of "Town and Regional Planner" was created in 1983 -] were seeking qualified planners and were, in contrast to previous decades (see Status in Bitmap Two of Map Four), willing to pay for the services, even

after a substantial hike in November 1983 in the SAITRP's recommended fee scale for work done by planners by basing fees on land value] (Els, 1984: 1 and 1985 and Osborne, 1985: 3). While the market was thus increasingly also deciding that qualified town and regional planners were the ones that "may play for pay", there was no form of statutory work reservation precluding any non-planners from playing in the fields in which the planning game was being played, or doing so-called "planning work".

## HOW TO PLAY

### PROCEDURE

While there was the odd reference to the "*comprehensive planning process*" in the late 1960s (see Morris, 1968: 17), the American rational comprehensive planning approach only came into common usage in South Africa in the 1970s in the preparation of Structure, Guide and Regional Plans (see *inter alia* Patricios, 1972: 104; Pistorius and Little, 1972: 49-58; Robinson, 1979: 2; Plan Associates and other members of the Consortium, 1972: 1; Claassen and Page, 1978: 1; Otto, 1977: 107; Burke and Drake, 1980; Smit and Mouton, 1995: 17-24 and Personal interview: Claasens, July 5 1993). However, given the heavy bounds placed by Apartheid on the process, it is questionable whether the supposed use of this approach could really be described as rational comprehensive planning - maybe as "severely bounded rational comprehensive planning" (see Muller, 1987: 15 for a similar view) [- a term which is in essence a contradiction in terms].

Other than for this local attempt at rational comprehensiveness, very little changed in South African planning procedure. In the "forward planning"-arena the idea of planning as *team work* by a group of experts, guided/coordinated by the expert hand of the planner, remained prevalent (see for instance Lamont, 1973 and 1974; Otto, 1974 and 1977 and Department of Community Development, 1977: 3) and even saw one local firm - *Plan Associates* [later just "*Plan*"] - offering the full contingent of services in such a team set-up, grow to approximately 50 employees by the end of the 1980s (Personal interview: Viljoen, July 13 1993). In the field of township establishment and development control, "planning principles", carried forward from one generation to the next, primarily guided action (Personal Interview, Badenhorst July 7 1993). Procedural planning theory, let alone any developments in the field abroad, in the world of planning practice, was largely absent - the only paper from a practitioner with "planning theory" as its topic, a review article of the development of planning theory, by Basil Brink (1986).

This state of affairs was, sadly, not only restricted to "practice". From the side of academe only a few individuals - notably John Muller (1971; 1972: 38; 1977, 1979, 1980, 1983, 1987 and 1990) and Roger Boden (1987) at WITS and Peter Robinson (1979 and 1980), Dan Smit (1985 and 1989 and together with McCarthy, 1984) and Dianne Scott (1982) at the University of Natal - published in, or spoke on, the theoretical/procedural/methodological aspects of planning; the most prolific of these three being John Muller, who, continuing on in the methodologically-based, intellectually-defensible tradition established by Professor Mallows (Personal interview, Muller,

May 9 1997), was largely responsible for bringing the latest developments in planning theory in the USA and the UK to South African planning audiences. "Theory" was in the discourse of most *other* academic planners, theory borrowed from other disciplines (Personal interview, Muller, May 9 1997 and see Badenhorst and van Bergen, 1983: 570) - the oft-called "theory in [not "of"] planning"/"substantive theory".

Now, it may be said that, despite the fact that only a few academic planners actively published in/spoke on planning theory, the frequent papers read by Professor Muller to mainly players in the planning game, should have led to more of a response from the side of the "practitioners". If it is, however, borne in mind that the new approaches Muller was bringing to these audiences, such as

1. Davidoff's "*advocacy*" and Friedmann's "*transactive planning*" (see Muller 1979, 1980 and 1987); and
2. his own "*promotive*" (1980 and 1981) and "*responsive*" planning approaches (1977), were approaches which implied acting outside the "role" prescribed by the Apartheid government for planning [and planners] and were also approaches in which there were no immediate monetary rewards, the reason for practitioners not adopting these approaches, becomes clearer. And so does the fact that many of the planners who *did* become involved in advocacy planning in South Africa from the early 1980s onwards, were academic planners at WITS, UCT and the University of Natal (Personal interview, Mabin, September 10 1997 and see also Roles in this Bitmap).

So, in the end [- i.e. the end of the 1980s -] South African town and regional planning ended up with a bastardised version of the rational comprehensive planning process, stuck in Webber's "*Iron Cage of bureaucracy*" (see Oranje, 1995c), and a set of "... *sound planning principles*" (Kannenbergh, 1990b: 1) with very little recourse to any intellectual or moral base. [In this the South African language game of planning was not alone, for as the late British-born planner, Brian McCloughlin (1994: 1116), then stationed in Melbourne, Australia, wrote in 1994, "*We could say that the dominant approach of town planning is the drawing of plans and maps based on the principles of 'sound planning', of 'community', of 'balance', and similar vague or even meaningless terms*".]

## ROLES

For the majority of planners the roles they were required to play remained the same as in the previous decades, especially the role that came so strongly to the fore in the 1960s - that of *apolitical technical expert* (see Pistorius and Anderson, 1977: 153 for an extolling of this role). [The rise of the full-time academic planner and the employment of planners by research institutions did of course create the role of "*professional*" *researcher* - in contrast to the odd investigation players in private practice need to do at times - and *teacher*, but these roles only affected a very small segment of the total number of players (see Bitmap Two of this Map).] Not even the arrival of the "severely bounded rational comprehensive planning process" brought a change, as the roles players were asked to cater for in this process, were already provided for in the



game. There was, nonetheless, a new *issue* with regards to the planner's expertise which cropped up in the discourse of planners [and which can largely be attributed to the diversification in the game, while at the same time, no truly indispensable role(s) had crystallized for the planner], viz: Was the planner [to be]:

1. a specialist in one of the many fields planners were attracted to; or
2. a generalist who was acquainted with each of these fields and whose prime task was the coordination of the actions of specialists in these fields? (see Theunissen and Theunissen, 1982; van Zyl, 1983b and Badenhorst and van Bergen, 1983).

Partially this debate (see especially Theunissen and Theunissen, 1982) [much like that in the USA in the late 1960s (see Frieden, 1967: 311),] was also about the question of whether town and regional planners were "physical planners" with an/a [acute] awareness/knowledge of social [and of course other] aspects, or whether they were "social planners" whose arena of intervention was physical space. The debate was, as we know today, not resolved.

As was stated earlier on in this Map (see Attraction 5 of Bitmap One of this Map), strong calls were made on planners to cut themselves from their apolitical roles, but these calls were not heeded. The only advocacy/community-based planning that was being done by planners in the country, was that which was initiated at:

1. WITS [by PLANACT, started up in 1985/1986 and with Alan Mabin as one of the key players];
2. UCT [by the Development Action Group (DAG), established around 1986, and with Vanessa Watson and Peter Wilkinson as two of the key players]; and
3. the University of Natal [by the Built Environment Support Group (BESG), initiated in 1983/1984, and with Dan Smit and Mike Sutcliffe as two of its key players] (Personal interview, Mabin, September 10 1997 and see also Procedure in this Bitmap).

Now, while it may be understandable why planners wrapped in the Apartheid machine and who stood the risk of loosing their jobs, were afraid to speak out against the system, it is not comprehensible why the SAITRP did not take a stand. As far as I could ascertain from a newspaper search stretching from 1978 [two years after the Soweto uprising and thus in a time in which it was "more acceptable" - even fashionable - to speak out against Apartheid] until 1990, the SAITRP only spoke out in four instances against officials or official policies. In none of these cases, which were all in the Western Cape, and which centred on environmental (see Die Burger, August 26 1982 and September 1 1982) and development-control (see Die Burger, December 28 1978 and The Argus, August 11 1980) related issues, was it about the impacts of the political system on the lives of people. [It is notable that in 1976 alone, the Town and Country Association in the UK produced no less than twenty policy statements "... on a wide variety of topics" (Hardy, 1991: 91).] Maybe the SAITRP was so/too concerned with furthering the "profession's" concerns, such as higher salaries for its players (see Els, 1984: 2), and realised that speaking out against the Government's policies was not in the interest of such solicitations. Or, maybe the initial conditions at the formation of the game were still shaping the game - keeping the Institute on a conservative road, a road not really leading anywhere, but keeping the *status quo* in place.

The *advocacy* role was of course not the only role players were *urged* to fulfil, as the following two bytes suggest:

1. Professor Mallows, for instance, reminded the players once again in the 1970s, as he did in the 1960s, of the role which he regarded as "*the most critical sector of planning*", i.e. "*... the creative sector: the capacity to have a new idea, a new concept, which like genetic mutation can breed innovation on which our lives depend*" (Mallows, 1972a: 42); and
2. the need for planners to get things done/make things happen (see Attraction 10 in Bitmap One of this Map), imposed a new role on planners, viz that of the *pro-active action-oriented entrepreneur*.

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP FIVE AIMS/OBJECTIVES

### WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED

It is really difficult to say what the perception of the players was on why the game had to be played in this era. While I have never come across any planner who, or any publication which, held any other view than that of planning as being something "good", or of improving the living conditions of people, town and regional planning in the Apartheid framework did, as is common knowledge, often lead to untold misery for many. So, despite this reality, I have nothing to suggest that these planners believed the aim of planning to be about increasing poverty, misery and sorrow. I can only suggest that many of those who said nothing about the negative results of the game they were playing, were uninformed, brain washed, afraid to open their mouths, or too wrapped up in their own lives/affairs to care. Maybe they did not really care [about anything other than their own gain], seeing the aim of the game as providing them and their colleagues with jobs.

There were of course those, who like the youthful, leftist Roy Kantorowich and Kurt Jonas in the late 1930 and early 1940s, saw the aim of town planning as bringing about a new social order by taking up an advocacy role and/or by ensuring that plans/proposals increased the life chances, opportunities and happiness of especially the poor and destitute (see Attraction 5 of Bitmap One of this Map and Muller, 1980 and Mallows, 1985: 4). Town planning, which for these players was essentially about ensuring "*... human development and quality of life*" (Dewar, 1977: 89 and see also Dewar, 1985: 3), thus became a vehicle for positive change in the living conditions of especially the marginalised.

And then there was a new [green] aim: that of ensuring the most frugal use of Earth's resources; an aim which was to have far more appeal on [recyclable] paper than in the Big Green Backyards (BGB) of the middle and wealthy classes [to which most planners of course

belonged].

## WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED

Other than for those involved in advocacy planning, who might have received some funding from overseas donors, and who, we must trust, played the game out of moral convictions, players played the professional game to be paid.

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP FIVE DEFINITIONS

As was the case in the 1960s the players in their discourses, it would seem, no longer really bothered to provide definitions of the game they were playing. This was probably due to:

1. the diversification in the game, making a single definition problematic; and/or
2. players believing that, with their game "becoming a profession", especially with the passing of the Town and Regional Planners Act in 1984, it was known what the game was about.

[In a recent study I did for the Department of Land Affairs into the future of the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984, I was told by a player who had been playing the game for quite some time that professions "... as a rule do not define themselves". Interestingly enough the Act itself also does/did not define the game or what a "town and regional planner" is.]

There were nevertheless some players who did [attempt to] define the game, such as:

1. Professor John Muller who described town planning [in the words of John Friedmann and Barclay Hudson (1974)] as "... a professional function and a social process - an activity concerned with 'the linkage between knowledge and organised action'" (my translation of Muller, 1977: 1);
2. Professor Page who defined planning as "... the systematic drafting of a constructive and coordinated programme of action for the orderly existence of Man in terms of scientifically processed data and according to set rational objectives through a competent body for application and implementation in a clearly demarcated area" (my translation of the definition of Page as quoted in Visagie, 1972: 10);
3. Pistorius and Little who simply stated: "*Planning is co-ordination*" (1972: 47); and
4. Charlie Els (1983: 8 and 10) and Paul Waanders (1988: 1) who reiterated the definition of planning as being "*an art and a science*".

# MAP SIX 1991-MIDDLE 1997

## *IN WHICH INTROSPECTIVE TALK OF CHANGE, TALKING ABOUT CHANGE AND CHANGE TAKES PLACE*

*"The ultimate test a planning system must survive is not its legality, or even its wisdom, but rather its acceptability to the public at large" (Haar, 1984, as quoted in Cullingworth, 1994: 171).*

*"It seems that the past is not yet past" (Muller, 1995b: 4).*

*"They (the members of the town and regional planning profession) were always very conservative, but also very progressive when the time was right, especially since 1989, when the De Klerk-government began moving in a reform-minded direction" (my translation of André Fourie, National Party Member of Parliament, in South Africa, 1995: 32).*

*"And now, forward all together, with the South African Planning Institution. No more 'us' and 'they' - just one rainbow profession" (Claassen, 1996b).*

# BITMAP ONE OF MAP SIX ATTRactions AND INFLUENCING FORCES

## ATTRACTION 1 CHANGE, OR THE NEEDS OF THE THEN CALLED "NEW SOUTH AFRICA"

Whereas calls had been made in the previous two decades by a group of mainly planners employed at English universities on the players to recognise the context in which they functioned and to ensure that all South Africans benefited from planning, it was only after the February 2 1990-making-it-safe-to-change-speech by Mr F W de Klerk, that the players and their institutions seriously began pondering and discoursing appropriate and necessary changes to the game, themselves - i.e. its players - and its/their institutions [- something which is still continuing]. In the course of this discourse a wide range of issues of which a number had been major concerns in the European, North American and Australian planning discourse for quite some time, were debated and contemplated. The most prominent of these issues were those of:

1. [more] sustainable urban development [through *inter alia* greater mixing of land uses, compacter cities, higher densities and the employment of the *linear-growth-point-mechanism* - i.e. activity corridors/spines] (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991; Mabin, 1992c; SAITRP, 1994b; Dewar 1993 and 1995; Townsend, 1995 and see The Star, May 13 1992);
2. effective people-centred participation and empowerment (Tod Welch, 1991; Robinson, 1991; Muller, 1994; Sowman, 1994; Ramarumo, 1994; Rendall, 1994; Botha, 1995; Makgalamele, 1995; Motsa, 1995 and see Daily Dispatch, October 17 1991 and Natal Mercury, April 4 1991);
3. strategic urban management [and less urban control] (Wall, 1994 and Daniels, 1994; Lamont-Smith, 1993 and see Business Day, June 28 1991);
4. the ethics of planners (van Zyl, 1994: 3-5; SACTRP, 1995; Muller, 1991b and Amakwah-Ayeh, 1995a);
5. the integration of Apartheid's dual/triad cities (Daniels, 1994; Gildenhuys, 1994; Mabin, 1992c and 1993 and Dewar, 1993); and
6. the opening up of access to the SAITRP so as to change the composition of the white male dominated game (Claassen, 1993b; van Zyl, 1994: 5-8; Ramarumo, 1994 and Platzky, 1995).

Many of these issues were of course not novel in the local discourse - to a large degree it was a rerun of the issues raised by notably Professors John Muller, Dave Dewar, Peter Robinson and Dan Smit over the last two decades. There were now, however, two major differences in that:

1. change was no longer a choice planners could make - it had become a question of survival for the game and its players; and
2. both the base *on* and the superstructure *in* which the new/reformulated planning game was to be played, were fertile and receptive for the proposed changes [- the African National Congress's (ANC) Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)]

published in 1994 (ANC, 1994) and the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993 (Government Gazette, January 28 1993), more than any other two texts of the time, clearly spelling this out}.

In planning jargon, change was *for the first time both necessary and desirable*. And so, many suggestions for change were made and debated in a discourse of social reformism/reconstructionism much like that of planners during the Second World War (see Attraction 2 of Bitmap Two of Map Three). To a large extent, despite the rhetoric of change, innovation and newness, this debate was steeped in the tradition of "*modernity as routine*" (see Bitmap Eight of Map One for an exposition of this term from Berman, 1989: 243), with the *New Planning [system]* becoming a desired end state Blue Print - another case of the once-off change.

And, whatever the contributors to this debate on change suggested, it was only after the first democratic elections in April 1994, when

1. newly elected politicians and their consultants; and
2. new appointees in State, as well as in Provincial [*Development*] Planning Departments in notably Gauteng, the Western Cape and Kwazulu-Natal,

took up the discourse [on change] in bodies such as the Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD) ["... *chaired by the Minister of Land Affairs, deputy-chaired by the Minister without Portfolio and includ(ing) the Minister of Housing, the nine provincial MECs responsible for development planning and representatives from national departments responsible for economic, environmental or development planning*" (van Huyssteen, 1995a: 1)] (see *inter alia* Schiceka, 1994a and 1994b; Weekend Star, July 16/17 1994; PWV Department of Development Planning, Environment and Works, 1994; Glazewski, 1994 and Anon, 1994a and 1994b), that actual change [in line with the *RDP-turned-White Paper* in November 1994 (see Government Gazette, November 23 1994).] became a reality. [This was not the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s when the planning zealots were the ones pushing and pulling for enabling legislation (see Maps One and Two).] This change was to come in the shape of three major initiatives, which I deal with separately in the following three sections.

1. *The [much discussed,] far-reaching Development Facilitation Act (DFA), Act No 67 of 1995*, assented to by the President on 28 September 1995 (Government Gazette, October 4 1995), with as its *aims*, to:
  - \* "... *introduce extraordinary measures to facilitate and speed up the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes and projects in relation to land*";
  - \* "... *lay down general principles governing land development throughout the Republic*";
  - \* "... *provide for the establishment of a Development and Planning Commission for the purpose of advising the government on policy and laws concerning land development at national and provincial levels*";
  - \* "... *provide for the establishment in the provinces of development tribunals which have the power to make decisions and resolve conflicts in respect of land development projects*;

- \* "... facilitate the formulation and implementation of land development objectives by reference to which the performance of local government bodies in achieving such objectives may be measured";
- \* "... provide for nationally uniform procedures for the subdivision and development of land in urban and rural areas so as to promote the speedy provision and development of land for residential, small-scale farming or other needs and uses"; and
- \* "... promote security of tenure while ensuring that end-user finance in the form of subsidies and loans becomes available as early as possible during the land development process" (Government Gazette, October 4 1995).

Two of the most important implications this Act has thus far had on the planning game, have come through its Section 3 on "*General principles for land development*" and its Chapter 4 dealing with "*Land Development Objectives*" (LDOs) [- i.e. a set of binding targets/objectives for a local authority regarding *inter alia* the financing (i.e. budgeting), format, standard and location of services, transportation routes and services and housing and the density and growth form of a settlement under the authority's jurisdiction]. The principles in Section 3, viz the

- \* "... integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development";
- \* promotion of "... the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity or integrated with each other";
- \* discouragement of "... the phenomenon of 'urban sprawl' in urban areas" and the encouragement of "... more compact cities";
- \* promotion of "... a diverse combination of land uses";
- \* "... correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic";
- \* "... optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs";
- \* encouragement of "... environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes";
- \* active participation of "... communities affected by land development ... in the process of land development"; and
- \* development of the "... skills and capacities of disadvantaged persons involved in land development",

have been important for the planning game in that they have resulted in the turning of many of the beliefs/doctrines of the planners who had been calling for change, into "statutory requirements". Chapter 4 of the Act, the Chapter on LDOs, has impacted substantially on the game in that numerous players in private practice and in local, metropolitan and provincial planning sections/departments were/have been appointed and/or made responsible for the formulation of these LDOs [via processes in which stakeholder involvement has been regarded as being of paramount importance].

2. *The organising and hosting of a workshop by the Department of Land Affairs at Club Mykonos in November 1995 at which a number of papers were read and discussion sessions/workshops held on:*

- \* the definition of planning [both town and regional planning and development planning];
- \* the education of planners; and
- \* the restructuring/future of the Town and Regional Planners Act, Act No 19 of 1984, and Planning/ers' Institutions (see Department of Land Affairs, 1995).

Out of this Workshop came an accord - *The Club Mykonos Accord* - consisting of eight statements of intent which I quote in full:

*"Having noted the changed socio-political circumstances in South Africa, we the participants in the workshop on the future of the planning profession, resolve that:*

1. *We commit ourselves to the principles of the RDP.*
2. *Recognise the need to review the ethical base of the planning profession.*
3. *Recognise the need to restructure the provisions of the Act and to review the composition of the SACTRP so that it is more representative in terms of race and gender, and reflects the full spectrum of planning interests.*
4. *Mandate the restructured SACTRP to review the system of planning education at all levels (community, technical, professional and continuing education).*
5. *Mandate the restructured SACTRP to investigate the process of registration in order to improve access to the profession.*
6. *To devise a communication strategy to inform communities at large about the planning process and the profession.*
7. *The operations of the SACTRP be conducted in a fully participatory and transparent manner.*
8. *To establish ongoing co-operation with the Forum for Effective Planning and Development in order to contribute to policy debates pertaining to development"* (from van Huyssteen, 1995b: 1-2).

With this accord that which some planners had for so long called and worked for, became sealed on paper, at least, and the process of transformation gained some definite focus points and concrete deliverables.

This Accord was followed by further deliberations on the future of the planning game in the FEPA, resulting in the decision being taken at a meeting on August 19 1996 that a draft Amendment Bill on the Town and Regional Planner Act, 1984 be produced and tabled at a meeting of the FEPA on December 5 1996 (Department of Land Affairs, 1996b: 1). A consultant, Mark Oranje, was subsequently appointed in November 1996 to consult with key role players on a number of issues relating to the Act [ viz the need for the Act, the name of the Act, the definition of planning and of a planner, regulation of the profession in terms of membership, educational and registration requirements, representivity of the profession and its organs, the opening up of access to the profession and the serving and protection of the public interest (Department of Land



Affairs, 1996a) -] and to scan international literature on these issues. The consultant's report was presented at the meeting of the FEPA in December 1996 and a decision taken to co-opt four persons to the SACTRP "... to oversee the transformation of the Council and to provide inputs regarding the Amendment of the Act", which will then be used by the DLA as a basis on which to draft an Amendment Bill (Department of Land Affairs, 1996b: 2). At this FEPA-meeting it was also decided that a Workshop would be hosted by the DLA early in 1997 to further discuss the issues that needed to be addressed in the Amendment Bill (Department of Land Affairs, 1996b: 2). This Workshop, attended by approximately 80 role players, was subsequently held on March 24 1997 at the Johannesburg International Holiday Inn, providing valuable inputs for the Transition Committee [- a body consisting of members of the SACTRP and the four co-opted persons -] that is now preparing "the basis" on which the Amendment Bill will be formulated.

3. *The passing of the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act (LGTA), Act No 97 of 1996 in November 1996 (Government Gazette, November 1996) which inter alia provided for the preparation of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). These IDPs are plans "... aimed at the integrated development and management of the area of jurisdiction of the municipality concerned in terms of its powers and duties, and which ha(ve) been compiled having regard to the general principles contained in Chapter 1 of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Act No. 67 of 1995), and, where applicable, having regard to the subject matter of a land objective contemplated in Chapter 4 of that Act" (Government Gazette, 22 November 1996: 4). While these plans have as yet not been produced, hosts of planners [in Gauteng] at local authority, metropolitan and provincial level spent a large part of the first half of 1997 preparing the ground for the production of the first round of these plans in the second half of 1997. Strings of [Gauteng-based] players in private practice, as part of integrated professional teams, have also submitted their tender documents to local authorities for the preparation of these plans.*

## ATTRACTION 2 THE ENVIRONMENT AND LOCAL AGENDA 21

During the early 1990s, and especially after the United Nations Earth Summit in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro, environmentalism became a major time and text-consuming/producing aspect of the local planning discourse (see *inter alia* SAITRP, 1995; Claassen, 1993a; 1994b and 1995; Nicks, 1994b; Kannenberg, 1995; Roberts, 1995), as it did in the UK, Europe, Australia and the USA. Not only did it permeate all aspects of the game (see *inter alia* SACTRP, 1995; Segal, 1994; Dewar and Gasson, 1994; Harrison, 1995b: 6; Oranje, 1995a: 24-25), it also, seemingly, gave the game an additional [new for some -] *raison d'être* containing many of the basic metaphors of the secular religion of planning at its birth (see Bitmap Eight of Map One), such as the following three:

1. *Sin*: Sin-inclined Humankind, assisted/misguided by town planners, has destroyed our

- [only] planet/mother[ship] by *inter alia* committing the suburban sin;
2. *Salvation*: A New Sustainable Jerusalem/Curitiba (NSJ/C) is still possible, at least for our children, if we act now.
  3. *Action*: Adhere to the basic principles and play your part, place *your* trust in *your* own hands[ - a new individualised twist - ], and listen to the True Prophets of the Sustainable City (TPSC) who do not believe that they know best, only better.

Despite all its apparent good intentions, this discourse has, for the largest part, been replete with basic statements of principle, general proposals and common *sensicalities*, and has been very shallow on:

1. the practicalities and technicalities of often far-reaching proposals;
2. the social, political, economical, environmental and Human Rights/liberties-impact assessments of the proposals; and
3. ensuring implementation.

In the UK, a similar situation has led Rydin and Evans to question/ask whether town planners will be able to make any substantial contribution to the environmental field beyond the buzz words, selling the concept and the *statement-of-principle-phase* (see Evans and Rydin, 1997; Evans, 1994 and 1993 and Rydin, 1993).

### ATTRACTION 3 PLANNING HISTORY

Towards the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s two esteemed academics, Professors Dan Smit and Alan Mabin began taking a keen interest in the *planning* past and produced a number of highly insightful accounts of this past (see *inter alia* Smit, 1989; Mabin, 1991a, 1991c and 1992b and Mabin and Smit, 1992). The field of study opened up by these pioneering studies, was given further impetus by the formation of the [very informal] *Planning History Study Group* (PHSG) on 25 August 1992 at the end of a very successful Workshop on Planning History held at WITS on 24 and 25 August 1992 (Muller, 1993a: 1). [The Workshop was the brainchild of Professor John Muller, who had organised it to coincide with the visit to this country by the renowned planning-historian, the late Professor Gordon Cherry, who "... was in the country as Visiting Professor in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at WITS" and who also participated in the Workshop as the keynote speaker (Muller, 1993a: 1 and Personal interview, Muller, June 24 1997).] During the next four years three symposia were held and more than sixty papers read with the past, and in most cases, the planning past, as topic (see Planning History Study Group, 1993, 1994 and 1996).

Now, these papers, being read at a time when the game and its players needed to undergo fundamental change, may seem strange. They may even be made off as frivolous academic indulgence. They may also, however, assist and have assisted in bringing a clearer comprehension of the present planning predicament and a renewed fervour for a finer future.

## ATTRACTION 4 GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS)

During the early 1990s a host of local planners, in line with similar developments in North America and the UK became strongly attracted to GIS (see Drake, 1991; Coetzee, 1994; Wulfsohn, 1994; Slabbert, 1995 and van Helden, 1993). Out of this attraction grew its inclusion as a regular part of planning education, as well as the institution of a post graduate certificate and a diploma course in GIS by the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Pretoria (Personal Interview, van Helden, June 24 1997).

## ATTRACTION 5 DEVELOPMENT CONTROL AND TOWNSHIP ESTABLISHMENT

Despite

1. intense criticism against the principle of zoning/development control, mainly for creating sterile, choice-suppressing urban environments [instead of mixed use, diverse, complex ones] and for placing a focus on control at a time when economic growth was needed (see *inter alia* Dewar and Uytendogaardt, 1991; Dewar and Gasson, 1994; Dewar, 1994 and 1995 and Ramarumo, 1993); and
2. the new Government's endeavours at writing new town planning legislation to replace the "whites only"-Ordinances with their roots in *long-ago-repealed* British planning legislation (see Attraction 1 of this Bitmap),

a large number of players continued to earn a living from these discredited pieces of legislation: serving mostly the more affluent section of the population, applying for, appealing against or processing applications for business, office and other ["Special"] rights and facilitating the establishment of new *flag-and-Greek-column-clad* developments in the few islands of affluence. In this they were further "assisted" by appeals and court cases arising from:

1. NIMBYism, which had come strongly to the fore during the 1980s, and which grew even stronger in the 1990s (Personal interview, Bezuidenhout, 12 June 1996 and see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Five and Beeld, April 3 1991); and
2. market-related objections to the granting of rights for shopping centres, such as the extensions to the Boksburg Pick and Pay-East Rand Mall regional shopping complex (Personal interview, Ferero, June 25 1993 and see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Five; Delpont, 1995: 25 and Viljoen and Bisschoff, 1996).

At the same time various individuals and companies in the planning game started researching and making suggestions on the characteristics of an alternative system of development control (see Bezuidenhout, 1996; Oranje, 1995; van der Westhuizen, 1992 and 1993; Urban Dynamics, 1994; Mabin, 1992c and Sorrell and Parker, 1994). The Department of Town and Regional Planning of the University

of Pretoria (1994) also organised a one day Short Course/Workshop with the future of the town planning scheme as its theme. And, during the first half of 1997 the Gauteng Provincial Legislature appointed a team of consultants to come forward with a new system of development control, or land use management, as it apparently will be called, to replace the 1986-Town Planning and Townships Ordinance [and thus existing town planning schemes] and the Removal of Restrictions Act, Act No 84 of 1967 (Personal interview, Bezuidenhout, July 10 1997).

Development control was, however, not the only field coming in for criticism. During this period both the *process* and the *products* of township establishment were likewise given a very critical brush. And, as had been the case with development control, also saw the odd attempt at rectifying that which was perceived to be at fault.

1. On the *process* side, general murmurs about the endless patience of the process (see Strydom, 1992)[- an apparent endless critique, having been with the game since its birth -], especially as regards to "*less formal settlements*", where speed is of the essence, led to the passing of the Less Formal Township Establishment Act, No 113 of 1991[, with as its primary aim, to "... provide for shortened procedures for the designation, provision and development of land, and the establishment of townships, for less formal forms of residential development ..." (Government Gazette, July 5 1991)].

There was also an attempt to produce a new Act on township establishment in the early 1990s which saw Dr C J van Tonder being appointed in June 1991 by the then Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Mr Hernus Kriel, to write such a new Act (Anon, 1991b: 2). Barely a year later the process of writing the new Act, was, however, "... placed on hold pending progress towards interim government" (Mabin, 1992c: 231).

2. As regards the *products* of township establishment, dissatisfaction with *inter alia* the sustainability and vitality of the settlements that were being created (see *inter alia* Behrens, 1996; Watson and Behrens, 1995 and Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991), saw the appointment of Professors Dewar, Uytenbogaardt and Todeschini, in conjunction with the Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) of UCT[ and other consultants who still need to be appointed], to produce a new "*Red Book*" [to replace the "*Blue Book*" (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Five)] on *more appropriate* Guidelines for engineering services for settlement making/planning/design (see Uytenbogaardt *et al* 1996, 1997a and 1997b).

During this period there was one other development on the township establishment scene which deserves mention: The security township, which first appeared on the peripheral urban scene in the late 1980s, became an ever-growing form of new township establishment in especially the affluent northern suburbs of Johannesburg and eastern suburbs of Pretoria (Coetzee, 1988). A reaction to the spiralling crime rate in the country, it further polarised the urban society, saw large sections of the New South Africa being built up behind walls (see

Mabin, 1995a for a similar opinion and see also Sunday Independent, May 26 1996: 10) and contributed very little to the public urban environment.

## **ATTRACTION 6 STRATEGIC PLANNING, LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CITY MARKETING**

Whereas there was the odd reference to strategic planning and Local Economic Development (LED) towards the end of the 1980s, these two terms appeared far more frequently in the printed discourse of planners in the 1990s (see Claassen, 1992 and 1994a; Tomlinson, 1993 and 1994; Harrison, 1994; Lamont-Smith, 1993: 2; Nel, 1995; Magwangqana, 1995; Rogerson, 1996 and Maharaj and Rambali, 1996) and the word "*strategic*" became commonplace in planning texts (see *inter alia* Oranje, 1995a: 24 and Department for Development Planning and Works, 1996). In much the same pro-development vein as the other two concepts, one of the catch phrases of globalisation - City Marketing - also made its appearance in the local planning game in the 1990s (see Landré and Nel, 1994 and Wilkinson, 1994). In addition to this, a number of local authorities embarked on strategic planning processes/initiatives as substitutes for the docile structure plans of the 1970s and 1980s (see Potgieter, 1996 and Claassen, 1994a: 15).

## **ATTRACTION 7 URBAN DESIGN**

During the 1990s urban design remained a prominent area of attraction in the planning discourse, often running side by side with a strong environmental concern (see *inter alia* Boden, 1991 and 1993; Segal, 1994; Jordaan, 1997 and Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991). A number of major cities also embarked on inner city (see also Attraction 9 of this Bitmap) or Waterfront redevelopment schemes, providing fertile ground for some urban designers.

## **ATTRACTION 8 SHOPPING CENTRES**

The strong attraction between planners and outlying shopping centres reached new heights during the first half of the 1990s, despite the inner city redevelopment projects referred to in Attractions 7 and 9 of this Bitmap. In the wave of shopping development in this era, in some cases fired on by players turned developers, or *identifiers-of-sites-for-shopping-centres* - i.e. 4 traffic lights, 2 roads and a site -], especially four kinds of shopping centres [and are still being] developed:

1. glamorous, up-market flag-clad, restaurant-filled, postmodern shopping centres/boutiques;
2. retail warehouses/sheds, also called "*Value/Power Centres*";

3. mega-regional shopping centres, incorporating enterprises traditionally found in the central business district, such as motor vehicle-related light industrial activities and vehicle show rooms; and
4. cosy, small scale [village-type] shopping centres with, without fail, a green veranda and an Irish Pub, a mini-market and a video shop.

While purely chasing the already bloated credit and in-house shopping cards of the rich, these developments not only perpetuated, but intensified Apartheid-shopping through making affluent areas close on to self-sufficient as regards the retail needs of their inhabitants. In a perverse way they also created the capital webs David Crane (1960) gave the planning game: Capital[ist] Webs in and between the pockets of affluence making [even more] conspicuously visual the huge inequalities of South African society.

As plotted under Attraction 5 of this Bitmap, applications for such shopping centres often met with numerous objections, and in many of such contested cases in the Transvaal, arguments were built and decisions based on a controversial policy for the evaluation of applications for retail rights dating back to 1982 (see Attraction 11 in Bitmap One of Map Five). An attempt was, however, made in this era to improve on this policy by Dr V Ghyoot (1993), who did his doctoral D Com-thesis on the demarcation of trade areas of shopping centres. Out of his study some suggestions were made on how the existing policy could be changed to ensure a more realistic, empirically-based decision-making instrument (see Ghyoot, 1993: 27-28). Also, in the Western Cape, Dr Claassen and a Doctor in Business Economics, Dr Terblanché, investigated and formulated a procedure to be followed in the processing of applications for "*large scale shopping facilities*" to minimise conflict and ensure that existing infrastructure was not wasted (see Terblanché and Claassen, 1991).

## ATTRACTION 9 THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Together with a continuing attraction to the outlying shopping centres, was, as has also been the case in the 1970s and 1980s, a concern with the state and future of the Central Business Districts of cities in especially metropolitan areas (see *inter alia* van Zyl and Jacobs, 1994). Success stories of major victories in this battle are, however, still waiting to be told.

## ATTRACTION 9 METROPOLITAN PLANNING

The breezes of change blowing from 1989 onward, not only led to the negotiation of a new, democratic South Africa in the first half of the 1990s, but also saw negotiations at metropolitan level about the future of government at this tier become a key feature of the time (see Mabin, 1995: 80-88; Solomon, 1992; Turok, 1995a and Wylie and Talbot, 1993). Together with this phase of negotiations at metropolitan level, grew a renewed recognition of the need for planning/management on a metropolitan level; a development which was further strengthened by the passing of the Local Government Transition Act, Act No 209 of 1993 (Government

Gazette, February 2 1994), which paved the way for the establishment of Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs), out of which grew fully-fledged metropolitan planning/management after the November 1995-local government elections (see Turok, 1995a).

## ATTRACTION 10 HOUSING

Whereas the attraction to, and concern with, housing waned in the planning game after peaking in the 1940s (see Attraction 1 in Bitmap One of Map Three) at a time

1. of intense public concern over a/the huge housing backlog; and
2. a strong social reformist mood in the country,

a number of players (*see inter alia* Badenhorst, 1991; Todes and Walker, 1992; Abrahams *et al*, 1993; Robinson and Smit, 1994; Rendall, 1994; van Deventer, 1994; Kuhn, 1994 and Gardner, 1994) became attracted to the field again in the 1990s, at a time:

1. of intense public concern over a/the huge housing backlog [which had never left us]; and
2. a strong social reformist mood in the air[ but not all that visible in the delivery of houses/dwelling units on the ground].

This far history has repeated itself [again], with the backlog not showing any signs of decreasing. [Frighteningly enough, at the same time another aspect of the appalling housing and living conditions of the early 1950s (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Three) has also returned - a crime wave hurting the poorer sections of the population far more than the well off ones (see Mabin, 1995a: 192).]

## ATTRACTION 11 RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND RESTITUTION

During the early 1990s with the growing [official] awareness of rural poverty and the move towards rectifying the ills of the past, such as the mass forced removals in rural areas, sections of the then *Department of Regional and Land Affairs* underwent a shift in focus toward rural areas, land restitution and rural development (Personal interview, van Huyssteen, June 26 1997 and see Bester, 1995). With the passing of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, No 22 of 1994, making provision for the "... *restitution of rights in land in respect of which persons or communities were dispossessed under or for the purpose of furthering the objects of any racially based discriminatory law*" (Government Gazette, November 25 1994) and the publication of the then Government of National Unity's Rural Development Strategy in November 1995 (see Government Gazette, November 3 1995), this focus became even more marked and numerous planners in the employ of this department, by then only the *Department of Land Affairs*, became involved in this field (Personal interview, van Huyssteen, June 26 1997). These developments also found expression in:

1. the printed discourse of planners (*see inter alia* Hargreaves, 1995; SAITRP, 1994; Wanklin, 1995

- and Lund, 1995);
2. the education of planners (Laburn-Peart, 1995); and
  3. proposals for change in:
    - \* the way in which planning was being practised;
    - \* the registration requirements of the SACTRP [- i.e. by including the categories of the rural development and land restitution field/s in the list of acceptable experience -]; and
    - \* the education of planners (Lamont-Smith, 1995a).

## ATTRACTION 12 GENDER AND WOMEN

Together with the focus on rural development, the RDP's explicit focus on the empowerment of women, and in line with similar foci on women and gender in the international planning discourse, came a growing attraction to *gender* and *women* as issues in the planning game (see *inter alia* Todes and Walker, 1992; Schoonraad, 1995; Hargreaves, 1995 and Bester, 1995). By the end of this era [middle 1997] it had, however, not grown into a major area of concern/interest in the male-dominated planning game.

## ATTRACTION 13 STRUCTURE/FRAMEWORK PLANS

As had been the case in the 1980s players continued producing plans providing a broad framework and/or giving some broad guidelines on the future [physical] development of municipal areas. In terms of the Physical Planning Act, No 125 of 1991, the proposals and policies in these "*Structure Plans*" were to be given statutory binding power (see Government Gazette, July 12 1991), but as local authorities did not prepare Structure Plans in terms of this legislation, this did not transpire in practice.

Towards the end of November 1996, Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) were unveiled in terms of the LGTAA (see also Attraction 1 of this Bitmap). These plans, which are of course intended to be far more than the old Structure Plans, can nonetheless also be seen as a form of "*forward planning*".

## ATTRACTION 14 POSTMODERNISM AND POSTMODERNITY

During the 1990s a number of individuals, mainly concentrated at universities, began writing on the implications of postmodernism on the planning game and the need for planners to take note of the condition of postmodernity which they perceived to have also arrived in/descended on South Africa (see Harrison, 1995a, 1995b and 1996; Oranje, 1995a, 1995b and 1995c, Mabin, 1995a; Parnell and Mabin, 1995 and Bond, 1992). While this can of course not be regarded as



a field in the practical/work-related sense, it does constitute a concern/concept which occupied the time and minds of some players [for some time] and which, for that reason alone, can be regarded as an attraction.

## ATTRACTION 14 POSITION PAPERS

During the course of the 1990s the SAITRP delivered on one point of criticism directed against it in the past, viz that it was a silent body that did not bring out position papers, with the publication of two position papers in May 1994, another one in May 1995 and a fourth one in April 1996; the first on *Rural Development*, the second on *Urban Form*, the third on *The Environment* and the fourth on *Public Participation* (see SAITRP, 1994a, 1994b, 1995 and 1996). [These papers followed from the establishment of a Planning Issues committee in 1990 "... to examine and report on issues that the Institute and the profession should be addressing in these changing times" (Robinson, 1993: 2). They were also over and above the "consultation papers" issued by the SAITRP during the course of 1993 "... to Government, provincial administrations and local governments on some ten subjects ranging from environmental issues, urbanisation, the development of St Lucia, direct access to national roads, regional delimitation and town planning scheme requirements" (Lamont-Smith, 1994a: 3).] While not detracting from their significance, three of these position papers were primarily condensed versions of what leading players in the various fields to which they applied - such as Kate Laburn-Peart (Position Paper 1), Dave Dewar (Position Paper 2) and Dr Piet Claassen (Position Paper 3) - had been saying for a number of years.

At the same time the SACTRP broke its silence and produced a position paper in 1995, in which it:

1. recognised the need for planning and planners to adapt to the requirements of a democratic South Africa;
2. spelt out the necessary changes that would need to be made, such as the "... *formulation and acceptance of an appropriate ethical code*"; and
3. stated its views on how it saw planning and planners making a "... *unique, indispensable contribution to society*" (SACTRP, 1995).

Also, in this case, the paper bore all the [not-always-so-comfortably-intertwined] traces of two of the foremost academic players in the country - Professors John Muller and Dave Dewar.

## ATTRACTION 15 MID-CAREER UPDATING/REFRESHER COURSES

Again the calls went up for refresher courses (see *inter alia* Platzky, 1995: 1; van Zyl, 1994: 7 and Planners' Forum, 1992: 4). This time round the reason for the calls was far more serious than in

previous eras (see Bitmap One of Map Five). Now it was about the re-education of planners who had been trained during the Apartheid years and who gained their practical experience in Apartheid institutions and on Apartheid-influenced/inspired plans (see Platzky, 1995: 1 and Planners' Forum, 1992: 4). And, this time round the Departments of Town and Regional Planning at the Universities of Pretoria, Durban and WITS responded with a joint week long refresher course in planning theory held at the University of Pretoria in September 1996. From the side of the SAITRP, the SACTRP, the Development Planning Association of South Africa (DPASA) and the South African Planning Institution (SAPI), however, there was nothing forthcoming (see Bitmap Two of this Map in which the origin of the latter two bodies is explained).

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP SIX PLAYERS

### PLAY GROUPS AND PLAY AREAS

In 1993 Badenhorst (1995) conducted a follow-up survey to his 1983-survey (see Bitmap Two of Map Five) on the profile, educational qualification and workplace of the players of the planning game. The most prominent bytes/findings in the survey, under the headings as specified, were the following:

1. *Educational qualifications.* The huge decline during the course of the 1970s in the percentage of players with a postgraduate diploma [- the typical qualification of players with an Architecture, Surveying or Engineering background -] *vis a vis* those with an undergraduate Bachelors or a postgraduate Masters degree in Town and Regional Planning, continued in the 1980s, falling from 17.8% in 1983 to 6.0% in 1993 (Badenhorst, 1995a: 15). During the same period players with a Bachelors degree became the strongest represented group in the game, climbing just over 14 percentage points from 39.5% in 1983 to 53.6% in 1993 (Badenhorst, 1995a: 15). The percentage of players with a Masters degree remained relatively stable around 40%, falling just over two percentage points from 42.7% in 1983 to 40.4% in 1993 (Badenhorst, 1995a: 15).
2. *Gender.* Twenty percent of the players in 1993 were female (Badenhorst, 1995a: 16), up from only 5% in 1981 (see Bitmap Two of Map Five). According to Badenhorst (1995a: 16), as the annual number of female graduates since 1989 was "close on 40%", a significant growth in this still relatively small percentage of 20% can be expected over the next decade.
3. *Race.* Badenhorst did not include a question on race in the 1993-survey, but did indicate in a paper he read at the 1994-Planning History Study Group Symposium that only 74 African, Asian and Coloured players had graduated at South African planning schools since 1977 (1994: 94). The fact that there were 72 students from these three

heavily under-represented groups in planning schools in 1994 - 17.9% of the total number of 402 students - does suggest that change is in the offing, but that it is clearly, if present trends continue, going to be quite some time before the players of the planning game become representative of the South African population (Badenhorst, 1995a: 16 and 1994: 94).

4. *Workplace*. Badenhorst (1995a: 17) found 40.7% of the players to be employed in the public sector [of which central and provincial government employed 18.2% and local authorities 22.5%], 47.8% in the private sector, 5.5% at universities and in research institutions and 6.0% in the "Other" category [including "... *property development, project management and so forth*" (Badenhorst, 1994: 100)].

Compared to the 1983-survey (see Bitmap Two of Map Five), the workplace of players had undergone a remarkable change, with the two most prominent developments a 13.9% rise in the percentage of players in the private sector and a 8.9% decline in the percentage of players in the public sector [- provincial and central government falling by 4.2% and local authority employment by 4.7%]. This definite swing to the private sector is even more marked, if borne in mind that the work of the players in the "Other" category was primarily of a "private sector nature" (Badenhorst, 1994: 100). [In this movement towards the private sector, it would seem, the South African planning game was undergoing a transition very similar to that which the British planning game experienced during the Thatcher-1980s (see Dear, 1989, for a discussion in this regard).]

Over and above the trends as regards to players with a formal planning education, it does deserve mention that many of the fields in which the game was being played, were also [increasingly] being entered and played in by persons with no formal planning education, among them the so-called "community planners" (see Botha, 1995) and the *quick-fix-rezoning-consent-subdivision-and-second-dwelling-unit-and-oh-yes-property-development-consultants* (Personal interview, Hanekom, June 25 1997), as well as by experts in so-called "fields adjacent to planning", such as Professor Alan Mabin (see Nicks, 1994a: 7). [Professor Alan Mabin was incidentally granted membership to the SAITRP in 1995 "... by special entry" (Claassen, 1996a: 2).]

At the same time, government bodies began an affirmative action programme in the appointment of individual consultants and firms, favouring consultants from previously disadvantaged and discriminated against communities, and female consultants.

## WHO WERE THE "OTHERS"?

With the growing involvement of affected individuals and communities in the *writing-of-the-story-of-their-own/personal-development-process*, a host of new voices were being heard in fields/niches in which players of the language game of South African planning played, creating the impression that "others" were playing the language game of South African urban

and regional planning. The games these members of the public were playing, were, however, not the language game of South African town and regional planning; they were games of individual needs and desires in which these people articulated what they wanted to make of their lives. Essentially these games, into which the players of the planning game only fed ideas/concepts of the planning game inasmuch as they could be of assistance to the affected individuals/communities in the realisation of their visions, were far more complex and wider than the planning game. It was thus not a case of "others" in the language game of planning, but of players of the language game being the "others" in the unique language games of development played by unique communities throughout the country. As Muller suggests, *"Planning does not in itself have the capacity to empower communities, but it does have the capability to enable processes of empowerment to be pursued and realised"* (1995a: 10).

## STATUS

In the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990s the game went through another phase of rapid growth as is illustrated in the fact that the membership of the Institute rose from 675 members in 1985 (Osborne 1985: 4) to 870 in 1990, 962 in 1991 (Robinson, 1992: 1), 1041 in 1992 and 1102 in 1993 (Lamont-Smith, 1994a: 1). Membership was, however, down to 1019 members in 1994 (Lamont-Smith, 1994b: 2) [- a drop, according to the President of the SAITRP at the time, Robert Lamont-Smith, reflecting "... *the tighter economic conditions in which we find ourselves and which seems to influence continued membership of voluntary organisations such as ours*" (1994b: 2) -] and to 980 members[, not excluding those members who had not paid their 1994/1995 membership fees.] in 1995 (Claassen, 1995: 2). With this last drop the total number of members had fallen back to the 1991 figure - a situation prompting the President of the SAITRP at the time, Dr Piet Claassen, to write in his Annual Report for the year 1994/1995, that "... *we shall have to apply our minds as to how we can make the Institute more attractive*" (1995: 2).

On the statutory front, the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984, after having undergone some minor amendments in

1. 1987 [mainly to provide for the Competition Board to give its blessing to any proposals regarding work reservation (Government Gazette, September 16 1987: 2 and see also Status in Bitmap Two of Map Five)];
2. 1988 [primarily to ensure that no land surveyor is prohibited from "... *using the title 'township planner' ... (and) from performing the kind of work which he in the opinion of the South African Council for Professional Land Surveyors and Technical Surveyors is by virtue of his educational qualifications, training and expertise competent to perform*" (Government Gazette, March 23 1988: 5)]; and
3. 1990 [primarily to set the minimum period for registration as a "*town and regional planner in training*" on "*at least three years*" and to provide for exemption from this requirement "... *if the council is satisfied that an applicant ... has sufficient practical experience*" (Government Gazette, May 23 1990: 3)],

was significantly amended in 1993 and 1995. The 1993-amendments providing for:

1. the recognition and registration of town and regional planning technicians in terms of the Act;
2. the inclusion of a town and regional technician on the SACTRP; and
3. the inclusion of a member of the teaching staff from each technikon with a department or subdivision of Town and Regional Planning, on the Education Advisory Council (Government Gazette, March 19 1993: 1-21).

[Interestingly enough, in contrast to the warm welcome all the political parties gave the 1984 Town and Regional Planners Act in Parliament (see Bitmap Two of Map Five), the Conservative Party opposed the 1993-Amendment Bill (see The Citizen, February 23 1993), as they saw the amendment as an action which:

1. was "... a covert attempt to give professional status to people with lower qualifications" (SA, 1993: 1806);
2. would lead to "a lowering of standards" in the profession (SA, 1993: 1803-1804); and
3. was part of "... the Government's actions in disparaging research in South Africa, lowering technical standards and further enslaving South Africa to the demands of big business by promoting Third World standards" (SA, 1993: 1804).]

The 1995-amendment Act:

1. removed[, with the support of the SAITRP (SA, 1995: 31),] the need for an applicant for registration to be a member of a town planning institute/association [as this was deemed to be in conflict with the Fundamental Human Right of Freedom of Association (SA, 1995: 31)];
2. replaced the prerequisite that there should be "... at least one member of the council resident in every province of the Republic" with the check that the Minister should, in his selection of members to the Council, give due regard to the "... geographical distribution of town and regional planners in the Republic"; and
3. turned the set tariff of fees into a "recommended" tariff of fees (Government Gazette, April 6 1995: 1-6).

## DIVISION AND AMALGAMATION IN PLAY ORGANISATIONS

At the 1992-Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the SAITRP held during the SAITRP Biennial Conference in Port Elizabeth on 13 October of that year, a number of African planners, among them Phekane Ramarumo and Thisa Madima, raised four issues which they felt deserved and needed to be discussed (Planners' Forum, 1992: 1 and Ramarumo, 1996: 1). These were:

1. the fate of players with diplomas who were concerned about their professional status and who felt that the SAITRP did not "... seem to recognise them" while they were definitely part of the game;
2. the small number of "black planners" in the country, largely as a result of the fact that town planning was not well known among "Blacks", as it was not taught at the historically "black universities";
3. Afrikaans, often used at meetings and conferences of the SAITRP when issues of a

technical nature were discussed, was not only difficult to follow for most "Blacks", as they had studied planning terminology in English, but also held "... *negative connotations for many in the country*" and was also seen as uncourteous and problematic when international guests were in such sessions/instances where it was being used; and

4. the Constitution of the SAITRP, "... *especially the code of conduct*", was seen as being outdated in the wake of the "... *changes occurring in the country*" and needed to be scrutinised (Planners' Forum, 1992: 1-2).

These issues were, however, "*brushed aside*" at the AGM in Port Elizabeth (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997), leading to a division along racial lines at the "*South American Spit-Braai*" held that evening after the meeting (see SAITRP, Programme, 1992).

Professor John Muller, who had himself not been present at the AGM, and who was told about the events at the AGM and the braai by two of his staff members, Professor Alan Mabin and Kate Laburn-Peart, was very disturbed about these incidents and decided to provide an opportunity at WITS for the "*brushed aside*"-issues to be discussed (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997). After having contacted Phekane Ramarumo and having gained her support for the endeavour, a date for such a get-together was set for 14 November 1992 and John Muller and Phekane Ramarumo contacted "... *all the black planners they could get hold of*", and also invited a number of progressive white planners who were present at the AGM, to attend (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997) - 30 in total (Ramarumo, 1996: 1). Professor Muller managed to arrange funding from the "... *British Council, ... the French Embassy Cultural Section and the Netherlands Embassy*" (Planners' Forum, 1992: 6) and this paid for all costs involved in the meeting, including air travel (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997).

The meeting was subsequently held at Wits Club and the issues raised at the AGM in Port Elizabeth discussed (Planners' Forum, 1992: 2-3). Out of this discussion 14 "*areas of fundamental concern*" emerged, which were as follows:

1. *Interdisciplinary/interskill co-operation involving collaboration with and participation of representatives from allied disciplines.*
2. *The education of the public about the nature and purpose of planning and the contribution it can make to society.*
3. *Expansion of the skills of planners and broadening of the knowledge base of planning.*
4. *Introduction of in-service enrichment, training and mid-career courses, as well as courses covering specialisations in planning.*
5. *Broadening the base of planning to include areas excluded under current definitions of town and regional planning.*
6. *Making planning education more accessible to all sectors of South African society through a re-structuring of the planning educational system.*
7. *Public involvement in planning, incorporating the right to participation of community organisations.*
8. *The establishment and maintenance of clear ethical standards and moral values within the profession, particularly in respect of its responsibility to the disadvantaged black*

*communities in South Africa.*

9. *Pro-active approach in addressing issues of societal significance.*
10. *Promotion of non-sexist non-racist policies and affirmative action in this regard.*
11. *The conscious use of affirmative action to redress past imbalances in education and employment opportunities.*
12. *Acceptance of accountability for actions and quality of work to the public/society.*
13. *The use of the English language for communication and reconstruction.*
14. *Promotion of international contacts and transactions" (Planners' Forum, 1992: 4-5).*

It was furthermore decided that a committee be constituted to "... *elaborate on the 14 points and to write to the President of the SAITRP inviting him and his Council to a discussion on the points*" (Planners' Forum, 1992: 5). The committee was set up with Professor Muller as convenor (Planners' Forum, 1992: 6), the fourteen points sent by him to the President of the SAITRP (Letter, 1993a) and a meeting held between the Council of the SAITRP and the Committee of the Planners' Forum on Saturday March 20 1993 at WITS, at which these fourteen points were discussed (Planners' Forum, 1993a and Claassen, 1993b: 1-2). While the SAITRP-delegation was of the opinion that it "... *is either already implementing them (the fourteen points), or is considering ways to implement them*" (Claassen, 1993b: 2), the Committee of the Planner's Forum was of the opinion that: "*The Council of the Institute showed a lack of vision and leadership in its responses. There was no real attempt at a resolution of the issues and the recurrent response was 'Position Papers/Discussion Documents are addressing these issues'*" (Planners' Forum, 1993a: 4). Three "*options/strategies*" were subsequently proposed by the Committee of the Planners' Forum for the "*Way Forward*":

- (a) *Wait and see (within a time limit);*
- (b) *Lobbying and actively supporting members of the Planning Forum to gain election on the Council of the SAITRP;*
- (c) *Form an alternative but complementary association which would not be seen as opposing the SAITRP but which would focus on the fundamental issues [- i.e. 1-14 above -] and would encourage improvement and change" (Planners' Forum, 1993a: 4).*

It was also decided that these three strategies could be followed concurrently, that a written response to the 14 issues would be sought from the Council of the SAITRP and that the three options/strategies would be discussed with the rest of the members of the group (Planners' Forum, 1993a: 4).

As it was realised that funding would be necessary for the establishment of an alternative association, Professor Muller approached the US Agency for International Development (USAID) for financial support for the establishment of the proposed Association (Planners' Forum, 1993b: 1). In the proposal sent to USAID, in which an amount of R1 483 154 over a three year period was applied for (Planners' Forum, 1993b: 6), it was declared that it was decided by the Planners' Forum Committee "... *that the interests of the majority of the population of South Africa and of those involved in planning for the future South African democracy would be best served by an organisation dedicated to furthering those interests*" and that it had been resolved that "... *a Development Planning Association of South Africa (DPASA) be*

*established*" (Planners' Forum, 1993b: 1). While all indications were that the proposal would be approved (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997), the Planners' Forum was informed in a letter dated July 16 1993 that their proposal had been turned down, and that USAID had "... *favourably reviewed a similar proposal submitted by the South African Black Technical and Allied Careers Organisation (SABTACO)*" (Letter, 1993b). While this was a huge setback, it was decided to approach other donors [- a move which met with no success even after the amount requested was substantially cut down to R50 000 (see DPASA, 1994b: 1) -] and to, notwithstanding, still go ahead with the establishment of DPASA if no favourable response to the 14 points of concern were to be received from the SAITRP (Personal interview, Muller, June 27 1997).

In pursuance of such a "favourable response" from the Council of the SAITRP, another meeting was held on 22 October 1993 between four members of the Planners' Forum Committee and the Council of the Institute (Letter, 1993c: 1 and DPASA, 1994a: 1). A letter, dated 15 November 1993, was also sent to the Planners' Forum by the then President, Robert Lamont-Smith, following on this meeting, in which the Council of the Institute's response to the 14 points was set out and the hope expressed that "... *the Forum will feel comfortable with the approach of the Institute as indicated*" and that "... *the members of the Forum will continually play an active part in the Institute's activities*" (Letter, 1993c). After receiving this letter a meeting was held on 3 December 1993 at which the Committee of the Planner's Forum came to the conclusion that: "*It is pleasing that the Council of the Institute has now responded in writing to the fourteen fundamental areas of concern. The actions and intentions of the Council are in some cases worthy of support, but our view must be recorded that many of the responses do not adequately address the circumstances pertaining to planning for development and for disadvantaged communities. It is therefore difficult to find common ground which will facilitate collaboration between the Council and our group. It is hoped that the Institute will move towards an open acceptance of our fourteen issues since this would offer encouragement to a growing number of the Institute's membership who are frustrated by the Institute's seeming unwillingness to shed the shackles of the past*" (Planners' Forum, undated: 5).

According to Professor Muller it was perceived by the Committee that from the side of the Council of the SAITRP there was:

1. no marked degree of change of heart and mind;
2. there was no wish to change; and
3. there was a lack of understanding of the nature of change in South African society at the time (Personal Interview, Muller, June 27 1997).

This led the Committee to forge ahead with the establishment of the DPASA, the inaugural meeting of which took place on the 29th of January 1994 at WITS (DPASA, 1994a) [- an event which was viewed by the Council of the SAITRP as "*premature*", "... *since the process of consultation within the Institute had not even run its full course*" (Lamont-Smith, 1994b: 2)]. At this event:

1. an executive committee consisting of 14 members was elected with Thisa Madima as



Chairperson; and

2. a draft constitution was discussed, amendments recommended and an agreement reached that "... *the constitution as amended, be approved in principle*" (DPASA, 1994a: 3 and Personal Interview, Muller, June 27 1997).

Contained in this Constitution were the 14 points of concern, but excluding the issue of English being "... *the only language of communication and reconstruction*" (see DPASA, undated).

The Council of the SAITRP was formally informed of the establishment of the DPASA in a letter dated 22 February 1994, sent by John Muller to the then President of the SAITRP, Robert Lamont-Smith (Letter, 1994a). In the same letter Professor Muller also provided the President with the DPASA's comments to the SAITRP's response to the DPASA's 14 points of concern (Letter, 1994a: 4). The letter was concluded with the following paragraph: "*May I thank you and your Council for entering into discussion and correspondence with the group on these important issues. The group, now constituted as the Development Planning Association of South Africa, will be happy to continue discussions with the Council of the SAITRP*".

In reply, Robert-Lamont Smith sent a letter, dated 16 March 1994, to Professor Muller, thanking him for his previous letter, reiterated that the Council was addressing the 14 issues and also expressed the Council's appreciation for "... *the sentiment expressed in the last paragraph of your letter and look forward to working with your association to achieve common objectives*" (Letter, 1994b).

In the next few months the Council of the Institute did just that and "... *tested the feeling*" of its members on a number of the issues covered in the 14 points of concern and also arranged for these issues to be discussed at the 1994 Biennial Conference of the Institute in Cape Town (Lamont-Smith, 1994b: 1-2). The response from the members was very positive, leading the then President, Robert Lamont-Smith, to state in his 1994-Annual Report that "... *it will now be probable for the incoming Council to shift forward and explore the possibility of accepting the 14 issues and finding others*" (1994b: 2).

And so they (the new Council) did, as is evident in a letter written by the new President of the Council, Dr Piet Claassen, to Professor Muller (Letter, 1994c). In this letter, dated 22 September 1994, Dr Claassen *inter alia* gave some [more] information on what the Institute was practically doing in regards to the 14 issues and also informed Professor Muller that "... *it was decided that a meeting be set up between the Executive Committee of the Institute and a delegation from the DPASA to look at ways in which greater cohesion (if not amalgamation) between the Institute and the DPASA can be attained*" and "(t)he feeling has been expressed in many quarters that there is really no need for two organisations" (Letter, 1994c: 2).

The DPASA responded favourably to the request for a meeting, which was subsequently held on 15 February 1995 at the then Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn, and which was chaired by Professor Wilfred Mallows (Anon, 1995a). Following out of this meeting came:

1. a definitive commitment towards searching for a way to amalgamate the two organisations[, but, according to Professor Muller, it was very clear that it would have to be a new body that the members of the two old bodies would join, and not a case of one of two bodies being absorbed/co-opted by the other (Personal Interview, Muller, June 27 1997)]; and
2. an agreement to set up a sub-committee consisting of two members of each of the two bodies [- Robert Lamont-Smith and Brian Gray of the SAITRP and Professor John Muller and Dr Nosizwe Makgalamele of the DPASA -] with the task of drafting a joint Draft Constitution and Rules of a proposed new body (see Anon, 1995a and Anon, 1995b).

Out of the work of the sub-committee came forth eight drafts of a Constitution, with a set of objectives containing all the objectives of the DPASA, and a set of Rules (see SAPI, 1996). At the same time the Executive Committees of the two bodies approached their members about the question of amalgamation. Following on a favourable response to amalgamation from the majority of members of both bodies, the two amalgamated on July 1 1996 to form the South African Planning Institution (SAPI) (Lamont-Smith, 1996). With this event the brief division in the ranks of the players came to an end, and the 14 concerns of the founding players in the Planners' Forum, were, on paper, at least, given recognition.

And so, while the DPASA never had the membership numbers [- peaking at 86 in 1995 (see DPASA, 1996) -], the logistical back-up, or the finances to seriously challenge the SAITRP [- the latter two shortages leading to numerous difficulties, such as struggling to keep the contact between the Executive and the members alive -],

1. it did play a substantial part in "convincing" the SAITRP of the need for [faster] change; and
2. was able to secure the establishment of a new body, together with the SAITRP, of course, the Constitution of which contains all the objectives set out in its own Constitution (see SAPI, 1996 and DPASA, undated).

As for SAPI, as with all new bodies, it has not been plain-sailing in the setting up of new structures. In some regions, such as the Western Cape and the Free State/Northern Cape, the branches are up and running, while in others, such as the Southern Gauteng/North West Province and Gauteng/Northern Province/Mpumalanga regions, there have been hitches in the establishment of branches (Van Zyl, 1997: 1).

## BITMAP THREE OF MAP SIX RULES

### WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

Despite the developments referred to in Bitmap Two of this Map, such as the in-movement of non-planners into niches/fields [normally] associated with the players of the language game of planning, neither the SAITRP, nor the DPASA, made any moves to "win" these persons for the planning game - i.e. turn them into players.

At the same time another development was taking place: While the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984 was not used to reserve work for registered town and regional planners, new "*Personnel Administration Standard*" (PAS)-requirements for the post of "*Town and Regional Planner*" in the public sector, drawn up in the first half of the 1990s (see Public Service Commission, 1993), precluded non-registered or non-registerable players - i.e. persons who did not have accepted town planning qualifications - from filling such posts from a certain level upwards (Personal interview, Slabbert, June 26 1997). This, of course, constituted a form of "post"/work reservation. Likewise, in the private sector, with there no longer being a shortage of qualified town and regional planners, and the need for employees to sign documents as "*Town and Regional Planners*" - a title reserved only for persons duly registered with the SACTRP - persons not having a town and regional planning qualification were seldomly appointed.

The only place where players without the necessary qualifications could do "planning work", was in the field of research, teaching, and in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working with [disadvantaged] communities.

### HOW TO PLAY

#### PROCEDURE

As could be expected,

1. following years of exclusion in planning matters materially affecting the lives of millions in a negative way;
2. after years of draconic, high handed, top down Apartheid rule;
3. in line with the new style/culture of government[ heralded in by the ANC's 1994 election victory.] in which accountability, transparency and democratic involvement are regarded as of paramount importance (see Rogerson, 1994: 105 and ANC, 1994);
4. with the focus on development as a "*people-driven process*" in the RDP (see ANC, 1994: 5); and
5. given international examples of the need for and the success of effective participation in development,

participation, facilitation, negotiation and mediation became the key words in the procedure of planning (see *inter alia* Tod Welch, 1991; Robinson, 1991 and 1992; Laburn-Peart, 1992; Brown, 1994; Muller, 1994; Sowman, 1994; Ramarumo, 1994; Rendall, 1994; Botha, 1995; Makgalamele, 1995; Lamont, 1997; SAITRP, 1996; Motsa, 1995; Daily Dispatch, October 17 1991; Natal Mercury, April 4 1991). [As I argue in Map Eight, while this development in the procedure in which the game was played certainly represents progress in a spiritual sense, through the dignity and self-respect the participants gain by discoursing and deciding over their future, the concern with procedural justice - i.e. letting the people own the process - has not been without costs: delivery of the material benefits the processes were started up for, such as housing, have been very slow (see The Star, July 2 and 23 1996 and see also Map 8). This has resulted in substantive justice - i.e. equality in outcome, or in other words, a more equitable society - lagging way behind. A situation thus developed in which there was a dire need for a balance between justness in procedure and justness in outcome (see Oranje, 1995d). Such a balance is, sadly, still due.]

## ROLES

As could be expected, along with the calls for change, and the actual changes to the game, came calls, as well as an urgent need, for planners to take on a host of new roles, as well as a number of roles which had not been taken up very enthusiastically by players in the past, despite them having been asked to do so (see Attraction 5 of Bitmap One of Map Five). These new and *old-but-ignored* roles were mainly those of *communicator, facilitator, mediator, [conflict and project] manager* and *pro-active, entrepreneurial, creative, visionary problem solver* (Laburn-Peart, 1992: 141; Robinson, 1991: 1; Bester, 1995: 4; Ndzombane, 1995a and 1995b: 2; Amankwah-Ayeh, 1995b: 11 and Ramarumo, 1994: 9-10), revolving around the densely intertwined processes aimed at ensuring sustainable, people-driven development.

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP SIX AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

### WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED

During the 1990s the reason for playing the game acquired some new foci, such as ensuring "*ecologically and physically*" sustainable settlements, empowerment, "*social justice*", "*equity*", "*fairness*" and "*freedom of opportunity*" (SACTRP, 1995; Muller, 1995b: 8; Uytendogaardt *et al*, 1997a: 3-5 and Bester, 1995: 2-3), all of which were also contained in the RDP, and which, rest primarily on "... *humanist and environmental pillars*" (Uytendogaardt *et al*, 1997b: 1). In essence the objective of the game returned to its initial/primary[, much bastardised and subverted.] motive, viz that of ensuring a better life for all those whose lives it touched/intervened in, through improving the "... *general welfare and quality of life of the community*" (Anon, 1991a: 2). There were, however, some fundamental changes around the idea of what constituted such a better life and the ways of attaining it, as well as a far greater cautiousness about presuming anything for others about what such a better life entails or

should entail. The objective of the game, in print at least, also shifted substantially in favour of those who had, in decades gone by, been disadvantaged not only by Apartheid, but also by the way the planning game had been played under its reign (see Muller, 1995b: 9 and DPASA, undated). For the players this shift was also about restoring the game's legitimacy with, as Laburn-Peart (1992: 140) put it, "... *a large sector of the population which distrusts us, and whose interests we have not traditionally served*".

## WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED

Players were still playing the game to earn a living. While some were clearly playing with the fervour of some of the pioneers of the game for far more than the monetary reward it offered, there were also those players to whom, it would seem, little else, other than money, was involved.

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP SIX DEFINITIONS

While planning was still defined as being "*an art and a science*" (see *inter alia* Lamont-Smith, 1994b: 2 and Nicks, 1994a: 7) [as was also still the case in the UK at the time (see Hague, 1995: 5)], it was now, in line with the focus on management instead of control, and the focus on *planning-as-if-people-were-really-people*, being credited in the position statement of the SACTRP (1995) with concepts such as "*management*", "*the development and organisation of human settlement*", "*a creative process*", "*a facilitative and accommodating process*", "*a rational process*" and "*designing with nature*" [- all of these concepts in tune with the idea/perception of town planning in the UK at the time (see Hague, 1995: 5)].

# MAP SEVEN

## OVERLAYS: 1830-MIDDLE 1997

*IN WHICH*  
**I HIGHLIGHT**  
**A FEW MARKERS**  
**AND [ATTEMPT TO]**  
**DO A SUPPOSEDLY DISTINCTLY**  
**PLANNING THING:**  
**SYNTHESIZE**

*"To survive, you must tell stories" (Eco, 1996: 207).*

*"If the Creator consented to change His mind, did an order that He had imposed on the Universe still exist? Perhaps He had imposed many, from the beginning; perhaps He was prepared to change them day by day; perhaps a secret order existed, presiding over the constant change of orders and perspectives, but we were destined never to discover it, to follow instead the shifting play of those appearances of order that were reordered at every new experience" (Eco, 1996: 512).*

*"Substantive fields have a way of coming and going and returning again" (Baum, 1990: 66).*

*"... the 'issue-attention cycle' is the empirical observation that political concerns capture the attention of the public for a few years at most. After that, the subject becomes repetitive and tedious and interest fades but a residue of intellectual activity and administrative reaction remains" (Poulton, 1991: 227).*

## INTRODUCTION

In this Map I relay my reading of Maps One to Six, retelling my version of the story "*Where do we come from? What are we?*" in an abridged format. In it I have not tried to capture what I covered over the last 171 pages. There is too much detail, too many strange little stories [maybe added to tease or distract - you decide -] to cover in a chapter like this. So, if you find it lacking some of the issues covered in the previous Maps, you are right, it undoubtedly does. And, if you find the story to be different from yours, that I hoped it would be, for neither you, nor I, hold, or should hold a monopoly over this story. What I do, however, hope we agree on, is the need to tell and retell this story, for it is through the ever-changing/evolving experience of making sense of that which is past and that which is *now*, that I believe we are better equipped to embark on our futures. This notion is very poignantly encapsulated in the following extract from MacIntrye (1981, as quoted in Lovibond, 1989: 23) about the value of stories: "*We enter human society ... with one or more imputed characters - roles into which we have been drafted - and we have to learn what they are in order to be able to understand how others respond to us and how our responses to them are apt to be construed. It is through hearing stories about wicked stepmothers, lost children, good but misguided kings, wolves that suckle twin boys, younger sons who receive no inheritance but must make their own way in the world, and eldest sons who waste their inheritance on riotous living and must go and live with the swine, that children learn or mislearn both what a child and what a parent is, what the cast of characters may be in the drama into which they have been born and what the ways of the world are*".

## BITMAP ONE OF MAP SEVEN INITIAL CONDITIONS

In Bitmap Ten of Map One I summarized the initial conditions at the birth of the language game of South African planning as follows:

1. After embryonic beginnings in rudimentary regulations aimed at ensuring "*the good order*", health and convenience in towns [and "*cities*"], it was born as a reactive administrative and technical activity,
  - \* largely in response to the social costs of "haphazard development" and slum conditions accompanying a time of rapid townward movement in which speculators were placing individual benefit over the broader public welfare [read: "*the welfare of the white middle and propertied classes*"]; and
  - \* assisted at first [birth] by parochial technocrats [with very self-centred reasons for going into planning] and vested interests, and joined later by "inspired modernist experts" [whom I compared to priests of a secular religion] who strove for the creation of more functional, more aesthetically pleasing towns and cities.
2. In-fighting between the members of the various professions in the game at its birth

was common - dominance, financial gain and the focus on the aesthetic aspect of the game by the Architects, *vis a vis* the more functionally-inclined Land Surveyors, the main reasons for the scuffles.

3. While there was a short burst of social reformism at work in the game during and shortly after the First World War, very little came of this in the shape of planning legislation and actual implementation.
4. As the game was born at a time in which racial segregation was being enacted and intensified, it was not only tainted by the language game of segregation, it was also strongly shaped and its vocabulary influenced by this [expanding] segregationist legal framework.

Mapping the development of the game over the next sixty-five odd years [from 1932 onwards], it becomes clear how much it has been influenced by these initial conditions and how they lingered on in the game, as I try to indicate in the following paragraphs.

1. *Control*. For most of the sixty-five years since its birth the game remained strongly attracted to control. In most cases this control was locally based, and reactive and preventative in nature, not part of a more management-centred approach, and not tied up with any policies or plans on a higher/wider level. [That is, of course, excluding the use of the game and its players in the furthering of Apartheid.] While there were some cases - notably in the reformist mood of the 1940s - in which individual players spoke out for the meshing of control with housing and planning on a wider scale, such as on the regional and national levels, this did not come to fruition. [While it is tempting to suggest that the election of the Apartheid-government of Dr Malan in 1948 was responsible for this lack of change, the reformist mood driving these changes had, as we saw in Attraction 2 of Bitmap One of Map Three, already petered out as early as the end of 1945.]

This control-centredness is of course understandable in the context of the *so-called "haphazard development"* of the first few decades of this century (see Bitmap Five of Map One), but much less so in the second half of the twentieth century in which *"haphazard development"* was definitely no longer *the only* problem in town[s and cities].

2. *Technocratism*. The urge to clothe the planning game in the guise of the technical *"Professional Man"*, a major phenomenon in the country at the birth of the game, remained a dominant characteristic of the game, despite calls for the recognition of the social and political aspects of the game in the late 1930s, early 1940s, 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. While not negating the technical content of some aspects of the game, the excessive focus on this aspect of the game, led to the players becoming blinded to the wider[, *not-only-about-professionalism-and-technicalities*.] context in which the game was being played. This, undoubtedly, also made the players such easy handmaidens for the Apartheid rulers, and the game such an easily co-optable



instrument/tool in the implementation of Apartheid policies and plans.

It also led to the planning game being cut off from players coming into the game from other [less technical] language games who could, very likely, not only have enriched the vocabulary of the planning game, but also have strengthened it, by challenging its beliefs/concepts and leading to some ideas to evolve into better ones and ridding it of the weak[er] ones. In a sense it also reduced the impact planners could have had on other language games, as the players in these other language games were simply "not around" in the planning game to be influenced. It possibly also diminished the planning game's range/scope of influence, as a technocratic approach precludes attending to, or becoming involved with matters/issues which are not [only] of a technical nature.

3. *A Secular Religion.* Over time this notion/realisation died away, the "lay fanatic" making place for the "professional expert" [as it had also done in the UK and the USA (see Webber, 1963: 232 and Taylor, 1992: 240)]. And, with that, the driving force that kept the players passionate about the game, largely died away. [Many of the players, it seems, did, however, remain attracted to some idea of planning being a morally superior choice to a *laissez faire* economy.] Players forgot that they were selling something which people had to believe in/have faith in as it was not a part of Nature/Creation: it was *a man-made institutionally-sustained language game which did not produce anything other than text*. The result being that they lapsed in selling the game [- something which is raised at numerous places/points in this Map -] as the social movement turned professional.
4. *Vested interests and the Powers that Be.* In the years following its inception planning remained closely aligned with the concerns of vested interests and the Powers that Be. As planning is dependent on enabling legislation, and as planning legislation needed to be put in place, it is understandable that the players did not drift away from the powerful sectors in society. The continued allegiance to the Apartheid Powers that Be when these overtly turned away from what can be considered as the initial *raison d'être* for the establishment of planning, *viz* "the good life"/"a better life", in the case of the African section of the population, is of course less so.
5. *Racial segregation.* After being tainted by the language game of racial segregation, way back at the end of the previous century, the planning game, being played in a country in which the minority rulers adopted more and more all-encompassing segregationary legislation as the twentieth century progressed, became increasingly tied up with segregationist policies and measures and even "supplied" many of the concepts put to use in Apartheid-policies. Even as town planning schemes were not used to implement racial zoning, "native townships" and "native villages" were excluded from the areas of jurisdiction of town planning schemes, thus:
  - \* robbing these areas from the "... *health, safety, order, amenity, convenience*

\* *and general welfare*" these schemes were supposed to bring; and leading to a form of town planning [and also a kind of *thinking* about towns and cities] which largely ignored the existence of the Africans in the towns and cities of the country.

6. *Struggles between players/playgroups in the game.* The initial skirmishes between especially the Land Surveyors and the Architects remained part of the game until at least the 1940s. In-fighting was clearly still apparent in the 1940s and 1950s in the formation of the Town Planning Institute, and differences in opinion about the place of the third dimension [civic/urban design] in planning still featured in the 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s the game experienced further conflict among its players around the issue of planning's silent service to Apartheid. And, during the course of the 1990s the players were at it again, mainly an unresolved overflow of the struggles about the allegiance to Apartheid in the two previous decades.

So, in summarizing, it is clear that the language game of South African urban and regional planning is a system which has, in most cases, been sensitive to its initial conditions; a set of conditions which, to a large extent, laid the pattern for the fashion and format in which the game was to develop during the course of the twentieth century.

Suspended between the past and the future in a Very Peculiar and Exciting Present of New Beginnings (VPEPNB), many of these initial conditions, such as racial segregation and the obsession with control, will clearly no longer exert an influence on the game. Many of the others may at regular intervals dip and dive, only to resurface again in a new guise/format - who knows?

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP SEVEN FEEDBACK AND TURBULENCE

After an initial turbulent phase in establishing the game, the game settled into a long phase of relative stability. The force/energy keeping it in this condition in the first two decades [i.e. 1930s and 1940s] after the conclusion of its extended birth in the early 1930s, the tireless work [- energy -] of individual players in the game, such as Professor Pearse. From the 1950s onwards the benefits of the game to the property-owning middle and higher income classes, as well as the Government's support for the game, became the force/"negative feedback" [i.e. "... the type that keeps things in check" (Briggs, 1992: 116-117)] keeping the system stable. During this time the players lapsed in their selling of the system to the public [as they had done in previous decades,] and especially to the African sector of the public[, which, while previously excluded, had now become a dominant force in the urban areas of the country]; in this neglect robbing the game of an important source of feedback/energy to keep the system running.

Instead, the negative implications of the game, as played alongside and in cahoots with the Apartheid system, began providing "*positive feedback*" [i.e. the kind of which forces systems to "... *explode or spiral out of control*" (Briggs, 1992: 116-117)] into the system[, also via players of the game], but initially it was not enough and not strong enough, to push the system into turbulence. Partially responsible for this stubbornness to spiral into turbulence, could surely have been the growing mono-culture of the players [- i.e. by the early 1980s the players from the founding professions had become a fraction of the total number of players, the qualified town and regional planner had become the prime player of the game and Africans and women were nearly non-existent in the game -] and thus the lack of enough conflicting viewpoints in the game to stir/rouse in into turbulence. It was only when the feedback grew stronger during the middle of the 1980s that the game entered a turbulent phase, and one from which it is only now beginning to show some signs of retreating to a level of stability, but a stability on a different level/plain and of a different nature than *where* and *what* it had been in the previous "originary" state/phase of stability.

## BITMAP THREE OF MAP SEVEN ATTRactions

During the course of the 160 odd years since its inception, the language game of South African town and regional planning has been attracted to a variety of niches/fields/plains, issues/concerns and beliefs/concepts, some only for a short while, others throughout the 160 odd years, some with a feverish fervour and others only just.

By overlaying the Maps, it is possible to construct a field of attraction, an attractor, if you like, of the game as it has been played in this country. My intention with constructing such an attractor is definitely not to try and predict where the game *will* be played in future, but is an attempt to:

1. provide a picture in a Bigger Picture of where the game has been played since its birth[ *whether voluntary or by force*];
2. determine how willingly and unwillingly the "forced" niches/fields were entered and filled or played in;
3. gain an understanding of what its players have been attracted to and/or have thought to be in need of their attention;
4. gain an idea of where the game can[*is able to*] and could probably be played; and
5. find any cycles/rhythms in the spectrum of attractions over the period.

The following figure is the composite result of the overlay. On it I have indicated the various periods and the various niches/fields/plains, issues/concerns and beliefs/concepts of attraction. I have also indicated whether the attraction was strong (XXX), of medium strength (XX), or weak (X) - indices I have generated according to my reading of the attractions[ *yours, of course, may differ*].

**FIGURE 1: THE LANGUAGE GAME OF SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING: ATTRACTIONS, 1830-MIDDLE 1997**

| ATTRactions   | TIME INTERVALS |             |             |             |             |                    |
|---|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
|   | 1830 - 1931    | 1932 - 1939 | 1940 - 1954 | 1955 - 1970 | 1971 - 1990 | 1991 - Middle 1997 |
| Development Control/Town Planning Schemes               | XXX            | XXX         | XX          | XXX         | XXX         | XX                 |
| Civic/Urban Design                                      | XX             | XX          | X           | XX          | XX          | XX                 |
| Township Layout and Establishment                       | XXX            | XXX         | XX          | XXX         | XXX         | XX                 |
| Metropolitan Planning                                   | X              | XXX         |             | X           | XXX         | XXX                |
| Regional Planning                                       |                | X           | XXX         | XX          | XX          | X                  |
| The International Style of Le Corbusier and the CIAM    |                | XXX         | X           |             |             |                    |
| Slum Clearance  | XX             | XX          | XX          | XX          |             |                    |
| The Public Opinion                                      | XXX            | XXX         | XXX         | X           |             | XX                 |
| Public Participation                                    |                | X           | XXX         |             | XX          | XXX                |
| Urban Transport/Major Road Schemes                      |                | X           |             | X           | X           |                    |
| Housing   | XX             |             | XXX         | X           |             | XX                 |
| National Planning                                       |                |             | XXX         | XXX         | XXX         |                    |
| Reconstruction  | XX             |             | XXX         |             |             | XXX                |
| Urban and CBD Renewal/Redevelopment                     |                |             | XX          | XX          | XX          | XX                 |
| The Neighbourhood Concept                               |                |             | XXX         | XX          | X           |                    |
| Homeland Development                                    |                |             |             | XX          | XXX         |                    |
| Shopping Centres  |                |             |             | XX          | XXX         | XX                 |
| Master/Structure Plans                                  |                |             |             | X           | XXX         | XX                 |
| Guide Plans   |                |             |             |             | XXX         |                    |
| The Socio-Political Context in which the game is played |                | X           | XX          |             | XXX         | XXX                |
| The Environment   |                |             |             |             | XX          | XXX                |
| Densification   |                |             |             |             | XX          | XXX                |
| Strategic Planning and LED                              |                |             |             |             | XX          | XXX                |
| Planning History  |                |             |             |             | X           | XXX                |
| GIS   |                |             |             |             |             | XX                 |
| Rural Development and Land Restitution                  |                |             |             |             |             | XX                 |
| Gender and Women  |                |             |             |             |             | X                  |
| Refresher Courses                                       |                |             |             |             | X           | X                  |
| Position Papers   |                |             |             |             |             | X                  |
| Postmodernism and Postmodernity                         |                |             |             |             |             | X                  |

In this composite Map/Picture I read the following:

1. While some fields have come and gone [for now, at least], three fields with a strong physical/spatial dimension/bias have remained prominent since the birth of the game:
  - \* *Development Control/Town Planning Schemes;*
  - \* *Township Establishment;* and
  - \* *Civic/Urban Design.*

All three these fields experienced slight lapses in attraction during the reconstructionist mood at the time of and shortly after the Second World War. The first two also underwent a drop in attraction in the mood of reconstruction that swept the country after the first democratic elections in 1994. Urban Design, however, has not suffered such a decline. This, most probably, is due to its links with Environmentalism, and the prevalence of a strain of postmodernism celebrating the aesthetic, the spectacle [often over substance], but more about this in Maps Eight and Ten. Despite the temporary lapses, these three fields are the fields in which the enabling legislation has gone through a long developmental process of amendments on amendments [or "bifurcations", in Chaos-speak] and also the fields in which the players have built up the most expertise, producing legislation and players "with experience". Even though much of this experience was of course gained in a segregationist superstructure, many of the more *legalo-technical* aspects of the legislation - such as the application procedures for township establishments, and the preparation and amendment of town planning schemes - are not discriminatory in nature.

2. Some form of "*Forward Planning*" has been prevalent in the game since its birth. Initially it was perceived that town planning schemes would fulfil this function, but as these documents became land use control mechanisms by mid-century, Master Plans were prepared [for this purpose] from the 1950s onwards. During the course of the 1970s these [Master Plans] became known as Structure Plans; a name they kept up until this present day. Despite the name remaining the same over the last two to three decades, there was a shift from the late 1980s onwards towards placing the focus in these plans on strategic issues. At the same time the plans themselves also began taking on the shape of management-orientated policy frameworks/guideline plans, in place of the static earlier comprehensive Blue Print control documents. The recently unveiled IDPs, while of course intended to be far more than the old structure plans, can be seen as a form of stakeholder-driven "forward planning". As a result of the extensive involvement in this field over the last sixty-five odd years, this field, together with the three fields mentioned under point 1 of this Bitmap, are the four fields in which the game and its players have substantial experience.
3. For roughly two decades [- the 1970s and 1980s -] Guide Plans exerted a substantial attraction on the game and its players. These Guide Plans which had much in common with Structure Plans were, however, different to these plans in two very

important respects:

- \* they were statutory documents whereas Structure Plans were not; and
- \* they were centralist top-down texts, instead of the more locally-sensitive Structure Plans.

By the 1990s some were still in the process of completion, and were in fact finalised, but by then it was clear that they were little more than relics of the past.

4. While the field of *Metropolitan Planning* has been a relatively strong one in the game, and has been growing strongly over the last couple of years, the absence of "proper" metropolitan governments/authorities in the past and the hijacking [and reduction to a control-instrument] of the concept by the Apartheid rulers where any chance of metropolitan planning presented itself, have left it a field far more discoursed than done.
5. The game has tended to react very swiftly to moods of *Reconstruction*. During and shortly after the two World Wars, and with the early 1990s-dawning of the democratic South Africa, the players became strongly attracted to the idea of Reconstruction. In the case of both the two World Wars, the fervour among the players for Reconstruction died away as soon as the mood in the country had passed. [As I suggested in *Bitmap One of this Map*, while it is true that the white electorate voted in more segregationist governments in both 1924 and 1948 which altered the political landscape of the country, it is also evident in the discourse of planners that the reconstructionist fervour had passed away in planning circles in the case of the 1940s at least a year or two before the 1948-election which brought the National Party to power.]
6. There has been a tendency for some fields to run together [in cycles, if you like,] according to wider developments in the context in which the game was played. Four such fields are:
  - \* *Housing*;
  - \* *Reconstruction*;
  - \* an *Awareness of the Socio-Political Context* in which the game is being played; and
  - \* a *Concern with Public Participation*.All four fields came strongly to the fore at both instances - during and shortly after the two World Wars - at which moods of social reform/reconstruction swept the country.
7. The field of *Slum Clearance* remained a field of substantial attraction from the first two decades of this century, peaking in the Apartheid-inspired slum clearances of the 1950s and 1960s. Since then the focus in this field of *surgically-altering-existing-areas* has shifted to the more economically-inclined notions of *renewal and redevelopment of the Central Business Districts* of major cities.

8. During the last three decades, but especially since the late 1980s, the players have become more *environmentally* and socially conscious, but at the same time more Market/economically and more [property] *development orientated/aware*. [As the attraction to the fields of the Environment and the more Market and development orientated fields is still very young, there are sure to be holes in the levels of expertise of the players in these two fields.]
9. After having been extremely alive to the need for an *informed public* about the need for planning, during the years in which the game was being established, this concern waned considerably for at least three decades after it had been "established" in the country [in the early 1930s]. It was only during the 1990s, with a growing realisation that selling the game was a never-ending endeavour and that the majority of the country's people, many of whom only experienced the dark side of planning during the Apartheid years, needed to be convinced of the need for the game, that the players acknowledged this necessity again. Very little has, however, come out of this renewed realisation.
10. Whereas the origins of the game lay in extremely local control-orientated measures, players in the game soon [- from the 1940s onwards -] began probing "higher" niches/fields, such as the region and the Nation [and even The World in the 1940s]. And, during the Grand Apartheid 1960s and 1970s, the game, and a substantial number of its players, [even] entered the fields of national and regional planning. The 1980s and 1990s have seen the game make a strong return to the local and metropolitan level, but *within a system which is increasingly linked up with planning at the provincial, national and international levels*. [One could be tempted to suggest that this is a cycle in which the game is now going through its next run at the local level, but on a different plain/level and in a different econo-political context.]
11. Since the opening up of South Africa over the last couple of years, the game has increasingly become attracted to a host of new fields/issues which are also prime fields of attraction in the North American, British, European and Australian planning discourse, such as *Women and Gender, the Environment, Densification/Compacter Cities, Strategic Planning, Local Economic Development, Planning History* and *Postmodernism* and [the condition of] *Postmodernity*. Not only does this herald exciting and exploratory times for the players of the game, but it also signals a return to the first half of this century during which the local game was part of a more international language game of planning - a game from which it was severed in the Apartheid years[, both through the breaking off of ties, but also through the Apartheid system precluding the use of many of the new progressive ideas emanating abroad in the local context].

12. The *neighbourhood concept* captured the imagination of planners in the 1940s, remained prominent in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s and thereafter began losing its allure. While there are many lessons to be learnt from the concept and its implementation, there is one which I regard as very important: the need to stay aloof about "The" and "Final" answers [- i.e. the Eureka's of the planning world].
13. The coming to the fore of *GIS* over the last couple of years signals a strong pull in the direction of [a desire among players for the acquisition of] technical expertise - a development which may be part of a search for more concrete, technological, sellable skills in a world which is undergoing fundamental technological changes in especially the information sector.
14. Despite a number of players suggesting that players needed to, at regular intervals[, especially after the transitions in the country from the early 1990s onwards], refurbish their vocabularies through attending *Mid-career/Refresher Courses*, little was done about this from the side of the Institute, educational institutions, or players in "the real world". More than anything else, this says something about the game and its players: arrogance, ignorance and apathy. Negative attributes which are very likely also responsible for the small number of *Position Papers* that were produced by the Institute during its forty odd year existence.

## BITMAP FOUR OF MAP SEVEN INFLUENCING FORCES

In Maps One to Six it becomes apparent that a host of forces either pulled/pushed/forced:

1. the *game* into the niches/fields it was played in; and
2. the *players* into taking up certain concepts [and loathing others] and becoming involved with certain issues [and staying away from others].

These forces, it can thus be said, were also the forces that brought about change in the game, such as *where* it was played, *how* it was played, by *whom* it was played, *etcetera*. The forces that I have identified as the primary movers in this regard, are the following six:

1. The policy/ies and plans of the Government of the Day.
2. Trends in the planning game in especially the UK, the USA and Germany. [During the Apartheid years this force of change was far less influential than what it had been in the first half of this century and in the 1990s after the dismantling of Apartheid (see also the previous Bitmap).]
3. The mood of the time, for instance such as the reformist moods that swept the country during and shortly after the two World Wars and in the 1990s.
4. The dictates of the Market [i.e. the powerful in society] - a prime example being the suburban shopping centre developments.



5. [Closely tied up with Market Forces:] The economic fortunes of the middle and higher income classes in the country. [During the late 1960s and early 1970s it was the 'good economic fortune' of the 'white middle and higher income classes that boosted the game in the drive for suburbia. Since the middle 1980s a growing African middle class has presented a similar pull on the game.]
6. Individual players who ran with their dreams, wishes and desires and who either got legislation passed, educational facilities for planners started, and/or who converted co-players to their calling.

To suggest that any force had a stronger influence than another would be dangerous, as in a complex system even the smallest input [or force] can have major effects and *vice versa*. What can, however, be said, is that:

1. the policies and plans of *the Government of the day* tended to be very influential, as they created the superstructure in which planning operated. At the same time, Members of Parliament, being the gatekeepers who passed and had to pass any proposed/desired legislation, were also very influential. Furthermore, as the Apartheid Government took on a very draconian nature form especially the middle 1950s onwards, its policies/plans in most cases reached the statute books and thus the game and its players; and
2. the *moods of reform* and public outcries for action during and shortly after the two World Wars, despite being major [and energetic] forces for change, had far smaller effects than one would have expected, as the Governments of the day failed to pass and/or implement appropriate legislation. While it is true that in both cases of reform the moods were followed by the election of conservative governments, who implemented "reforms" [ - as seen from their segregationist mindsets - ], there was ample opportunity for the Governments of the day to implement reforms before the elections which saw them removed from power, but nothing substantive transpired.

## BITMAP FIVE OF MAP SEVEN PLAYERS

In this section the developments as regards to the players of the game since its birth are set out in five sections, *viz*:

1. professional background and educational qualifications;
2. gender and race;
3. sector of employment/workplace,
4. status; and
5. struggles/divisions between players.

1. *Professional background and educational qualifications.* After initially being played primarily by land surveyors, a host of new players joined the game in the second decade of this century, most prominent among them architects and engineers. Together, these three groups remained the three core groups of players over the next fifty odd years, after which the players with either a Bachelors or a Masters degree in town planning became the two main playgroups. The last couple of years have also seen players of other language games, often not even remotely related to planning, playing in fields traditionally populated by planners.

During times of reformist fervour in the country - i.e. during and shortly after the two World Wars and in the 1990s - planners were joined by players from other language games, most notably among them medical officers in the case of the First World War, sociologists in the Second [World War] and geographers in the case of the 1990s.

In the case of another era of "reform" - the Verwoerd and Vorster-governments' version of a "reformed, segregated South Africa" - peaking during the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists and geographers and economists also joined the players of the planning game in the fields of national and regional planning which were strongly controlled from the centre - Pretoria.

2. *Gender and race.* The players have primarily been white males. This situation did, however, begin to change slowly during the 1970s, and pick up more speed during the course of the 1980s and especially in the early 1990s.
3. *Sector of employment/workplace.* As no surveys are available regarding the sector of employment of the players prior to the late 1960s, it is not possible to plot any bytes of a substantiated nature on the first thirty odd years of the workplace of the players. From the [early] Maps, though, it can be said that the players were, in those earlier times, primarily playing the game where they have done since then: in private practice, in the larger local authorities, in provincial authorities, in state departments and in academe [ - the latter especially so in the case of the architects].

As for the last 30 years, the following composite Map of the Play areas of the players (Figure 2), as compiled from the results of surveys conducted in 1967, 1977, 1983 and 1993 (see Bitmaps Two of Maps Four to Six), does provide a picture in numeric format from which more concrete deductions can be made.

**FIGURE 2: A COMPOSITE MAP OF THE SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT OF THE PLAYERS IN THE PERIOD 1967 TO 1993** (Compiled from Bitmaps Two of Maps Four to Six)

| Employer                               | Percentage of Players Employed in Sector |      |      |      |         |
|--|--|------|------|------|---------|
|  | 1967                                     | 1977 | 1983 | 1993 | Average |
| Central and Provincial Government      | 20.3                                     | 20.5 | 22.4 | 18.2 | 20.4    |
| Local Authorities                      | 28.5                                     | 38.5 | 27.2 | 22.5 | 29.2    |
| Subtotal (Public Sector)               | 48.8                                     | 59.0 | 49.6 | 40.7 | 49.6    |
| Private Practice                       | 48.8                                     | 34.1 | 33.9 | 47.8 | 41.2    |
| Universities and Research Institutions | <i>Not Specified</i>                     | 5.2  | 6.4  | 5.5  | 5.7     |
| Other                                  | 2.4                                      | 1.6  | 10.1 | 6.0  | 5.0     |

From this composite Map the following can be stated:

- \* The *public sector* has throughout these nearly thirty years employed between two and three out of every five players. After experiencing substantial growth during the 1970s, it peaked at 59.0% in the 1977-survey. Since then it has entered a downward phase, with this sector's share of employment falling to 40.7% of the players in 1993.
- \* The largest employers of players in the public sector have been *local authorities*. Their share of employment has shown a similar trend as that of the public sector as a whole, also peaking in the 1977-survey at 38.5% and falling down to its lowest level (22.5%) in 1993.
- \* In contrast to that of local authorities and the public sector as a whole, the share of players employed by *Central and Provincial government* has remained relatively stable over the period - an average of one out of every five players.
- \* The *private sector*, has, after having experienced a substantive drop in the share of players it employed during the 1970s, risen to become the largest employer of players in the early 1990s. Given that the "*Other* categories" in the 1983 and 1993-surveys contained primarily private sector-orientated domains of work (see Bitmaps Two of Maps Five and Six), the growth in the employment of planners in the private sector has clearly been on the rise since the early 1980s.
- \* *Universities and research institutions* have throughout the 30 year period employed roughly one out of every twenty players, with very little movement in this sector, other than a slight drop in the relative share of players employed between 1983 and 1993.

4. *Status*. After having been labelled the "*Cinderella of professions*" in 1965 (see Bitmap Two of Map Four), the game has undergone a substantial rise in status. Three of the clearest indicators of this being:
  - \* a sustained rise in the number of players in the game;
  - \* an increased willingness among clients to pay for the services of players, especially since the early 1980s; and
  - \* the passing of the Town and Regional Planners Act in 1984 by which the game was given statutory recognition.
  
5. *Scuffles/divisions between players*. As I indicated in Bitmap One of this Map, the game has been marked by scuffles between players since its birth. In some instances these were as a result of differences in opinion about technical issues, such as the appropriateness of certain layout types [- as in the 1920s and 1930s between land surveyors and architects -] or the question of whether town planning had a two or three-dimensional focus [- as in the late 1950s and 1960s]. In others they were about more serious moral issues, such as the players' moral stance towards serving [in] the Apartheid system [- as in the 1970s and 1980s -] and the question of the speed at which the players were [should have been] turning their attention to actively assisting in the reconstruction of the country [- as had been the case in the early 1990s].

While these scuffles cannot be denied, and while their impact on the game, especially the last serious "division in the ranks" leading to the establishment of the DPASA, is still having an impact on the game, it must also be noted that on the whole, these scuffles have [as yet] not led to the dissolution/implosion of the game. This must surely indicate that the forces/feedback keeping the players together, have thus far been stronger than those pulling/pushing them apart.

## BITMAP SIX OF MAP SEVEN RULES

In this section I focus on two aspects, *viz* rules on who was allowed to be[come] a player and rules on how to play. In the latter section, as I did throughout Maps Two to Six, I plot both the rules regarding procedure and the roles the players had to [be able to] fulfil.

### WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

Throughout the extended birth of the planning game (1830-1931) there were no set rules on who may be[come] a player. Town planning education was not locally available and no educational requirements were placed on who may be[come] a player. As the primary field in which the game was being played, was that of the drafting of layouts, it clearly was a question of whether the aspirant player was able to deliver on the technical requirements of

the task. The zealots in the planning movement were, however, through their discourse, expressing certain personal characteristics a player [ - or, as in the early discourse: "a man" - ] should possess, such as intellect, experience, vision and a trained mind.

As soon as the British Town Planning Diploma became "available" in 1932, matters changed. From inside the ["higher"] ranks of the players, the diploma became increasingly seen as a prerequisite for be[com]ing a player. This educational requirement was given further impetus with the institution of the post-graduate course at WITS in 1944. With the establishment of the SAITP in 1954, matters changed even further. All prospective players who wanted to acquire membership of the Institute had to pass a qualifying examination, which they initially could take without being in possession of an approved town planning qualification, provided that they had at least five years practical "*town planning experience*". Towards the end of the 1960s, however, only those prospective members who had an approved town planning qualification could take the qualifying examination. Now, while it was possible to do "*town planning work*" without being a member of the Institute [ - there being no statutory rules preventing this - ], not being a member of the Institute, would, however mean that the player was not part of the speech community [ - the "body of planners" - ], making the person "*an outsider*", and an outsider which insiders did not take kindly of, as they saw such individuals as "misleading the public" [ by posing as a person qualified to do "*town planning work*" ].

Matters stayed very much the same until the middle 1980s when the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984, was passed, which provided for the registration of players with the statutory SACTRP, and which reserved the title of "*town and regional planner*" for such registered persons, but which did not lead to work reservation [even though the Act made provision for the institution of work reservation by the Minister]. In the public sector PAS-requirements did, however, from the early 1990s onwards, restrict the higher ranks of the Post of "*Town and Regional Planner*" to persons who were registered with the SACTRP.

During the early 1990s, with the transition to the New South Africa, the rules on who may be[come] a player, *as written by the players themselves* through their Institute, as well as contained in the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984, were seriously questioned. This was largely the result of:

1. *un-hallmarked* persons very ably entering the niches/fields populated in the past almost exclusively by players of the language game of planning; and
2. the perceived inappropriateness of some of the existing rules on who may become a player for that which was being expected/demanded of the planning game and its players in the New South Africa.

And that is where we are at now, with the debate on the question of who may be[come] a player, still continuing.

Paging through the Maps of the last 60/70 years, it is striking that the players have to a large degree *closed ranks upon themselves* - no law told them do take such action/s. While it is

understandable why this was done, viz to establish an independent profession and to protect its integrity by ensuring that its members were all able professionals, it did, I believe, cut the game off from players from other language games who could, very likely, not only have enriched the vocabulary of the planning game, but also have strengthened it, by:

1. challenging its beliefs/concepts and leading to some ideas to evolve into better ones; and
2. ridding the game of the weak[er] ones.

As mapped earlier on, in a sense it also reduced the impact planners could have had on other language games, as the players in these other language games were simply not present in the community of players of the language game of South African planning, to be influenced[ or, of course, to influence].

## HOW TO PLAY

### PROCEDURE

Up until the late 1930s the prescribed procedure was clearly that of Geddes: Survey, Analysis, [Blueprint] Plan, abetted by "personal intuition and intellect". All of this, of course, was done/took place within the confines of the legal segregationist superstructure/framework. While public input was regarded as important, it was treated as just another input, a part of the survey-step. Interestingly enough the odd reference was made in the discourse to planning being a continuous process, but this did not find expression in how the game was being played.

For the next twenty years, up until the late 1950s, little changed, other than for the following developments.

1. The survey-step achieved a scale of comprehensiveness and a place of importance way out of proportion to the other two steps in the procedure. This development did, however, not go unnoticed and saw a few voices suggesting the limitation of the analysis and the survey steps to strategic issues only, and shifting the focus to getting things done. Again, little came of these suggestions in the actual playing of the game.
2. The importance of teamwork in the preparation of plans, was proposed and practised. This did, however, change little to the basic Geddesian three step process.
3. The need to recognise the socio-political context in which the plan was being drafted, over and above the more technical aspects of the game, was mentioned by a few players. The last 40 years suggests that this suggestion was not heeded.
4. Longstreth Thompson, in his preparation of the Cape Town Foreshore Plan in 1947 considered all the possible alternatives in the selection of a final plan, bringing, according to Muller, "... *the essence for the rational planning procedure to South Africa*" (1996: 216).
5. The legal segregationist framework penetrated deeper into the process; after 1951 also posing players with a definite set of rules they had to adhere to in the layout of "native townships" and the provision of buffer strips between "European" and

"native" residential areas.

During the 1960s there were basically two new developments:

1. Professor Mallows suggested an alternative five step procedure to the basic Geddesian three step process, viz Thesis, Analysis, Diagnosis, Synthesis and Creation; and
2. the players entered an even deeper positivist belief in the power of expert scientific surveys and analyses in the production of what had now come to be called "*optimum plans*".

Again, there was the odd lonely voice crying out against the masses of surveys that were filling up volumes of glossy plans, but with little effect.

The 1970s saw the arrival of the rational comprehensive process in South Africa, which, due to the restrictions placed on the process by the by then all-encompassing Apartheid-measures, can be labelled as "severely bounded rational comprehensive planning" [a term, as suggested in Bitmap Three of Map Five, being, in fact, a contradiction in terms]. Nonetheless, this method, generally known as "The Planning Process" became the new prescribed method for playing the game. Together with a growing awareness of the need for public participation in the planning process, extending beyond merely treating the public as just another source of information, the "*participatory* severely bounded rational comprehensive planning process" became the norm for planning procedure up until the early 1990s.

Towards the end of the 1970s and during the course of the 1980s a few local academics, most notably Professor John Muller began importing developments in especially American procedural planning theory into the country. Professor Muller also suggested some of his own alternatives to the existing form of planning in the country in the wake of the 1976 Soweto-uprising, viz "*promotive*" and "*responsive*" planning. Alas, once again, despite these proposals being [theoretically and morally] well argued, very little changed in the actual planning process.

During the first half of the 1990s the rules on procedure changed again, shifting the process even further to the side of the public and making the input of the planner [just] another contribution to/input in the people-driven empowerment process. Procedure now became an issue which was decided upon in consultation between the involved communities, other stakeholders and assisting professionals; the rule on procedure becoming: "the people shall make the rules on procedure".

## ROLES

The roles players had to/were prescribed to play, were essentially a function of the procedures according to which the game had to be played. As the first task players got involved in [- i.e. in the last decades of the previous century and the first two of this one -] was the design of layouts, the role of *designer* was paramount.

With the growing realisation/perception in the late 1910s and especially in the 1920s that the idea of planning would have to be sold, the role of *communicator* rose to prominence.

When the idea of preparing plans/town planning schemes appeared on the scene in the 1920s and 1930s, the Geddesian procedure became the way to play. Out of this procedure three roles transpired:

1. *researcher* (Survey);
2. *logical analyzer* of the surveyed material (Analysis); and
3. *synthesizer* of information and *designer* of the Plan (Plan).

During the 1940s and 1950s the notion of teamwork in the application of the planning process, created the role of the planner as *coordinator*. It was also around this time - during the reformist phase in and shortly after the Second World War - that it was proposed that players assume the role of *servants* who had to minister to the needs of the community. This role was, as far as I could ascertain, not one that developed a large following in the community of "professional" planners. A role which did do so, however, was that of *technical administrator* - i.e. the/a processor of applications submitted in terms of planning legislation, at local authority and provincial level.

By the 1960s the growing state bureaucracy had created a distinct new role for players - that of *apolitical technical experts*, whose task it was to ensure that the Government's proposals were made practicable. During this decade the role of *technical administrator/bureaucrat* also shifted to Central Government level. It was this role, together with that of the *apolitical expert*, which would become two of the main providers of posts for players in the public sector [at all three levels of government] for the next twenty to thirty years. In stark contrast to the role of *bureaucrat*, was the role repeatedly stressed by Professor Mallows during the 1960s[ as well as the 1970s], viz that of the planner as *innovator*. Sadly though, it seems this role was not enthusiastically taken up by the players.

The 1970s and 1980s saw very little change in the roles of players, as the roles players were asked to cater for in the local version of the rational comprehensive planning process, were already provided for in the game. The only new developments as regards to new roles, were:

1. the creation of the role of "*professional*" *researcher* and *teacher* through the extension of training at existing planning schools and the establishment of new schools at a number of universities and technikons; and
2. the coming to the fore of the *entrepreneur-planner*, especially during the late 1980s - a role which placed the focus on "getting things done"; and
3. the taking up of an *advocacy* role by a number of primarily academic planners at WITS, UCT and the University of Natal. [There was of course, during these two decades, also the suggestion by a number of academic planners that the players of the planning game take cognisance of the draconian Apartheid context in which the planning game was being played, and thus take on the role of *advocates* for the disadvantaged, the voiceless and the poor, but very few players heeded the call.]



An interesting development during the course of the *1980s* was the coming to the fore of the question of whether the planner's role was that of a *generalist* or a *specialist*. Together with this went a debate over whether the players were "physical" planners with an awareness of social [and of course other] aspects, or whether they were "social planners" whose arena of intervention was physical space. This question was, as we know today, not resolved.

The *1990s* saw a number of players in the game implore planners to take on a host of new roles, as well as a number of roles which had in the past not been taken up very enthusiastically by players in the past[, despite them being asked to do so at numerous occasions]. The *new* roles planners were beseeched to take up, were those of *facilitator, mediator and conflict and project manager*, while it was[, as it had been done in the past], again suggested that they become *communicators and visionary, pro-active, creative, entrepreneurial problem solvers*.

Journeying back over the last sixty to seventy years, one is struck by the fact that a substantial number of roles have been prescribed for players, but of these only a few were actively pursued and then also mainly those with a strong technical and/or administrative component; the roles with a more creative slant and/or which entail[ed] working with deprived communities, have been far less popular.

## BITMAP SEVEN OF MAP SEVEN AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

### WHY THE GAME HAD TO BE PLAYED

In its earliest form the aim of the game was to ensure "*the good order*", health and convenience in towns. During the *first two decades of this century*, neatness, functionality and amenity were added. For a short while during and shortly after the First World War, the reformist mood which had blown over to South Africa from the UK, coupled with numerous onslaughts of disease, leading to the death of thousands of especially the poorest of the poor[, the majority of whom were African], saw the aim of health confirmed, and the focus briefly expand to include better living[, including better housing] conditions. During the *1920s* the aim expanded again, this time adding the aims of coordinated development and rationality, and at the same time the aims of efficiency and aesthetics were given an added boost.

The *1930s* saw economy added to the list and the aim of the game for many of the players become narrower and synonymous with that of town planning schemes, i.e. the "... *coordinated and harmonious development of the municipality to which it relates (including where necessary the reconstruction of any area therein which has already been subdivided and built upon) in such a way as will most effectively tend to promote health, safety, order, amenity, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process*

*of such development*" (Ordinances of the Transvaal, 1931). [Some players, of course, saw this set of objectives as being prerequisites for a bigger aim - "*the advancement of humanity*" (Webber, 1932: 298).] At the same time there were those in the 1930s who saw the aim as the radical, complete once-off creation of a better world for all.

During the 1940s, in the mood of social reform and Reconstruction, the aim widened out again to include the creation/realization of better, healthier and happier living conditions for all those touched by it. As the 1940s were also a time of fervour around regional and national planning, the more rational and efficient use of the country's resources was added to the list.

The 1950s saw little change in the aim of the game, the only new developments being a gradual move away from the idealism of the reformist mood of the previous decade to a more "realistic", maybe an even more parochial view of the aim of the game. Tied up with this development was the growing professionalisation of the game, formalised by the establishment of the SAITP in 1954.

The 1960s and 1970s brought a complete change to the game. Whereas the game had in the past been forced to operate in a segregationist framework, or had been used to assist in ensuring racial segregation on a small scale, such as in the case of individual townships, it was now called upon to assist in the realisation of the idealised Apartheid landscape on all scales - from the nation down to the town. Added to the aim of the game was thus the aim of *the-most-rational-economically-feasible-conceptualisation-of-the-ideology-of-Apartheid*. This set of aims was carried through into the 1980s, lasting until early 1990, when the dismantling of Apartheid was announced.

The hardship Apartheid wrought, partially as a result of the spatial frameworks planners were party to, saw a counter-movement from a number of players [in the 1970s, but especially in the 1980s.] who argued for the aim of planning to be about:

1. "... *human development and quality of life*" (Dewar, 1977: 89); and
2. improving the life chances of the poor and destitute by increasing their opportunities to make a living in the towns and cities of the country.

In a sense it can be said, the aim became for these players that of countering/opposing the Apartheid system and its fall-out.

The 1990s were to usher in a host of new reasons why the game had to be played. Primarily these centred around the human rights Apartheid had robbed millions of South Africans of, including the aims of empowerment, social justice, equity and freedom of opportunity. At the same time, partially as a result of the ecologically unsustainable landscapes Apartheid had created, but partially also as a result of the strength of the environmental movement, which had begun to make its mark in the planning game from the 1970s onwards, the aim grew to include the creation of ecologically and physically [more] sustainable settlements.

In a sense the game returned to a motive/aim which had been part of it since its inception, but which had been subverted and vulgarised as a result of selfish interests, an overdue focus on professionalism and the technocratic focus of some of the game's initial and key/prominent players and playgroups.

### WHY THOSE IN THE GAME PLAYED

From its earliest days, the game has been played by players who played primarily for "the cause" [- i.e. who saw it as a calling], and players who played only to be paid. It was especially in the first half of this century, in which the game was being established, and in which it was still a social movement, that there were a substantial number of players whose primary concern was not the money they could earn from playing the game, but the "good" that could come from planning. After the game was professionalised in the early 1950s and the demand for planners in designated/specified posts grew from especially the 1960s onwards, it became a game that was primarily played to be paid. [While I do not suggest that the cause was thus no longer important - that it surely was for a number of the players - but there were surely no longer persons playing the game and not getting paid for it.]

During the course of the 1970s and 1980s there were voices going up for players to recognise the cause again, and in a sense take a stand against Apartheid, but, given that the game was now played to be paid, and that those doing the paying in many instances were the Apartheid-rulers, little changed.

The last couple of years have, however, once again seen a strong reformist fervour at work in the game again, but unlike the reformist phases in the 1920s and 1940s, it has been, given that the game was no longer a social movement, marked far less by zealous cause-driven utopianism than what had been the case in the 1920s and 1940s.

## BITMAP EIGHT OF MAP SEVEN DEFINITIONS

The one definition which has been part of the game since its birth to this day, is that of town planning being an "*art and a science*". What this art and science entailed, changed according to changes in the game and the context in which it was being played. In the *1920s*, amidst the "*haphazard development*" that accompanied the rapid townward movement of the first two decades of this century, this art and science was seen in very physical terms, i.e. the application of artistic and intellectual abilities to create an aesthetically pleasing and functional environment.

By the *1930s*, in a time in which *laissez-faire* economics had seen the onset of the Great Depression and the growing interest in centrally planned economies, the idea of planning as

an "*economic and a social science*", which would save money and thus lead to more economic/functional cities, was pushed to the fore. What town planning as economic/social science was, was, however, not explicitly defined.

In the *1940s* definitions were being offered which tied planning up with the organisation of the physical environment so as to achieve certain aims, such as the improvement of human life and, given the reformist mood of the time, the advancement of humanity. At the same time, the notion of the game as dealing with the [process of the] *growth* of towns, and less so with their completed structure, also became part of the definition. Professor Pearse also gave some indication[/clarification] of which *arts* [architecture and landscape design] and which *sciences* [sociology, civil engineering and hygiene] were involved.

Regional planning was also defined for the first time in the *1940s*. To some players it was, judging from their definitions, an activity distinct from town planning, to others as basically the same game, but one that was just played on a different scale. During this time civic design was also defined, as being the sphere where architecture and town planning overlap.

By the *1950s*, with the professionalisation of the game, the need to define the game, apparently, became an issue which was no longer regarded as all that important. From the few definitions that were offered, it does seem that the game had lost much of its bravado of the *1940s*, settling into far more minimalist view of what planning was and was about. A typical example of the more modest, more realistic view of planning, that of Professor Mallows, who defined the game again as one in which imagination (art) and intellect (science) are used to create a "... *physical environment for the use and enjoyment of mankind*" (Mallows, 1965a: 2).

During the course of the *1960s* and *1970s* the idea of coordination rose to prominence in especially government circles and saw the game being defined as "*coordination*". The positivist belief of the time in human reason, science and [computer] technology, also saw planning defined as the use of hyper-scientific methods by hyper-scientific minds to ensure *the hyper-calculated "optimum" settlement pattern*.

The *1980s*, the decade in which the Town and Regional Planners Act, No 19 of 1984, was passed, experienced a further dearth in definitions of the game, other than the oft quoted definition of planning being "*an art and a science*". Evidently the players[, and everybody else for that matter.] knew what their game was about, as the discourse is void of definitions.

During the *1990s*, with the pondering of the game and its future, the definition of the game became important again. In line with the focus which was being placed on sustainable people-driven development and the turn to management, instead of control, the game was being defined in the jargon of the time, such as: "*the development and organisation of human settlement*" and "*a facilitative and accommodating process*", "*designing with nature*" and plainly "*management*" (see Bitmap Five of Map Six).

Defining the game has clearly not been a major pastime of the players throughout its existence. Whereas there was a tendency to at least define the game they were playing in the discourse of players in the first half of this century, this urge/necessity apparently fell away in the second half with the professionalisation of the game.

[Now, while it is often said that there are as many definitions of planning as there are planners, and while that may be true, it does not relieve the burden on the players, who purport to share a common identity, to indicate what that identity is about. Even more so as there is an Act which provides for the registration of these players.]

But, it is also said that the definition is ever-changing and that a definition is therefore problematic. Again, while this may be true, it does not mean that there should not be a persistent endeavour at describing what the game is about at a given time, even if it is only for that particular time. A society/community/country in which a language game is used/played, surely deserves to know what the game is about. If not, it might just lose interest. But, more of/about this in Map Ten.]

## BITMAP NINE OF MAP SEVEN REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?

Closely tied up with Bitmap Two to this Map [on Feedback and Turbulence] is the question of how change has taken place in the game: i.e. was it revolutionary or evolutionary?

My answer is that change has definitely not been revolutionary. The players have been far too conservative and the superstructure too totalitarian for any revolutionary change to have taken place.

For as much as there has been substantial change in the game, it has been of an *adaptive* nature - adaptive to the needs of the time. Using the word "evolution" to describe this change is problematic, as it would imply a *positive* progression/improvement in that which is the game and in the way it is played. It is for instance highly debateable that the language game of planning of the middle 1990s was any better than that of the 1930s, and so is the question of whether that of the 1930s was such a good thing to start with. Furthermore, as the players of the game never really had the time [and in many cases the urge] to develop its and their contribution to, or their ability, in a field[, as many of the fields in which it was played, were shed or changed as the needs and wishes of the State, the Market and a host of other role players changed], there simply was no "evolution". The result of this has been that there are very few niches/fields that the players can lay claim to for themselves and the[ir] game, or in which they have had time to develop [a] unique expertise[, but more about this in Bitmap One of Map Ten].

## PART II

# MAPPING A WAY FROM THE PRESENT INTO A FUTURE DAY - "WHERE ARE WE GOING? WHERE SH/COULD WE BE GOING?"

*"... history repeats itself: first as tragedy, second as farce. In this case [referring to what the author regards as the "anything goes present"], it might be the other way round" (Gellner, 1995: 6).*

*"The urban future is unlikely to repeat itself and our past solutions to urban form will be increasingly irrelevant" (Cherry, 1993b: 9).*

*"It seems to me that planning is meaningless unless it attempts to deal with the future and therefore the minimum duty of any physical planner is to attempt to forecast future trends, and like any good navigator, advise clients - including the authorities at any level - of the way these trends can best be optimized and in what direction they should be guided" (Mallows, 1988: 1).*

# LEGEND/KEY TWO

In the following [and last] three maps I do the following:

1. In *Map Eight* I construct a cognitive map of the complex totality - context and landscape - in which South African planning finds itself today.
2. In *Map Nine* I extrapolate possible and probable futures of hope and despair from this present context and landscape.
3. In *Map Ten* I assess the implications of the present context and landscape on the future of the game and its players, as well as explore and locate avenues for future interventions on the side of the game and its players to
  - \* assist in the realisation of the futures of hope; and
  - \* hamper the realisation of the futures of despairas mapped in Map Nine.

# MAP EIGHT

## IN WHICH I DO MY MAPPING OF THE PRESENT

*"'Postmodern', everyone knows, is a complicated term" (Deutsche, 1991: 13).*

*"Of course, post-modernism is a hydra-headed monster and a chameleon, impossible to characterise, without entering into life-threatening contradictions" (Graham, 1988: 61).*

*"... postmodernism is everywhere, from literature, design, and philosophy to MTV, ice cream and underwear" (Dear and Wassmansdorf, 1993: 321).*

*"I think of the postmodern attitude as that of a man who loves a very cultivated woman and knows he cannot say to her, 'I love you madly,' because he knows that she knows (and that she knows that he knows) that these words have already been written by Barbara Cartland. Still, there is a solution. He can say, 'As Barbara Cartland would put it, I love you madly'. At this point, having avoided false innocence, having said clearly that it is no longer possible to speak innocently, he will nevertheless have said what he wanted to say to the woman: that he loves her, but he loves her in an age of lost innocence. If the woman goes along with this, she will have received a declaration of love all the same. Neither of the two speakers will feel innocent, both will have accepted the challenge of the past, of the already said, which cannot be eliminated; both will consciously and with pleasure play the game of irony .... But both will have succeeded, once again, in speaking of love" (Eco, 1994: 67-68).*

*"... we are asked to believe that human beings are now so specified by gender and race - though we are silent about class - that there can be no universal knowledge, politics or morality. These ideas have not grown up among the masses defeated by the empty hopes of our kind. It is not the masses who have sickened of the injustice and exploitation that grinds their lives, weakens their families, starves their children, murders and terrorizes them each hour of the day and night in every corner of the world. No, it is not these people who have abandoned idealism, universalism, truth and justice. It is those who already enjoy these things who have denounced them on behalf of the others" (O'Neill, 1995: 1).*

*"... the very value of modernity itself is being questioned from a perspective of post- rather than pre-modernity" (Therborn, 1996: 61).*

*"I'm not lost, I'm right where I'm standing. Unfortunately where I'm standing, might be lost"*  
(Winnie the Pooh, in Winnie the Pooh: Sharing and Caring of the Learning Series, Walt Disney, 1989).



## INTRODUCTION

As I indicated in Map  $\alpha$  there are two widely-encompassing aspects/features of the South African context/landscape which I see as *not only* providing the cues/initial conditions for getting some kind of handle on the present context/landscape we [and planning] find[s] ourselves[//itself] in, but also:

1. enabling an evaluation of whether there still is a need and [a] place for planning, planning institutions, planners and planning education in this context/landscape, and if so, *what* the need is, *where* the need lies, *what* the nature of the institutions and education sh/could be, *how* the game sh/could be played and *which* roles the players sh/could be playing/fulfilling; and
2. providing the building blocks for extrapolations into possible and likely *futures*, which in turn provide further cues for exploring and locating avenues [inroads/routes] for future intervention [and thus planning.] to realise or hamper the possible/likely futures.

These two aspects/features are:

1. massive inequalities, homelessness, poverty and despair inherited from the past; and
2. the emergence of postmodern tendencies/tentacles/"isms" in a society still set/embedded in the ways/mindsets of modernity/ism and premodernity in which a mass reconstruction and development drive must take place.

In the next two Bitmaps I map each of these aspects/features. In the next Map, Map Nine, I map four possible and likely futures by making use of these two Bitmaps of the present.

Before I begin, a few last notes:

1. Both of the Bitmaps are made up of a compilation of a multitude of small, often overlapping bytes/fractals *together* constituting my reading of the present; there is no central core or well defined boundary of that which is present, nor will I be ending this map off with a summary of some kind or another - I would not want to privilege any fractal/byte over another.
2. A large part of the bytes in the first Bitmap are in numerical form. My reason for doing this is simply this: Both numbers and words are signs signifying something else[. sometimes in postmodern times referring back to themselves.] and sometimes *text-in-numbers* gives a better description than *text-in-words*, as I believe it does in this case.

# **BITMAP ONE OF MAP EIGHT MASSIVE INEQUALITIES, HOMELESSNESS, POVERTY AND DESPAIR INHERITED FROM THE PAST**

## **INTRODUCTION**

While it is generally known [and sadly, experienced by many,] that huge numbers of South Africa's people are struggling to survive in conditions of absolute poverty and that inequality between and within races, sexes, rural and urban dwellers and even between residents of the same urban/rural area is rife, it is only through a mapping of their quantitative dimensions that

- \* their enormity;
- \* those that are most deprived; and
- \* the huge need for mass reconstruction and development

becomes truly apparent. This I do in the following Bytes, making use of mainly statistics as this is one of those cases where *text-in-numbers* describe the situation far better than any words could.

### **BYTE 01**

#### ***ABSOLUTE POVERTY***

Official sources place the number of people living below the poverty line in South Africa at between 14 to 21 million people, approximately 36% to 53% of the population (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4 and see Rogerson, 1994: 104). Of this number more than 9 million are children, representing 54% of the nation's youths (Bot, 1995: 7). The disproportionate poverty level of the rural population can be seen in the fact that 76% of all children living below the poverty line, live in rural areas and only 24% in urban and metropolitan areas (Bot, 1995: 7; Ligthelm, 1993: 59 and see Rogerson, 1994: 104), while only approximately 48% of the total population is regarded as living in rural areas (Calitz, 1996: 30).

The cleavages between the African and the white population are starkly apparent in the fact that 95% of those living below the poverty line are African and only 0.7% are white (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4 and Ligthelm, 1993: iii, iv and 50), while Africans constitute approximately 76% of the population and whites 13% (Ligthelm *et al*, 1995: 10 and Badenhorst, 1992: 71).

### **BYTE 02**

#### ***UNEMPLOYMENT***

Recent surveys place unemployment at 32.6% nationally, but at 47% in the largely rural

province of Northern Transvaal (Central Statistical Services, 1995: i and ii and Presidential Commission, 1996: 4). Whereas 41.1% of Africans are unemployed, only 6.4% of whites are unemployed (Central Statistical Services, 1995: i and ii and Presidential Commission, 1996: 4).

The formal sector only employs 56% of the economically active population (Star, June 1 1996: 5 and Ligthelm, 1993: 67), largely the result of an inflexible labour market (Sunday Times, Business Times, September 1 1996: 18) and the declining ability of the formal sector to absorb new entrants to the labour market - a decline from 90% of new entrants in 1960 to less than ten percent over the last couple of years (Ligthelm, *et al*, 1995: 33).

There are however two further dimensions to unemployment which need to be highlighted. *Firstly*, unemployment is higher for females than males in all racial groups and in all nine of the country's provinces (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4 and Ligthelm *et al*, 1995: 40 and 51). In 1994 the national unemployment rate among females was 40.6% against 26.2% for males (Ligthelm, *et al*, 1995: 50), while female unemployment reached a staggering 59.2% in the largely rural province of Northern Transvaal (Ligthelm *et al*, 1995: 50). *Secondly*, nearly half of the unemployed (48%), representing 2.3 million people, are younger than 30 years of age, and approximately 64% of Africans between the ages of 16 and 24 years, nearly one million people, are unemployed (Central Statistical Services, 1995: ii and Presidential Commission, 1996: 4). As a Presidential Commission set up in 1995 to investigate Labour Policy remarked: *"This high rate of youth unemployment contributes to a sense of despair amongst the nation's young people and may well encourage some to become involved in criminal and gang activities"* (1996: 4 and see also Van der Reis and Mabaso, 1995: 3 and 41-3 for an empiric finding with regards to the frustration these young people experience). These two dimensions, coupled with the higher rate of unemployment in rural areas (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4), have the implication that *an African woman aged between 16 and 24 years of age, residing in a rural area, has the highest chance in the country of being unemployed* (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4).

### BYTE 03

## EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS, ILLITERACY, SKILLS AND INCOME

Only 1.97% of Africans hold a degree or diploma and 66.2% have no education or only primary school education (Central Statistical Services, 1995: 102-3). Of the white population 18% hold a degree or diploma and only 21,9% have no education or only primary school education (Central Statistical Services, 1995: 102-3). While 99.3% of adult whites are regarded as literate, only 67% of adult Africans are (Ligthelm, 1993: 90). Bromley, however, puts African illiteracy at *"approximately 50%"* (1995: 90), while it is reported that 60% of adults in the predominantly rural province of the Eastern Cape are illiterate (Star, March 8 1996: 8).

With regards to skills the picture is just as sombre, with, in 1991, Africans only constituting 0,1% of those employed in the *"white collar executive and professional cadres"* (Badenhorst, 1992: 74) and the chances of an African woman in 1996 being in top management, being 5000

times less likely than a white man (Star, July 7 1996: 14). The result of this is that whites, while being outnumbered by Africans in a ratio of 6 to 1 (Ligthelm *et al*, 1995: 21), earn 48.6% of personal income, against Africans earning 38.5% and the rest going to so-called "Coloureds" and "Indians" (Van Wyk, 1996: 10).

In a *spatial sense* the inequality is clearly illustrated by the following statistics on Gauteng, the smallest province, constituting 1.5% of South Africa's land area and containing Johannesburg and Pretoria (Ligthelm, *et al*, 1995: 5): While 17% of the population resides in this province, it is the province with:

1. the highest share of personal income - 38.2% of the national figure;
2. the largest share of economically active people - 24.3% of the national total; and
3. the highest share of household expenditure - 36.8% of the national figure (Van Wyk, 1996: 10 and Ligthelm *et al*, 1995: 25, 41, 55 and 65).

## **BYTE 04**

### ***WEALTH***

South Africa, with a Gini co-efficient of 0.61, is the country with the most unequal income distribution in the world (Cosatu, Nactu and Fedstal, 1996: 2). While the richest 10% receive 50% of the national income, the poorest 20% earn a meagre 1.5% (Presidential Commission, 1996: 4). Furthermore, over 82% of the market capitalization of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is controlled by six conglomerates, of which four control nearly 78% of total capitalization (Bromley, 1995: 99). There is however another side to this inequality: In the 1995/1996 tax year 8% of the population paid 25% of the total tax income in the country through direct personal income tax (Beeld, June 3 1996).

## **BYTE 05**

### ***HOUSING, INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES***

There is a housing backlog of at least 2 million housing units, 12 million people, approximately one third of the population, do not have access to clean drinking water, 21 million people, more than half the population, do not have adequate sanitation facilities (toilets and refuse removal), the houses/shelters of 3 million households do not have electricity and neither do 86% of previously designated "African schools" and 4000 health clinics (figures from ANC, 1994: 22; 28 and 31 and see Goodlad, 1996: 1633). Again there are massive discrepancies between the white and the African population and between urban and rural areas (see Star, July 2 1996: 13), as the following figures illustrate:

1. While 98.4% of all white households have running tap water in their dwellings, only 27.4% of African households do (Central Statistical Services, 1995: iii).
2. Whereas 98.5% of the dwellings of whites are electrified, less than one third of the dwellings of Africans are (Central Statistical Services, 1995: iii).
3. Less than 12% of Africans have a telephone in their dwelling, against 87.4% of whites who have (Central Statistical Services, 1995: iii).

4. While between 70 and 80% of inhabitants in the two most urbanised provinces, Gauteng and the Western Cape, have access to waterborne sanitation systems, less than 10% do in the largely rural province of Northern Transvaal (Development Bank of Southern Africa, Calender, 1996).

## **BYTE 06**

### ***HEALTH CARE***

As is the case with the other Bytes, the picture with regard to health care is just as gloomy for the African population, both in absolute terms, as well as in comparison to the white population: While only 9.2% of Africans have access to a Medical Aid scheme, 76.4% of whites have (Central Statistical Services, 1995: iii).

## **BYTE 07**

### ***THOSE MOST DEPRIVED***

While there are millions of people in need, those in most urgent need of attention clearly are *African women and children of whom many are homeless, living in rural areas, as well as in informal settlements, with no running water, electricity and hygienic sanitation facilities* (see Goodlad, 1996: 1633 for a similar analysis).

# **BITMAP TWO OF MAP EIGHT**

## **THE EMERGENCE OF POSTMODERN TENDENCIES/TENTACLES AND "ISMS" IN A SOCIETY STILL DEEPLY SET/EMBEDDED IN THE WAYS/MINDSETS OF MODERNITY/ISM AND PREMODERNITY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

As premodernity, modernity/ism and postmodernity/ism embody/carry a host of diverse readings and interpretations, this Bitmap is structured around an exposition of the main aspects/attributes and tendencies of each of these three as found primarily in the international literature - in the case of modernity/ism and postmodernity/ism with similar aspects/attributes and tendencies grouped together under *Bytes*. In plotting a specific set of attributes/aspects or tendencies I also [try to] give some indication of where and how it/they feature/s in South Africa and how I see it/them as having impacted on the reconstruction and development drive and on the language game of planning. This being the case there unavoidably are some references to bytes which have already made an appearance in this text in previous Maps.

Before I proceed, one last byte: While I do not suggest that all these aspects/features and tendencies are equally prevalent in, or throughout South Africa, I do perceive all of them to be "around" in some way or another, and thus, to form part of the South African context/landscape which this Bitmap is about.

## PRE-MODERNITY

Under this term I understand a condition in which a given society is built on three crucial pillars, *viz*:

1. The Group,
2. Tradition [i.e. "... beliefs, customs and values passed down through successive generations" (McLeish, 1994: 749)]; and
3. Authority (Smit, 1996: 14).

Together these three components maintain the *status quo* in such a society by providing its members with a complete set of ways/rules of doing, seeing and believing, which may initially have been the outcome of the application of reason, but, in their passing down the generations, become things/rules which are done/adhered to unthinkingly, almost instinctively, or fearfully of the implications of not doing/keeping them. Knowledge in such a society is produced through faith, intuition, inspiration and revelation and rests on the assumption that there are supernatural forces who/that shape, influence and determine the course of events (Young, 1991b: 299 and Livingstone, 1990: 360).

In the case of South Africa this is *not only* the condition which applies in some of the remote rural areas, where a vast predominantly African population [without electricity, clean water and sewerage], *yet-to-go-through-the-basic-stages-of-modernity*, struggles to come by, but also one of which thick strains, especially the ones pertaining to supernatural forces, still run deeply in our urban and exurban areas. Recent developments, such as the inclusion by affluent urban dwellers of homeopathic and traditional healers and cures/medicines in their arsenal of measures against disease, as well as the incorporation of such practices in Medical Aid Schemes, suggest a selective/eclectic return to some premodern wisdoms and cures. These developments can of course also be seen as a postmodern tendency - that of a disillusionment with [some aspects of] Western Reason - Western Medicine in this case (see Feher, 1987: 204 for a similar point of view).

## MODERNITY AND MODERNISM

Modernity [a way of living, thinking and aspiring which emerged in Europe somewhere around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Giddens, 1990: 1 and Cooke, 1990a: 5), and which can be seen as the result of the Renaissance, mass urbanisation and the Industrial, Scientific and French Revolutions (Hollinger, 1994: 1; Boyne and Rattansi, 1990: 3 and Connor, 1994: 30),] and modernism [its artistic/stylistic excursions/methods/expressions, critique and consciousness.]

I understand to be about the following bytes.

## BYTE 01

### *REASON, NO TIME FOR RHYME*

The privileging of human reason above any other form of knowing, knowledge or discourse (see Cooke, 1990a: 5) and "... *a totalizing confidence in the ability of human reason to penetrate the essential truth of physical and social conditions, thus making them amenable to rational control*" (Boyne and Rattansi, 1990: 3 and see Young, 1991: 289-290 and Hollinger, 1994: 2). The idea being, according to Habermas (1981: 9), to achieve a "... *rational organisation of everyday life*".

It was this notion which provided two of the basic pillars on which the planning game, one of the most modern of modernity's institutions/children, was built, internationally, as well as in South Africa (see Bitmap Eight of Map One), viz:

1. that reason can be used to make the future malleable and be brought under the control of humankind (Beauregard, 1989 and 1991 and see Cooke, 1990a: 5); and
2. that it is possible to use rationality to plan/design a *rational city*, in which, via interventions, such as zoning and urban renewal, towns and cities can be made to function as effectively as possible (Bourassa, 1989: 293 and Hemmens, 1992: 20).

These strains are, despite being more than just slightly shaken and stirred, certainly still prevalent in the game

The "*rational organisation of everyday life*" reason c/would bring, was, however, as the past Mapping[s] have shown, abused in especially South Africa [and also Israel (see Yiftachel, 1995a and 1995b)] via the [territorial] control, repression and manipulation of the disempowered masses [- the Palestinian minority in the case of Israel -] through State power and State tools, such as urban/town and regional planning. This abuse not only illustrating one of the "*darker sides of modernity*" (Yiftachel, 1995a), but also demonstrating that modernity [and planning (see Friedmann, 1959: 328)], as most things in life, can be used for good or evil intent.

## BYTE 02

### *GOODBYE YESTERDAY*

A belief in the potential of human reason [and the knowledge it creates via science - "... *the exemplar of the right use of reason*" (Flax, 1987: 625), i.e. the application of "*experiment and critical observation*" (Livingstone, 1990: 360)] as an emancipatory, or a liberating force/project, [progressively] liberating humankind from the shackles of tradition, slavery, oppression and other fixed institutions, and promoting moral progress, freedom, equality, justice and happiness for all humanity (Habermas, 1981: 9; Cooke, 1990a: 5; Boyne and Rattansi, 1990: 3; Connor, 1992: 30; Pieterse, 1992: 7 and Hollinger, 1994: 2 and 30). At the same time, however, it uproots people from the familiar traditions and institutions they have grown accustomed to (Cooke, 1990a: 5-7), often leading to a "... *loss of values, faith and purpose*" in life (Boyne and Rattansi, 1990: 5).

Eagleton describes this tension very aptly where he suggests that modernity is "... *at one and the same time an arresting and denial of history in the violent shock of the immediate present, from which vantage-point all previous developments may be complacently consigned to the ashcan of 'tradition', and a disorienting sense of history moving with peculiar force and urgency within one's immediate presence, pressingly actual, yet tantalizingly opaque*" (1985: 66).

Inherent in modern thought is thus a teleological idea[] - that of movement/progress towards some [premeditated and better] final goal (Connor, 1994: 30).

It is this emancipatory strain which for some planners [in]formed (see Maps Three and Six) and still [in]forms the base for planning, and which clearly underlay important documents of the 1940s and 1950s, such as the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ANC's Freedom Charter. More recently, these strains have also been explicitly present in the RDP - a text which, alongside, a host of postmodern tendencies to which I return in Byte 02 in the section on postmodernity/sm, is couched in the idea[]s of modernity and can be described as a strong modernist statement of:

1. emancipation from misery, poverty, homelessness, ignorance and sexist traditions; and
2. full citizenship and human rights for all within the borders of a nation state (see Oranje, 1994 and Rogerson, 1994: 103-4).

### BYTE 03 *SCIENCE AND SENSIBILITIES*

The belief that only that which can be proven by science, can be regarded as knowledge or be paid attention to in scientific discourse (Hollinger, 1994: 23). As value claims cannot really be proven, they are not regarded as being part of the realm of science (Hollinger, 1994: 23). One of modern science's main concerns is precisely with minimizing "... *the effects of subjectivity by insisting on the principles of logic, observation and replicability*" (Rosenau and Bredemeier, 1993: 341).

This has been one of the planning game's fortes since its birth in this country[ and abroad], and has remained prevalent to this day. It is also this tendency which has been, and often still is, at loggerheads with the more postmodern *consensus-between-stakeholders-approach* in which the right *option-as-per-scientific-analysi/es* is not necessarily the chosen one/route.

### BYTE 04 *THE UNIVERSAL IS UNIVERSAL*

The premise of "... *universalism, unifying integration, the view that the same rules apply everywhere*" and that "*reasoned argument*" is the same the world over - it is perceived that there are no differences in this regard between cultures, countries or historical periods



(Rosenau, 1992: 128). Furthermore, that any local or national deviation(s) from this universal rationality should/must be eradicated (Connor, 1994: 231).

Clearly, there was a dichotomy in this regard in *pre-1994-election-South Africa*, with the Apartheid rulers on the one hand forcing ethnically-based homelands and sections/wards in townships down on the Africans, while on the other, "running" an increasingly modernizing economy in that area of South Africa excluding the homelands.

In the planning game, this idea, as expounded in the idea/notion of a universally applicable planning process and universally applicable measures, such as zoning, has been very dominant for the last seventy odd years, and still is; one of its peaks in this country being the *Martienssen-and-zoning-are-planning-1930s* (see Bitmap Three of Map Two).

### BYTE 05

#### *THE SELF IS SACRED, THE GROUP PASSÉ*

The privileging of the autonomous Self/Individual over the Group (Smit, 1996: 14 and Ingram, 1995: 4), finding expression in:

1. an incessant struggle for democratisation (see Hollinger, 1994: 25);
2. the institution of the concept of "... *the citizen as an abstract carrier of universal rights*" (Turner, 1990: 6); and
3. the celebration of [the] individual genius in Art and Science (Djait, 1985: 153).

Once again, these ideas regarding the individual as the carrier of basic human rights, are the ones which formed the base of the modern documents discussed in Byte 03 of this section, as well as our Constitution. The idea relating to "individual genius" was of course the one informing the planning game prior to the advent of the comprehensive planning process in the 1960s and 1970s, and one which Professor Mallows was not only a key *caller-for*, but also a brilliant *exponent-of* (see Bitmap Two of Map Four).

At our present juncture, individual creativity is still highly priced in especially the field of design, but is far more restricted/moderated/curtailed in the more *consensus-driven-processes* in most of the other fields.

### BYTE 06

#### *THE NATION STATE IS KING, AND SO IS THE KING*

A trust in, and identification with, the institution of the nation state (see Cooke, 1990a: 17-22 and see Hollinger, 1994: 25) - a concept strangely enough often built up around elements from a premodern past, such as folk culture, "... *heroic acts of past military leaders*" and myths of a lost "*glorious empire*" to bond often very diverse groups, clans and individuals together (Cooke, 1990a: 17-22 and see Hollinger, 1994: 25) -], the increasing bureaucratization of economic and political activities/practices (Turner, 1990: 6) and the voluntary "handing-over" of military

power to the State, giving it monopolised "... *control of the means of violence*" (Giddens, 1990: 58).

It is this idea of a nation state that is strongly represented in the RDP. What is, however, perturbing in the South African case is that there is not a glorious past to build it on. This was a nation divided and at war with itself. The only symbols of the past the nation can be built on, are the heroic acts directed against the Apartheid State, which was of course kept in power by many whites that are still alive. While such symbols are being utilised, new symbols, such as sport, are being used far more extensively. The use of sport, of course, has the drawback that the nation-building process is to some extent tied up with the performance of one, two, seven, nine, eleven or fifteen individuals playing for ever-growing pay packets.

Bureaucratization is, thankfully, a tendency which, after having had its Golden Age in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, showing signs of being in retreat, as it has been throughout the world over the last two decades. The bureaucratization of planning, a development harking back to the 1930s, and also peaking in the 1960s and 1970s in this country, is likewise showing signs of being in decline. This is evident in the transfer of planning from the realm of officialdom [back] into the realm of the lifeworld of the people it (planning) is [supposedly] intended to serve.

On the issue of the state as holding a monopoly-power over the means of violence, the presence of more than a million licensed and an unknown number of unlicensed fire-arms and traditional weapons in the country [in private hands], begs the question of whether the South African society ever entered the domain of modernity.

## BYTE 07

### *TRUST IN EXPERT SYSTEMS WE TRUST*

The invention and institution of expert systems on which modern society depends for its existence (Giddens, 1990: Chapter 1). Expert systems are defined by Giddens (1990: 27) as being "... *systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organise large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today*". Members of modern societies place their trust/have faith in these systems (eg. medicine, architecture, the construction of roads, bridges, etc.) and in fact depend on these systems for their [continued] existence (Giddens, 1990: 27-29). [Under "trust" Giddens understands "... *confidence in the reliability of a person or system regarding a given set of outcomes or events*" (1990: 34).] These expert systems are of course [hu]manned by experts, whom Giddens calls "*the representatives of a system*" (1990: 85). Contact between members of modern society and the representatives of these expert systems takes place at "*access points*", for example the doctor's consulting rooms or the architect's studio (Giddens, 1990: 83). Although trust in these systems is bigger than the specific individual representative of an expert system, it is at the [se] "*access points*" that trust in a system is reinforced or shaken (1990: 85). It is also for this reason that representatives of the system "... *keep concealed from others a good deal of*

*what they do*", as gross mistakes made in full view of members of a society, can shake/stir and even break the system (Giddens, 1990: 86). Giddens uses the example of patients who, if they knew about all the human errors that slip in in the work places of the expert system of medicine, would have much less trust in the medical profession than they [supposedly] do (1990: 86).

Planning is of course one such expert system that arose along with the growth in the excursions of the nation state into an ever-growing number of aspects of the everyday life/lifeworld of the citizens of the country. As the fortunes of such systems are closely tied up with those of the concept of the nation state, the declining power and retreat of the nation state from the lifeworld of the people, has seen the expert system of planning taking a knock. This has been further intensified by the public's/people's "taking back" of the domain claimed by the players of the planning game/expert system since the 1970s[, and especially the last decade], which has seen this expert system landing up in a legitimacy crisis regarding *inter alia* the right it has to decide for others, as well as the [so-called] expertise it holds, but more on this in the section on postmodernity and in Map Ten.

### BYTE 08 *A IS NOT NOT-A*

The utilisation of a system of binary opposites whereby "... *anything and everything must be either A or not-A*" (Berg, 1993: 500; Parpart, 1993: 440 and Connor, 1994: 233). Furthermore this division, where it is applied, is used as an ordering device, for example "... *the Empire is superior to the colonies, the West is superior to the non-West*" (Sardar, 1993: 884). The hierarchy that is created in this way in itself then serves as a form of control of the so-called "Other" - the "Other" being everything and everyone that is not the West or its prime subject *Western rational man* (Sardar, 1993: 884 and see also Sardar, 1992: 495-7). Where gender is concerned, modernity has with this system, credited the male with the values of "... *rationality, objectivity, logical thinking and matter-of-factness*" and relegated the female to the values seen as the "lesser ones" in the binary equation, namely those of "... *the emotional, the intuitive and the caring*" (van Vlucht Tijssen: 1990: 151-2).

Planning, of course, made, and still makes use of this logic in its analysis of what "is" and what "should be". Passing judgement on what "should be", has, however, in a highly diverse society become a highly contestable issue.

Also on a wider scale, the previous Apartheid-rulers made use of this logic, placing the white male on a pedestal, and relegating the "Others", depending on their measure of "deviation" from this norm, in positions and places of degrees of subservience to the white male. Furthermore, as in all colonies, Western culture was clearly treated as THE norm/guiding light, and all other cultures as deviant/the lesser ones. While the judgemental aspect of these notions is clearly no longer in vogue, many Western ideas are now being chosen by non-Westerners as a matter of choice, and not by force.

## BYTE 09

### *THE ART OF REVOLT OR THE REVOLT OF ART*

The presence of a political avant garde in the Arts who:

1. "... rebelled against the alienating aspects of industrialization and rationalization" (Best and Kellner, 1991: 2);
2. "... celebrated negation and dissidence; and
3. called for a revolution of art and life" (Kellner, 1988: 240).

In the planning game a number of planners have, since the birth of the game, seen [the art and science of] planning as a means to radically reform a given reality (see Map Seven for a summary of these reformers' views and endeavours). The last couple of years have clearly seen a resurgence of this idea, not only in the game, but also in Acts, such as the DFA and the LGTA (see Attraction 1 of Bitmap One of Map Six), in which integrated development planning and plans are seen as means towards radically reforming the Apartheid landscape inherited from the past.

## POSTMODERNITY AND POSTMODERNISM

I understand [I hope] postmodernity [- a phenomenon/condition -] and postmodernism [- its artistic/stylistic excursions/methods/expressions, critique and consciousness, some trace back to the Dada movement which originated in the First World War in 1916 in Zurich (Lodge, 1977: 9), and others locate in 1934 in the work of the Spanish writer Frederic De Onis (Jencks, 1986: 3 and see Wickham, 1991: 353), but which only became a topic of discussion in the USA in the 1960s (Bürger, 1984: 95) and France in the late 1970s (Kellner, 1988: 242) -] to be encapsulated[, for as far as that is possible,] in the following[, often conflicting,] bytes.

## BYTE 01

### *MODERNITY UNDER FIRE [AND ON ICE]*

A reaction against Modernity and its [perceived] negative outcomes, including:

1. a revolt against the privileging of reason as the only route to knowledge and the notion that there is a universal, absolute, unchanging "truth" that can be found by mechanistically using the so-called universal scientific method [- "truth" in postmodernity is treated as a relative, subjective "opinion" (Dear, 1994: 298 and Young, 1991b: 300) that is time and space-specific and can only be given the label of "truth" if it is "... corroborat(ed) by a group of persons" (Murphy, 1988: 609) -];
2. a revolt against the grand/totalizing theories/discourses of Modernity in which one theory/discourse is privileged over another, as all theories/discourses are seen as equal;
3. the favouring of micro-explanations, a multiplicity of interpretations, multiple discourses, undecidability and deconstruction [- i.e. a method with the intent to reveal

- "... *the hidden value assumptions, contentions and contradictions laden in theories and metanarratives*" (Banai, 1993: 388) -] over the grand narratives [- i.e. "... *comprehensive metaphysical frameworks within which all knowledge claims (can) be organized, tested and explained*" (Sassower, 1993: 432) -] of emancipation and human ideological evolution derived from Enlightenment reason, like Marxism;
4. a distrust in and a dislike of expert[, reasoned] opinion [and the exuberant fees their "expert" authors often charge];
  5. an explosion/eradication of the borders/boundaries between academic disciplines;
  6. a general "... *softening of the rigid dichotomy*" [/*erasure of the gap*] between "*high art/culture*" and "*low/popular art/mass culture*" (Bürger, 1986; Bürger, 1987: 118; Kellner, 1988: 239; Connor, 1994: 239 and Foster, 1984: 67), often through *pastiche*, finding expression in for instance the [re]mixing of Choral and classical music with pop;
  7. the mimi[ck]ing of the modern avant garde's desire for the radical transformation of society through art, but in a farcical, cynical, caricatured, dystopian, hyper-real form, emptied of its political, emancipatory, revolutionary content;
  8. an emphasis on "... *articulating the margins, or what has been projected as marginal*" (Connor, 1994: 232);
  9. an appreciation of fractal geometry, chaos and complexity;
  10. an anti-method or "anything goes" attitude in research; and
  11. the reduction of [scientific] knowledge as a means to emancipation to a consumer item for sale to the highest bidder (see *inter alia* Rosenau, 1992: especially Chapters 5-7; Hollinger, 1994: Chapters 6, 7, 9 and 10; Lyotard, 1984; Ingram, 1995: 4; Cooke, 1990a: Chapter 4, Kellner, 1988: 241; Sassower, 1993; Dijkink, 1993: 178; Harvey, 1987: 375; Dear and Wassmansdorf, 1993: 322-3; Connor, 1994: 31; Young, 1991a and 1991b; Wickham, 1991: 353-56; Ingram, 1995: 4; Berry, 1993; Eagleton, 1985: 61 and Kellner, 1988: 240; Curry, 1991 and Sudjic, 1992: 22).

While these developments present the opportunity to "... *leap out ... of existing paradigms, or governing structures of thought*" (Connor, 1994: 32-33), they also open the door to:

1. a moral numbness where it is no longer possible to "... *regulate science - or anything else for that matter - in the name of justice or good*" (Connor, 1994: 32-33) and a moral lacklustreness, characterized by "... *the absence of any sense of political, ecological and social responsibility, let alone utopian hopes*" (Albertsen, 1988: 361);
2. a belief that "... *rationalism has failed as an ideal and a practical guide for social action*" (Dear, 1994: 300);
3. a feeling of "... *everything, it's all been done*" and "... *all that remains to be done is to play with the pieces*" (Baudrillard, as quoted in Gane, 1990: 319);
4. a "... *loss of faith in progress*" (Smith, 1992: 85 and see *inter alia* Beller, 1995: 10 and Wallace, 1981: 63);
5. a shift in focus from ends to means (Connor, 1994: 31);
6. the "... *disintegration of the modern philosophical and ethical tradition into relativism and corrosive scepticism*" (O'Sullivan, 1993: 21); and
7. a collapse of "... *all real antagonisms or dichotomies of value, especially in the political sphere*" such as between capitalism and socialism (Connor, 1994: 57), spawning what Josef Joffe in an essay in *TIME Magazine* (October 7, 1996: 76) has termed "*The*"

*First Postmodern President" - Bill Clinton. [According to Joffe, "Clinton is both left and right. He is the first postmodern President, the first to turn 'anything goes' into a political creed" (TIME Magazine, October 7, 1996: 76).]*

Clearly, most of the above are prevalent in present day South Africa in which:

1. the grand narratives of emancipation, especially those of the Marxist persuasion, have lost much of their support;
2. the notion of a universal [planning] truth has lost substantial ground to a consensus/workshop-constructed/formulated truth;
3. experts in many disciplines have been downgraded to "just another set of voices" in the workshop-chorus;
4. boundaries are becoming more permeable between professions and between disciplines at academic institutions;
5. the voices from the erstwhile margins are asserting their right to be voiced;
6. the social sciences have become far more receptive of alternative methods of research;
7. morality is moving into the realm of the relative;
8. the future seems to hold far less allure than what smart drugs, the latest hyperreal entertainment playgrounds and/or the virtual worlds of cyberspace can bring; and
9. knowledge has for many become a mass commodity for sale and education a means towards ensuring employment[ and thus material progress], not so much the improvement [and the spiritual progress] of the person, modern thinkers saw it as bringing.

In urban management, stakeholder-driven processes and public-private partnerships are becoming the norm, *reducing* local authorities to just another set of voices/stakeholders in the process (see Mabin, 1995a: 193) and *transforming* their often bulky planning-bureaucracies from public sector officials "working for a municipality" into servants of [all] the stakeholders.

In the planning game, the voice of the planner and those of other experts have become equal voices among those of many others, and workshops, consultation, and consensus-and-communicative-reason/rationality the route toward solutions/strategies, rather than "The Plan", the product of expert/instrumental reason and the creative, maybe even genial ideas/endeavours of an individual, or a team/set of individual experts - a development which, I believe, has created tension/s as regards the role and place of modern expertise and modern instrumental reason on the one, and local knowledge and local communicative reason on the other hand. Strict universal standards and regulations/controls are also being discarded in favour of negotiated/mediated and culture-and-locality-specific ones. And, in a world in which borders [in all as/respects] are falling away, the new development-processes that have been created, have seen persons operating on the margins between professions filling, and creating, new niches in the development field.

## BYTE 02

***THE OTHER AND AN[OTHER] OTHER***

A shift in focus from the privileged subject of modernity, the white Western male to the "Other" in society. This includes *inter alia*:

1. the highlighting of the peripheral and marginalised groups/voices in society;
2. a focus on the issues affecting and/or of interest to women and women's rights;
3. the intensification of the modern drive to extend human rights to all people;
4. the celebration of diversity and uniqueness;
5. an attentiveness to context;
6. a concern with nature and ecology [ - the "... dismissal of the Man-Nature dualism and an ecology-based emphasis on the essential unity of the natural world" (Dear, 1994: 297)];
7. a politics of empowerment, populism, pragmatism, communitarianism and direct democracy, of hyper-democracy,
8. a "... resurgence of interest in culture, in its constitution and its practical significance ... " (Gregory and Ley, 1988: 115);
9. a pre-occupation with political correctness in [all forms of] discourse; and
10. new, local social movements [and local struggles against local oppressions] with localised goals (see *inter alia* Rosenau, 1992: chapter 5 and 8; Dear, 1994: 295; Sayer, 1994; Dear and Wassmansdorf, 1993: 322-3; Handler, 1992; Cooke, 1990b: 338-9; Sandercock, 1995; Parpart, 1993; Andresen and Castel-Branco, 1993; Connor, 1994: 229-37; *TIME* Magazine, January 23, 1995: 39-44 and February 1, 1993: 44-5 and Sancar, 1994).

This broad trend, however, also includes a reawakening of tribalism, ethnicity and racism (see Keith and Cross, 1993 and Harris, 1993) and a growth in inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict (Smith, 1992: 77), as well as "*ethnic cleansing*" (Hatab, 1994: 363).

The South African society has clearly undergone a transition from a time in which policy and pleasure were solely based on, and focused upon, the concerns of white males, and in which *mono[tone]-macho-male-both-straight-and-gay-culture* reigned supreme, to one in which women, children and diverse cultures are recognised and their existence celebrated in the notion of the "Rainbow Nation". Likewise democracy, human rights, participatory processes, political correctness in discourse and empowerment are the order of the day. A very good example of these tendencies being the recently adopted Constitution, the result of a massive public consultation process and inputs and experiences from abroad (Pretoria News, May 23 1996: 1), and which is generally regarded as a model text of Human Rights legislation (Sunday Independent, May 26 1996: 11). [Being such a state of the art text also has its downsides as it makes government intervention in the economy for the public benefit, as European governments could do after the Second World War in a time in which modernity held sway, very difficult (see for instance Star, March 8 1996: 5 and Business Day, September 5 1996: 6).] Environmentalism has also become a key feature in the printed media and in the national discourse, but, alas, has led to far less action on the implementation side.

Most of these strains and concerns have also been taken up in the RDP, as a solid subtext

to the leading modernist statements (see Byte 02 of the section on Modernity/sm), which can be described as radically modern/hypermodern or postmodern[, which is also in keeping with pre-colonial African culture (see Sindane, 1995: 7)], and which includes notions such as the people driving the process, a very strong focus on local communities, empowerment, decentralisation, sustainability and shifting the gaze to those that a male-centred modernity ignored: the "Others", like women, children and the environment (see ANC, 1994; Turok, 1995c: 87 and Rogerson, 1995: 103-4). As such this text has provided opportunities for people to devise their own, unique, culturally-informed brand of modernity, instead of a State-imposed brand of mass modernity, and has also created extensive opportunities for people to become actively involved in the process of drafting plans/strategies for their communities. While these developments can be seen as much needed spiritual progress - extending dignity and respect to all citizens - there has also been a downside to them: a kind of *process-determinism* - i.e. if the process is "good", the product will be as well - has set in. In many cases, process, a costly exercise in itself, has [seemingly] become more important than the product, it has become "the product". In a postmodern sense "the sign" [i.e. the word] has become more important than that aspect of the reality it is meant to serve/signify. It has become only accountable to itself in a discourse with a vocabulary and set of acronyms all of its own. The result of this development has been, according to numerous players in the development field, that, despite very laudable developments, mainly in respect of those most in need [- i.e. the women and children identified in Bitmap One of this Map -] such as

1. free health care for all pregnant mothers and children under six years of age;
2. food supplements for primary school children;
3. the tabling of a host of White and Green Papers [- the latter being discussion documents -] aimed at *inter alia* land redistribution; and
4. the electrification of hundreds of thousands of homes (Star, May 27 1996: 6, July 2 1996: 13 and July 23 1996: 17; ANC, 1996 and Sunday Times, Business Times, April 7 1996: 5),

government has not been able to move as fast as had been hoped for on the *tangible-delivery-side* of modernisation - material progress. This lack of delivery is clearly exemplified in the fact that:

1. both inequality and unemployment have since the 1994-elections, grown (Star, Business Report, August 27 1997: 3; Sunday Independent, Business Report, May 26 1996: 16; Burger, SakeBurger, March 29 1996: 18; Beeld, January 13 1996: 10 and Star, Business Report, April 23 1996: 1); and
2. delivery of low cost housing has fallen way short of the target of one million units in five years' time, with in July 1996, more than two years after the April-elections, only 4 000 units being built per month (Star, July 2 1996: 13; July 23 1996: 17 and ANC, 1994: 22 and Goodlad, 1996: 1629). [At the time of editing this thesis for the final time (midway through 1997) a figure of 148 000 completed houses was claimed by the Department of Housing (Star, Business Report, June 24 1997: 1 and Muller, 1997).]

Clearly, as touched upon in Bitmap Three of Map Six, more of a balance between procedural justice - letting the public own the process - and substantive justice - equality in outcome, or in other words, a more equitable society, is definitely necessary (see also Oranje, 1995a in which I developed this argument at length). [Recent developments suggest that Government is moving in



this direction. With the launch of the Macroeconomic Strategy towards Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (see Department of Finance, 1996) in June 1996 it was for instance pointedly stated by the President himself that the plan is "*Government policy*" and that it was not up for negotiation (Sunday Independent, Business Report, June 16 1996: 12; July 28 1996: 13 and Business Day, September 5 1996: 3), despite strong reaction against the plan by the trade union COSATU and the South African Communist Party, both alliance partners of the ANC (see Sunday Independent, June 16 1996: 5 and Star, Business Report, July 23 1996: 4).]

Regarding the darker side of the *recognition-and-celebration-of-diversity-trends*, viz that of inter-religious and inter-ethnic conflict, while they are not unknown to the country, they have, luckily, not become a major problem [as yet]. Dark clouds are nonetheless building up on the Western Cape horizon suggesting that inter-religious conflict could be in the offing (Pretoria News, January 27 1997: 5).

As for planning,:

1. the dominance of the white male in the profession and in its institutional structures has been attacked;
2. the environment, *via* the discourse on sustainability and Local Agenda 21, has become a major issue in policy formulation;
3. local culture is making its way into the game; and
4. process and participation, as suggested in Byte 02 of this section, have become cardinal parts of the game.

What has, however, been sorely lacking in the planning game, has been a strong, action-orientated focus on, and a concern with, women and children and their needs in policy and practice.

### BYTE 03

#### *THE LOCAL IN THE GLOBAL AND VICE VERSA*

The globalisation [- i.e. "... *the increasing interconnectedness between people and places across the globe and between global and local levels*" (Afshar, 1994: 271) -] of multi/transnational capitalism, culture and consumer taste, but also of crime in the form of global networks of gangs, including and/or evident in:

1. a shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism in the economic sphere[- from standardised mass *production* to diversified, individualised, flexible mass *consumption*];
2. the shifting of production from the West to the low-wage zones of South and Southeast Asia;
3. the mass migration of employment-seekers across national borders to zones/areas of opportunity;
4. the emergence of a multipolar world in the place of the bipolar Cold War one;
5. the declining power and importance of the nation state, further intensified through (1) privatisation, (2) the rise of the yuppie individualist ethic and (3) a rightward political shift/neo-conservatism in politics] often disguised in the rhetoric of "efficiency",

- "self-help" and "empowerment"], signalling a retreat from more caring, more humane political systems to harsher, more brutish ones, and heralding a time in which "... *the highest ambition of most governments in their macro-economic policy is to do no harm, by ensuring a stable money supply and controlling large budget deficits*" (Fukuyama, 1995: 4);
6. a shift in urban governance from "*managerialism to entrepreneurialism*" [- the latter a game of "... *zero-sum inter-urban competition for resources, jobs, and capital ...*" (Harvey, 1989: 5) -] in which planning by local governments becomes a matter of "... *managing programs and reacting to market demands rather than a matter of imagining the future of the city*" (Bourassa, 1989: 296);
  7. mass tourism in which "... *history, time, and space, as aspects of culture, become commodities*" (Pretes, 1994: 2 and see Leontidou, 1993: 957-958);
  8. the possibility of having "*anything, anywhere, anytime*" in place of "*something, somewhere, sometime*" (Couclelis, 1996: 387);
  9. a reawakening and globalisation of local "forgotten cultures"; and
  10. the so-called "*New Localism*" (Strassoldo, 1992) [- i.e. a *localism of choice*] (see *inter alia* Cooke, 1990a, especially Chapters 4-7, Zukin, 1991; Harvey, 1993; Jameson, 1984: 78; Zukin, 1988; Freestone, 1993; Leontidou, 1993: 957-8; Handler, 1992; Mlinar, 1992; Connor, 1994: 227; Strassoldo, 1992; Graham, 1988: 61; Davis, 1985; Short, 1989; Anon, 1984; Simonsen, 1990: 53; Best, 1989: 40 and *TIME* Magazine, May 27, 1991: 42-52, September 14, 1992: 22-27 and February 1, 1993: 38-41).

The re-entrance of South Africa into the global economy over the last couple of years has seen most of the above become a reality for this country as well, as the following bytes testify:

The notion of a global economy has become one of the key features in national and provincial *government-thinking-in-regards-to-economic-policy* (see *inter alia* Department of Finance, 1996 and Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997). And, as in most cases, our readmittance has also been one of mixed fortunes, with:

1. numerous enterprises built up in sanctions-South Africa struggling to keep up in the global arena, especially so in the textile and footwear industries (Star, Business Report, June 20 1997: 21 and July 25 1997: 16); and
2. many job losses, even in growth sectors such as the manufacturing sector - 50 000 in 1996 and 14 000 in the first sector of 1997 (Pretoria News, Business Report, July 11 1997: 1 and July 25 1997: 16); but
3. also an increase of exports in *inter alia* the manufacturing and agricultural sectors and a substantial growth in the tourism sector (Pretoria News, Business Report, July 11 1997: 1 and Harrison, 1994 and Mabin, 1995a: 192).

The local tourism industry has also, as is common practice in countries selling them[/~~their~~]selves as tourist destinations, embarked on the sale of history and culture as commodities in and at places such as the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town [- in a hyper-real format in the case of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront] (see Wilkinson, 1994 and Goudie *et al*, 1995).

In-movement of migrants from other African countries has taken on substantial dimensions (see Badenhorst and Pohl, 1996), and has, in the view of some, taken jobs away from South Africans, contributed to crime and swamped medical services (Badenhorst and Pohl, 1996; Saturday Star, June 21 1997: 6; Star, January 15 1997: 13 and see Mabin, 1995a: 192). This migration-phenomenon, following the general trend that "*(e)ach city contains the seeds of its own destruction, because the more attractive it becomes, the more it will attract overwhelming numbers of immigrants*" (Ashok Khosla, as quoted in *TIME* Magazine, January 11, 1993: 30), is, according to a recent Amnesty International Report, leading to "... *a rising tide of xenophobia in South Africa*" (Saturday Star, June 21 1997: 6). Together with this in-migration has also gone an outward-brain drain, sapping the country of much-needed skills and expertise (see Badenhorst and Pohl, 1996).

What has, however, not transpired, is huge influxes of foreign capital and investment into the country, largely as a result of the following.

1. *Crime*, especially violent crime (see *inter alia* Sunday Independent, May 26 1996: 3; Star, July 23 1996: 9; Star, Business Report, August 29 1996: 5 and Star, Business Report, September 3 1996: 2), which is costing the country more than R31 billion per year, or 5.6% of the GDP, and which is also threatening to destroy the fabric keeping society together (Star, Business Report, June 12 1996: 5). According to press reports this is also impacting negatively on international tourism (Pretoria News, January 27 1997: 5 and Star, Business Report, September 4 1996: 4), while tourism is one of the industries on which government has pinned its hope of major job creation and earning of foreign currency (Star, June 27 1996: 3 and Beeld, May 22 1996: 11).
2. The fact that *Organised Labour* in South Africa, due to its having to take up a political role in the years of the banning of the ANC, has been far more vocal than Labour Unions have been of late in other countries (Saturday Star, August 10 1996: 1 and Star, Business Report, May 27 1996: 1). Government coming out openly in favour of a national strike by the trade union COSATU in 1996 was also rumoured not to have impressed favourably on foreign investors (Star, April 23 1996: 1). In the global economy investors for instance have the choice of going to one of our neighbours, Namibia, where, early in 1996, the government announced a plan to attract foreign investment in terms of which a five year period of "*no strike action*" is guaranteed (Star, Business Report, May 16 1996: 3). Furthermore, large sections of South Africa's labour force, as explained earlier on, are barely educated and badly trained, leading to low productivity (Ligthelm, 1993: 108 and Star, Business Report, September 4 1996: 5). This in turn makes investment in South Africa in a postmodern global economy a much less feasible option than in areas with better trained, more productive workers (*TIME* Magazine, September 16 1996: 49 and Star, Business Report, May 21 1997: 1).
3. The *Mandela-factor*: the fear of foreign investors that the country will fall apart when President Mandela retires in less than two years' time (Star, September 5 1996: 18 and *TIME* Magazine, September 16 1996: 51). Recent developments, such as the unanimous [ANC] Party-support of Thabo Mbeki as the successor to the president, are, however, sure to reduce this fear and the impact of this factor.

While there has of course been some foreign investment in, as well as an influx of

investment funds to the country (Star, Business Report, August 29 1996: 12 and Pretoria News, Business Report, July 17 1996: 1), it has not been of the magnitude needed to make the required inroads into our huge unemployment figure. Furthermore, given the growing ease and speed of transactions, many of the overseas investments can also not be regarded as sustainable, as was illustrated by the fleeing of large volumes of foreign capital early in 1996, when the local currency lost approximately 20% of its value against the Pound and the Dollar (Star, Business Report, August 29 1996: 12 and September 5 1996: 5). [The effect of the opening up of global markets for local investors still needs to be seen out.]

Regarding the state of the nation state, while the notion of the nation state is not dead in South Africa, government on all three tiers in South Africa is struggling to fund the huge amounts that are needed to reconstruct and develop the country [estimated in 1994 at between R39 billion and R150 billion for the first five years of the RDP (Cloete, August 12 1994: 19)], as well as provide much needed public services (see Business Day, June 11 1997: 3 and September 5 1996: 1; Star, Business Report, May 14 1996: 1 and Star, July 19 1996: 21), which is sure to undermine the faith in these modern institutions. In addition to this, the country needs to service a national debt of R320 billion, which represented 66% of the 1995-GDP of R484 billion (Pretoria News, June 30 1996: 7; Sunday Independent, Business Report, May 26 1996: 16 and see Star, Business Report, March 14 1996: 13). On the whole the position is very bleak with very few sources of income available, externally, as well as internally, as the following bytes suggest.

1. *Aid.* While South Africa is clearly in need of a reconstruction drive of the magnitude of the post-Second World War Marshall Plan during which the Western European countries received more 13.2 billion dollars in grants and loans from the USA over a four year period (Keylor, 1984: 275), nothing in the shape of Foreign Aid of this nature, has been forthcoming.
2. *Loans.* Loans from the World Bank and the IMF (see Star, Business Report, May 10 1996: 1) often bring with them meddling in the internal economy and a massive restructuring of the economy (Star, February 29 1996: 15 and Star, Workplace, April 10 1996: 6). Furthermore, given South Africa's relatively high per capita income for a developing country [hiding the massive inequalities as discussed earlier on in Bitmap One of this Map], the terms of loans are much unkind than if South Africa were a poorer country, like for instance Mozambique (Star, April 29 1993: 27).
3. *Taxes.* South Africans are already of the heaviest taxed people in the world (see Badenhorst, 1992: 77; Star, Business Report, April 21 1995 and Sunday Times, September 1 1996: 5), and increasing taxes is sure to hasten the brain drain already afoot (see Badenhorst and Pohl, 1996 for an indication of the size of the brain drain and Sunday Times, Business Times, September 1 1996: 1) and to drive away footloose foreign companies to areas of lower taxes. It is also very difficult to collect taxes in an economy with a large "unchecked" informal sector and a growing disregard for *inter alia* the tax laws of the land [- for instance one million registered personal tax payers, approximately 80% of the total, had not submitted their tax return forms by September 1996 for the 1995/1996 tax year ending in February 1996 (Business Day, September 5 1996: 1)].
4. *Savings.* Savings are very low (Star, Business Report, May 27 1996: 1 and Saturday Star, June 1 1996: 5). As a matter of fact personal debt was at a record high in the third quarter of

1996: more than 66% of all after-tax earnings in the country would be needed to pay off the national personal debt, or stated differently, each South African woman, man and child was [and probably still is] R2 000 in debt (Star, August 31 1996: 13 and Star, Business Report, August 29 1996: 5). This is excluding the national debt of R320 billion referred to earlier on in this paragraph.

At one of the most crucial areas of governance, that of local government, the level at which the government is hoping "things will happen", the non-payment for services by users, among other reasons (see Star, Business Report, July 17, 1996: 18 and Star, July 2 1996: 3), has increased a collective 1989-debt of approximately R12 billion to approximately R23 billion in 1996 (Delpont, 1996: 35 and see Star, Business Report, September 4 1996: 8). While capital spending has still been possible by a few large metropolitan areas and larger towns and cities, smaller local authorities, especially the ones in the rural areas, face a major crisis as they are no longer able to service their debts (Delpont, 1996: 35). This until now privileged position of some of the more affluent areas is also coming under strain with refusals by some of the largest land owners, as well as individual property owners in affluent areas, to pay rates increases (Star, September 3 1996: 1, September 4 1996: 2 and September 5 1996: 3). [Recent verdicts going in favour of the local authorities, have, however, been greeted with the response that "... the battle was not over yet" (Pretoria News, April 15 1997: 3).]

In the planning game, the absence of funds, the declining power of the nation state in the global economy and "international prescriptions" on government involvement in the economy, have seen Local Economic Development become a key feature of econo-spatial thinking at the local level (see also Bitmap One of Map Six). Planners have also in many cases become involved in the *no-second-places-competition-for-investment-game* played by provinces, [mega-]cities and towns [- as *inter alia* the struggle for Parliament/the Capital and the Olympic Bid in 2004 testify/ied -] and have in so doing, added another field to the game - that of City/Region Marketing (see Harrison, 1994: 83 and Bitmap One of Map Six).

As for planning, given that, as discussed in Byte 07 of the section on Modernity/sm, the fortunes of planning are so closely tied up with those of the nation state, the declining power of the nation state has seen planning lose much of its regulatory land-use-teeth and the perception take root that development control is no longer required in a society in urgent need of development (see Mabin, 1995a: 192-193). Also, given the State's declining ability to create jobs or assist in the creation of jobs, a number of local authorities have refrained from "getting tough" with job-creating-contraveners of regulations in town planning schemes (see Mabin, 1995a: 192-193). [Law-of-the-jungle-vigilantism has, however, for instance seen the torching of a Hustler Sex Shop in a small local shopping centre in suburban Moreletapark, Pretoria, early in 1997.]

**BYTE 04**
**LIVE/CONSUME FOR A [PLASTIC] DAY**

A celebration of the present - a "*perpetual present*" (Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 695), or, as Davis (1985: 106) calls it, a "*depthless present*" - and the aesthetic in cosmetic garb and a desire for carn[iv]al-like [ostentatious] consumption and immediate gratification, including and/or evident in:

1. an [ever-expanding] commodification of anything and everything for individualised mass consumption, including:
  - \* culture;
  - \* that which is regarded as private and intimate; and
  - \* labels/signs of consumer products, such as on designer clothing, leading to a situation where the label becomes more important than the product itself (Best, 1989 and see Glennie and Thrift, 1992: 423 and Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 688);
2. hyperreality - i.e. "... *the experience of something where there is nothing, an illusory non-world taken as real, not a dream or a falsehood, but realer-than-real, for the illusion assumes the authenticity the real once had, more real than the 'real' itself ...*", leaving reality de[p]leted, irrelevant (Best, 1989: 37; Connor, 1994: 57 and 60-61; Bauman, 1992: 151 and Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 688) [- as Best suggests, the hyperreal as seen on especially TV is "... *explicitly and consciously preferred over its 'real' counterpart; it's faster, sexier, realer than real*" (1989: 38)];
3. an aesthetification of commodity production and of everyday life (see Berman *et al*, 1984-1985: 7; Jameson, 1984: 56; Crook, 1989: 265-268 and Bürger, 1986: 103); and
4. a narcissistic *hyper-health-and-body-consciousness* (see *inter alia* Rosenau, 1992: Chapter 8 and Hollinger, Chapter 9; Leontidou, 1993: 956 and see also *TIME* Magazine, 27 May 1991: 42-52).

[The societal form so established, has been called "... *the society of the spectacle*", i.e. "... *a society where individuals consume a world fabricated by others rather than producing their own*" and in which conspicuous consumption, leisure and entertainment become the dominant components of such a society's culture (Best, 1989: 24-25).]

In the case of South Africa a wealthy few have entered this hyperreal *perpetual-present* realm of the postmodern spectacle, with its spectacular [physical] structures dotted in and along the highways in the few enclaves of wealth (see Bond, 1992: 53 for a similar view), creating as I have suggested at various occasions in this text, the Capital[ist] Web of David Crane (1960). *Inside* the spectacular structures, to the tune of some remix of a remix, the international signs of the synergy between soulless self and consumption shine their shining signals - their message clear and simple: BUY ME, EAT ME, BE[COME] ME! It is in these places and spaces and in the virtual reality of the Internet that I believe, the wealthy lose track of the plight of the millions of other far less fortunate South Africans - i.e. [N]E[T]SCAPE. [Likewise Graham (1996: 14) suggests that "... *spiralling fears of the "Other" in the postmodern (USA) city ...*", is one of the driving forces behind the huge popularity of the Internet - i.e. "... *people explor(e) the 'electronic spaces' based on telematics because they are increasingly alienated by the processes of change underway in many American cities*".]

Regarding planning, a number of players in the planning game, albeit not responsible for the phenomenon itself, have found "gainful employment" from setting up these spectacular structures, plying their trade in the interests of those that can pay.

## BYTE 05 *SO LONG HISTORY*

The idea that human ideological evolution has come to its end/conclusion in the globalisation of western liberal democracy and that this signals "*The End of History*" (see the definitive paper of Fukuyama, 1989 in this regard and Sardar, 1992, for a very strong critique against this view). [With the Left's loss of the historical "agent" of Marxism - the Worker's Class - to move history forward and complete and terminate the "capitalist project", this view has gained wide recognition (see Bauman, 1986: 83).]

As touched upon in Byte 01 of this section, [Marxist] ideology has also lost some of its shine in South Africa. And, our governing party, once a movement with an emancipatory, modernist, Leftist, socialist, mass interventionist position [ - even nationalisation - ], has also had to make major changes in its position and policies after being confronted with a world in which [Marxist] ideology had [ , maybe temporarily, ] lost its appeal. While the ANC is clearly still committed to ensuring the modernisation of all the country's people, what exactly this "modernisation" entails, as well as what the mechanisms for ensuring this are, are clearly different to what they had been not even ten years ago. It is out of the/this search for a new brand of modernisation, I believe [ and as I suggested in Byte 02 of this section ], that the RDP was born: a marriage between modernity and postmodernity.

South Africa, in contrast to global trends, does, however, still have a very strong and vocal Workers' Class. And, Organised Labour in South Africa has held on, in its:

1. rhetoric at least, to the idea of far more State-involvement in the economy (see Cosatu, Nactu and Fedstal, 1996 and Schoombee, 1997);
2. discourse, to "comrades"; and
3. banners, to the notion of an onward march towards socialism.

## BYTE 06 *FUNDAMENTALLY PURE AND INFINITELY SECURE*

A resurgence of fundamentalism in religion as a counterforce to the [perceived] spiritual anchorlessness of modernity (Foster, 1984: 70; Tibi, 1995 and Grunwald, 1992: 60); in the case of Islam as an attempt "... to ward off (the) globalization of modern knowledge" (Tibi, 1995: 2). [Sceptics see the return to fundamentalism in some Christian churches as part of "the spectacle" (see Byte 06 of this section in this Bitmap) - a religion dished up and preached to the masses, for the masses, with a high "feeling"/entertainment-content and instant gratification/consumption at heart.]

Fundamentalism in religion is no stranger to South Africa and a rise in this sector has clearly been visible over the last number of years (Pretoria News, January 27 1997: 5). Recent events around PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism And Drugs) in the Western Cape have illustrated another aspect of strongly religious-based communities: their potential as vehicles for local social movements on local issues. Another clear indicator in the PAGAD-case is a call going out from these communities for an end to lawlessness, and a warning, that if nothing is done, the people will take events into their own hands - a development which has been echoed by numerous other events of people's justice, vigilantism and citizens's arrests throughout the country (see for instance Star, May 10 1997: 1).

### BYTE 07 *INTER[MINABLE]NET*

The "... *rise of new informational technologies*" (Wickham, 1991: 353), the production of information for sale (Kemnis, 1995: 135) and "... *the elevation of information and its associated technologies into the first division of key resources and commodities*" (Frow, 1996: 89). As Frow suggests, "*Information is a new form of capital*" (1996: 89).

The rise of information technologies and of information as a commodity for sale has also arrived in South Africa. The Internet has been with us now for more than three years and it is clearly one of the main gadgets[/savvy symbols] of the rich and [becoming-]educated in the country. For the poor and uneducated it is something which is passing them by, and which has all the makings of further widening the chasm in the South African society between the rich and the poor. [It presents the peculiar situation (as touched upon in Byte 04 of this Section) in which a minority of affluent members of our society can log onto the information superhighway of the Internet and enter a virtually real world, where they are taken on virtual journeys far away from the *real* plight of the millions of poor in the country, while millions of the rural poor and their children, do not even have proper dirt roads to their dwellings, only donga-straddled *areas-of-no-grass*: a nightmare for those in their 4 (metre) x 4 (metre) shelters, testing terrains for a/the wealthy few in their latest 4 x 4's.]

In the planning game, GIS has risen to the fore, bringing a[nother] substantive skill into the game, and providing politicians and others with a very powerful, visible and fast tool in decision-making. It is also providing an interface between various disciplines and professions, in a sense also breaking down the borders between them.

### BYTE 08 *POWER IS EVERYWHERE AND SO IS EVERYWHERE*

A movement away from the perception that power-relations in societies are best understood in macropolitical terms between "... *large groupings or monolithic blocks, of class or State*", to one suggesting that they are located "... *in the micropolitical terms of the networks of power-relations subsisting at every point in a society*" (Connor, 1994: 225).



This realisation, part of the movement towards more locally-based struggles and social movements, rather than on a macro-scale, has also found its way into planning practice, as many players involved in the field of local territorial disputes and City Council-politics have found.

### BYTE 09 *OVER AND UNDER REPRESENTATION*

A reaction against representation, as "*... it is no longer believed that signs or language have the ability adequately to reflect ... reality*" (Curry, 1991: 215). It is held that "*... representation is ... more constitutive of reality than transparent to it*" (Foster, 1984: 67 and see Dear, 1994: 297). Likewise, it is suggested that those outside a cultural group/community, cannot understand and represent it or its members (Jackson, 1991).

As suggested in Byte 01 of this section, direct democracy alongside representative democracy, transparency, accountability and participation have become part of the new system of governance in South Africa. And, in the planning game, planners do no longer represent the "common good" - the people are in the fora to define and debate what the local, common good is.

The discourse on the distortions in reflecting reality through language, the inability of language to reflect reality, or rather the problems of communicating reality via signs - words, figures, numbers, etc. - has not, as far as I know, arrived in the local planning game, which is very strange for a game not just talking about present reality, but trying to relate *[and dictate, in some instances]* future *should-be-realities*.

### BYTE 10 *SHIFTING SANDS UNDER A SLIPPERY SELF*

A "*... retreat from the idea of the unified (modern) personality to the 'schizoid' experience of the loss of self in undifferentiated time*" (Connor, 1994: 44; Gubrium and Holstein, 1994 and Foster, 1984: 76) - something which some have termed "*the death/end of man/the individual/the subject*" (Berman *et al*, 1984-1985: 4). "Self" becomes a "*floating signifier*", it "*... does not naturally represent any particular thing or domain of experience*" (Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 687). It can be *[come]* anything, anywhere and everywhere via high technology *[arcade/TV/computer]* games and communication networks, such as the Internet and television (see also Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 688). It has no coherent, stable "centre" *to, on* and *from* which inputs are weighed, discarded and/or attached (Flax, 1987: 624) - thus the often quoted notion of the "*decentered self*" (see Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 698 and Ray, 1995). *[In Lyotard's postmodernism, the self is located "... at the intersection of multiple language games"* (Gubrium and Holstein, 1994: 689).] It is this absence of the centered human subject/self, something to which most forms of humanism appeal, which has seen it (humanism) become a problematic concept and one which postmodernists strongly object to (Gregory, 1996: 214-215).

So too, has the idea of "alienation" been given a fatal blow, "... *as there is no longer any subject to be alienated ...*" (Eagleton, 1985: 61).

Coupled with these trends has been an acceleration in the "... *cycles of style and fashion (and) the increased power of advertising and the electronic media*" in the creation of consumer "needs" and preferences (Connor, 1994: 45). Despite all the suggestions of democracy there are those who suggest that the audience and the individual in the mass communication game is denied a response and becomes a mute hostage. As Baudrillard (as quoted in Connor, 1994: 53) writes, "*A mass medium talks to its audience, ... while never allowing that audience to respond to it and, indeed, confirms its audience's muteness by stimulating audience response, via phone-ins, studio audiences, viewers' polls and other forms of bogus interaction*".

While the notions of the "decentered self" [to various degrees] must surely ring true for many people alive today, there is a dark ring to the ring: the duping/deception of the individual, the creation of a mindless and soulless being, with very little concern for [what happens to] his/her fellow human beings. Now, while I am not suggesting that this is the state of every person alive today, it would be a lie to suggest that these dark[er] trends are not around. It is also these trends which, I believe, produce planners who proudly proclaim themselves to be capitalists working to be paid, and to, in actual fact, care very little for the people who inhabit the places and spaces they co-create.

Planning[, in a more international sense], along with most of modernity's institutions, had, on a *higher level*[, at a time when such levels still existed], as one of its prime foci, the emancipation of "the individual" from poverty, unhealthy living conditions and oppression. With the affluent postmodern individual becoming a decentered piece of flesh in a high tech[nology] world through which messages move and sometimes cling[, but only for a while], this focus/aim seems somewhat out of place. For the millions of individuals still waiting for *inter alia emancipation from poverty and unhealthy living conditions*, this does of course not apply.

## BYTE 11 POLARS AND PILLARS

A tendency for metropolitan areas to become increasingly complex, sprawled, fragmented, super-highway-linked, crime-and-drugs-ridden, highly segregated[ in terms of class, income, race, ethnicity, age, politics, sexual orientation and religion] (Dear, 1995b: 72)], making urban governance very difficult and local governments "... *less able to respond to grassroots concerns*" (Dear, 1995a: 39 and see also Dear, 1995b; Folch-Serra, 1989: 71; Freestone, 1993: 19 and Leinberger, 1995). Dear for instance describes "*postmodern Los Angeles*" as "*a city*" [what about metropolitan area?]:

1. "... *split between extremes of wealth and poverty, in which a glittering First World city sits atop a polyglot Third World substructure*";

2. which is "... witnessing a fundamental political realignment as old elites are replaced by place-based coalitions forged from the politics of racial, ethnic and gender tribalisms";
3. in which "(t)here is no longer a civic will nor a collective intentionality behind LA urbanism"; and
4. in which "... the obsolete land-use planning machinery is powerless to influence the city's burgeoning social heterodoxy" (1995a: 43-44).

Together with these trends has gone the creation of "fortress cities" (Christopherson, 1995) in which:

1. [wealthy] individuals lock themselves [and their property values] away behind high walls [in *inter alia* master planned security developments especially on the edges of American cities in which the intention is to recreate safe(r) places where "a sense of community" can develop and where mixed land uses can be provided in a controlled setting/environment (Knack, 1995; Leccese, 1988 and Hopkins *et al.* 1988)] - a community form Short (1996: 32) has very aptly described as the "gated community"; and
2. "fortress-like environments" are reared in the realm of shopping/entertainment, the design of which "... strongly emphasize separation from the larger urban environment and the prevention of customer 'leakage' to the outside world" (Christopherson, 1995: 420).

Together these developments are seen to be leading to the encompassing/enclosure of spaces, "... which once again suppress the differences liberated by a discourse of the postmodern" (Gibson and Watson, 1995: 9).

Clearly South Africa's polarised cities, as they were constructed under Apartheid, bear all the semblances of the postmodern city (see Mabin, 1995a: 192 for a similar view). Recent developments in the major metropolitan areas of the country, such as

1. the increased decentralisation of offices[ in postmodern-pastiche and geared largely towards the higher income sectors of the society], entertainment and retail uses, and even uses normally associated with the CBD, to suburban [mixed use-mimicking-the-inner-city-areas-but-in-hyperreal/sterilised-form-shopping-and-entertainment-playgrounds in typical postmodern style with flags and an every-day-all-day-carnival-atmosphere, often on/around artificial lakes-]nodes in the wealthier areas;
2. the "opting out" of the CBD's of major cities by large property concerns/owners such as Anglo American Property Services (AMPROS) (Business Day, June 11 1997: 1); and
3. the establishment of walled suburbs and security villages, (see Star, April 30 1997: 23), has further intensified this polarisation and led to the creation of typical American "Edge Cities" (see Harrison *et al.*, 1997; Mabin, 1995: 192-193 and Turok, 1995b and Garreau, 1992 for an exposition of the USA phenomenon). Despite all the rhetoric of healing Apartheid's cities and the fervour among numerous players in the planning game for this to happen, local private sector investment has largely remained in affluent areas and has not made strong movements into the disadvantaged areas, opting, as it always has, for ventures offering the highest and fastest return on investment (see *inter alia* Harrison *et al.*, 1997; Star, Business Report, September 5 1996: 3). While crime is *inter alia* surely to blame in this regard, so it seems from newspaper reports, is the bond defaulting of at least 50 000 bondholders, largely concentrated in the less affluent areas

of the country (see Saturday Star, June 1 1996: 8 and Star, Business Report, July 17 1996: 18).

All this does, however, not mean that the various groups are isolated from each other: information, labour, capital and artifacts flow over "borders" and between groups - artifacts often unwillingly in the form of crime.

## BYTE 12

### [I]N[F]ORMALISATION

The undermining of [comprehensive] land use management systems based on functional land-use separation and formal settlement-establishment procedures through self-help, spontaneous mixed-use "*piecemeal urban development*" [most often on urban peripheries] (Leontidou, 1993: 951 and 953).

In South Africa the monotone urban environments [of the previously so-called "white areas"] kept in place through strict control documents, have been dramatically altered over the last number of years with the in-movement into previous "residential areas" of especially offices and small scale home industries (see Mabin, 1995a: 192). Land invasions and the setting up of settlements on the peripheries of many urban areas are also not strangers to South Africa (see also Harrison, 1996: 30).

## BYTE 13

### BACK TO A BETTER DAY (A[B]ID) IN A BETTER CITY (BC)

In town planning and urban design:

1. a change from functionalism, rigid zoning and comprehensive plans to a "*critical regionalism*", which combines an appreciation of "... *the significance of local culture, social institutions, techniques, climate, topography*" with "*universal techniques*" and which relishes in the mixing of land uses (Bourassa, 1989: 296);
2. a focus on place and the making of place (Graham, 1988: 60 and Bond, 1992: 53); and
3. a nostalgia for a simpler pre-modern era (Cooke, 1990a: 110-1), which, "*(i)n its most romantic versions, ... rejects the urban forms engendered by the industrial society, cherishing a return to **Gemeinschaft** and the communal way of life of a precapitalist, preindustrial, premotorized era*" (Audirac and Shermeyen, 1994: 161, bold as italics in original text) and calls for:
  - \* "... *a reconciliation with the past and with all classical and vernacular forms once condemned by the International Movement (CIAM)*" (Audirac and Shermeyen, 1994: 161); and
  - \* the "... *revitalization of the prefunctionalist tradition of urbanism, complete with axial grid system, public spaces of street and square, monuments, etc.*" - a "... '*neo-traditionalism*' of '*classical principles and orders*'" (Albertsen, 1988: 357).

Locally the work of Professors Dewar, Uytendogaardt and Todeschini (see Uytendogaardt et al 1996 and 1997a and 1997b) and others, like Irky Wood (Bond, 1992: 53) bear testimony to this development. The *pre/postmodern urbanism* so preached by many of the local followers of these ideas, however, tends to go along with an old *modernist* tendency: the binary logic of A or non-A: [our version of] urbanism is "right" and any deflection from the notion is "wrong/deviant". Also, the urbanism so prescribed, has tended to find its clearest manifestation in hyper-real playgrounds and master-designed security villages of the rich, shielded and protected from "deviants" and crime, and stripped of the pure, raw realities of high density, high complexity, inner city areas/living (see also Bond, 1992: 53 for a similar point of view).

#### BYTE 14 PICK AND PASTE PASTICHE

The style/method of *pastiche* or "*eclectic historicism*" (Foster, 1984: 67) in Architecture, planning and the Arts, whereby elements or styles from the past are eclectically mixed with each other (see Cooke, 1990c: 22; Jameson, 1984: 56; Crook, 1989: 265-8; Dear 1986: 383 and Foster, 1984: 72) - something David Harvey has likened to a "... *ransacking of history and places for ideas and images as if history and geography constituted nothing more than a vast supermarket of metaphors ...*" (1990: 12). As Bürger (1986: 97) suggests, "... *the postmodern consciousness has no clear temporal horizon; it restlessly wanders between present and past, indiscriminately retrieving its aesthetic forms from the imaginary museum of the cultural tradition*". [Pastiche must not be confused with *parody* which uses critique in the hope of creating a better world - not critique for the sake of it.]

Also, in architecture:

1. an acceptance of "*contextualism*", viz that "... *a new building (can) not sustain an autonomy of form, but ha(s) to relate, both as a whole and through its details, to the existing buildings around it*" (Klotz, 1989: 30); and
2. a retreat from the modernist concern with function to a celebration of architecture as aesthetic text (Crook, 1989: 265) and the "*double-coding*" of buildings [which are viewed as "texts"], whereby Modern techniques/styles are combined with "... *something else (usually traditional building) in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects*" (Jencks, 1986: 14).

Likewise, in the written text/literature, the combination "... *in one work (of) the apparently factual and the obviously fictional, introducing the author and the question of authorship into the text, and exposing conventions in the act of using them*" (Lodge, 1977: 12). Also, the presentation of more data that the reader can synthesize, in so doing affirming "... *the resistance of the world to interpretation*" (Lodge, 1977: 12). Postmodern writing, given these trends/tendencies, has been described in the following terms: "*Contradiction, permutation, discontinuity, randomness, excess and The Short Circuit*" - the latter referring to a method by which the author attempts to "... *administer a shock to the reader*" by producing a text

which resists categorization into "... *conventional categories of the literary*" (Lodge, 1977: 10 and 12).

Again, these trends are clearly discernible in South Africa too, and while many of them manifest in other language games than planning, they do indicate developments/transitions in other text-producing/creating/designing language games, and in the present context/landscape which this Bitmap is about.

# MAP NINE

## *IN WHICH* **I GO ON FOUR JOURNEYS INTO SOME POSSIBLE FUTURES**

*"(A) map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at, for it leaves out the country at which humanity is always landing"* (Oscar Wilde, as quoted in Cherry, 1970: 10).

*"Every map is an abstraction, in that what appears on it is a matter of selection, and the scale selected determines what can be shown"* (Topalov, 1993: 413).

## INTRODUCTION

I suppose any peek into the future is as much about hope as it is about despair.

### *Despair:*

1. at the prospect of negative trends/tendencies continuing/persisting and even growing stronger as we head into the future;
2. at the spectre of past human frailties and failings repeating themselves; and
3. at our own inability to do something about the cause of our despair.

### *Hope:*

1. that [some of] th[os]e negative trends and tendencies driving us to despair will dissipate or be reversed;
2. that positive trends and tendencies will continue and grow even stronger as we head into the future;
3. that good work/actions/initiatives presently under way will pay off;
4. that those preaching doom, and robbing us of hope, will be proven wrong; and
5. that a better day will dawn for us all.

In the next four Bitmaps, largely "extrapolated" from the [positive and negative] trends and tendencies mapped in the present context/landscape in Map Eight, hope and despair form the base of the maps: The first two Bitmaps being *Maps of Despair*, maps that may very well become our future if we wait for the future to overwhelm us, unless something is done by, among others, planners, to prevent this from happening. The last two Bitmaps being *Maps of Hope*, maps in which the future is actively reclaimed, and maps which I believe may become a reality, provided that planners, among others, play their part in ensuring this.

## BITMAP ONE OF MAP NINE DARK DESPAIR OR VERGING ON THE EDGE OF A BLACK HOLE

This, the often called "worst case scenario", is one in which globalisation continues unabated, local industries struggle to keep up in the international economy and shed more jobs, and only a few companies and individuals manage to compete successfully. This results in a further growth in inequality, heightening the already prevalent "*Brazilification*" [- i.e. "*The widening gulf between the rich and the poor and the accompanying disappearance of the middle class*" (Coupland, 1993: 11) -] of the South African society.



Crime remains at current levels or rises even further[, continuing to operate as an informal form of redistribution of wealth in the absence of, and limited effectiveness of, more formal government measures aimed at achieving this], sporadic conflict and uprisings are common, as those living on the [thin] edge between life and death try to secure some of the resources conspicuously available among the rich, a sense of anarchism prevails and vigilantism is an everyday occurrence. In these conditions the brain-drain picks up another few gears, local capital leaves the country for investments in South and Southeast Asia and overseas investment in the local economy shows little growth, or even leaves the country for areas with less crime, lower wages and more productive and less vocal workers.

Activity corridors remain ideas on paper and initiatives aimed at boosting small, medium and micro enterprises dry up due to a lack of investor and lender confidence and public and donor funding.

Cheaper labour from outside South Africa's borders continues to migrate to the *perceivably-still-better-than-where-they-are-opportunities* in South Africa, leading to already low paid workers undercutting each other to get the few available jobs, more unemployment and a rise in crime.

In this survivalist economy competition between provinces and cities intensifies and tensions between provinces and the national government build[escalate] as the wealthier, more urban provinces begin demanding a bigger share of the income generated in their areas for themselves. As a result of this, less money is available for upliftment in the poorer, more rural provinces. This development sees urbanisation soar, and, in the absence of any urbanisation strategy, or an implemented urbanisation strategy, the appalling living conditions of the urban poor fall even further. Masakhane and subsequent campaigns reap little rewards[, mainly as huge numbers of people are simply not able to pay for services], plunging local authorities further into debt and debilitating them from investing in capital projects or providing essential services, such as water, electricity and sewerage and waste removal. This leads to further degradation and squalor for the urban poor.

The wealthy few in the urban areas lock themselves ever further away from the poor, linking up *via* high tech[technology] communication systems to other affluent sectors of the world and create fully-fledged neo-feodal cities, with fully self-sufficient, walled enclaves and private armies, i.e. permanent security guards to protect them and to accompany them whenever they venture outside their "castles" [- Rembrandt's "Night Watch"]. In these walled enclaves many of the urbanist principles of high densities[, so as to keep costs of protecting the territory down (see also Mabin, 1991b: 84 for a discussion of this trend in Sao Paulo, Brazil)], mixed uses, "diversity" and community are achieved in a *hyper-vulgarised-aesthetized* form, sterilized of the poor and the *often-unpleasant-realities* of urban living[ and life, if you like]. Private utility companies are set up to provide basic services and to ensure the upkeep of streets, parks and squares in these enclaves. While the postmodern nihilism and relativism still feature strongly in these enclaves, many, in an attempt to stem the decadence attributed to

the hyper-freedom of modernity and to remain in the affluent sector of society, [choose to] return to premodern ideas, such as unchallenged authority and strict rules.

In general "the Environment" suffers tremendously, other than for key natural resources and Game Parks that are guarded and monitored with high technology equipment, and privatised eco-entertainment areas, also guarded [ferociously] by security guards.

## BITMAP TWO OF MAP NINE DIMMER DESPAIR OR GRAPPLING TO GET IN *GEAR*

This, sadly, is largely the status quo-scenario, in which talk about a change for the better is rife and extensively-discoursed programmes, plans, policies, strategies, Green Papers, White Papers and [enabling] Acts are produced, but which do not manage to jolt/shock into motion a *Major Movement* with its own momentum to maul the legacies of the past, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and homelessness. For all intents and purposes matters remain as they are - i.e. in the idle [- in all its meanings -] mould - and modernisation remains a distant idea[] for most.

Spot-upgrading with public funds or by International Aid organisations/donor bodies and spot-investment by foreign investors takes place, but not nearly enough to even [begin] address[ing] past backlogs or dent existing unemployment.

Crime, creeping anarchism and outbursts of vigilantism continue to maim, murder and waste lives - especially in the under-policed, poorer sections of the community (see Mabin, 1995a: 193 and Pretoria News, September 17 1997: 3 for confirmation of these areas as communities as hardest hit by crime) - and spoil the country's image abroad. This also keeps the brain drain at a steady level.

The economy continues to hover around a 3% growth rate, "... *barely above the population growth rate*" (Department of Finance, 1996: 2), not reaching the 6% as foreseen in GEAR (Department of Finance, 1996: 1-2). The result is growing unemployment and growing despair for the hundreds of thousands of new entrants who enter the job market each year and who are unable to secure employment, leading to a further rise in crime and further destruction of civil society. This also leads to the State's income from taxes remaining at around present levels and an inability of government to provide much needed social services[, such as education and health,] and implement capital projects, which, in turn restricts the upliftment and development of the previously excluded, marginalised and forgotten members of our society, and their participation in the economy. Low levels of payment for services at local authority level lead to the reconstruction projects identified in *the LDO-and-similar-processes*, being carried forward year after year.

Despite the idling economy, in-migration from other African countries remains at present levels, mainly as economies in bordering countries are in an even worse state [- their economies inextricably tied up with ours]. This huge in-migration continues to undermine local wage levels and "take/keep jobs away" from locals.

In the urban areas present trends and tendencies remain largely unchanged, with the rich continuing to create their own self-sufficient Edge City-environments and erecting their walls, barricades and security fences. The borders between the areas of the rich and the poor are, however, more permeable than in Bitmap One of this Map.

The few activity corridors and stretches of corridors that are developed *internationally*[- such as the Maputo Corridor.] and at metropolitan level, form linear enclaves of wealth [- i.e. strips of opportunity -] in a morass of despair, and have very few spill-over effects into their surrounding areas.

"The Environment" remains an issue of discussion and outbursts of environmental frenzy lead to some action[- being taken], but on the whole, degradation, rather than protection, nurturing/care and "sustainable use", is the norm.

## **BITMAP THREE OF MAP NINE GLIMMERS OF HOPE OR "THE WAY FORWARD" IS ACTUALLY EMBARKED UPON**

This is in some aspects still the *status quo* scenario, but with some major positive developments not only leading to actual progress, but also to a more positive outlook in the collective psyche about the future. Talk translates into *Action*, GEAR gets into gear and together with successful strategies to combat crime, leads to lower crime levels. Business, Organised Labour and Government manage to resolve matters in a less destabilising fashion, which, together with the lower crime levels, leads to a more favourable perception of South Africa among local and overseas investors and tourists. As a result of this, heightened investment and more tourist visits to the country follow. These developments see unemployment decrease, the tax base grow, the Masakhane-campaign achieve substantially higher rates of payment for services [as more people are able to pay for services] and government having more finances available for reconstruction and development.

With more participants in the economy [in jobs and not in crime], better health services, more and better equipped education facilities, access to information technology and welfare services, a better educated, skilled, housed and fed society begins to emerge.

Regional pacts with neighbouring countries result in infrastructural developments in these countries and improvements in the economies of these countries, which leads to a decrease in the in-migration of migrants to South Africa. At the same time the brain drain becomes a brain trickle/drip.

While provinces and cities continue competing for investment, separatist ideas become less popular [in a succeeding South Africa] and taxes generated in the [still] wealthier, more urbanised provinces, remains available for the development of the poorer, more rural provinces.

A national urbanisation strategy, including rural development strategies is formulated and implemented, leading to both rural development and less pressure on existing urban and metropolitan areas.

New initiatives, such as the IDP's and the LDO-processes and the activity corridor-strategies, lead to genuine urban and rural development, which in turn lead to a decrease in inequality and an improvement in the quality of life of the previously marginalised, downtrodden and forgotten sections of the community.

In urban areas the trend towards walled enclaves and zones of conspicuous consumption by the rich is not halted, but at least slowed down, and successful alternatives of less polarised urban landscapes are generated as a counter-option to the neo-feodal option/alternative.

"The Environment" assumes a place of far greater importance in public policy at all tiers of government and results in strict measures and guidelines to ensure that environmental degradation is minimised and inter-generational justice [- between the present and future generations -] and environmental justice [- treating all living organisms and ecosystems in a just way -] becomes a shared goal.

**BITMAP FOUR OF MAP NINE  
HIGH HOPE**  
or  
**THE FUTURE BECOMES SO BRIGHT,  
CLEM SUNTER'S BOOKS  
MAKE IT TO THE SALE SECTION,  
OVERNIGHT [and not the usual  
fortnight]**

This is the complete opposite of the worst case scenario - the option which doom mongers derive great fun from, by making it off as utopian non-sense, or even worse, utopian utopianism.

In this scenario Organised Labour, Business and Government start working together towards attaining mutually shared goals [ - GEAR's "National Social Agreement" (Department of Finance, 1996: 12) - ], a huge Marshall [ -type Reconstruction and Development - ] Plan for the whole of Southern Africa, as part of the "Renaissance of Africa", is formulated and implemented (see suggestions and proposals in this direction in Star, Business Report, May 29 1997: 18; Star, February 15 1996: 14 and Pretoria News, May 23 1996: 1 and May 14 1996: 1), and GEAR moves into its highest gear, producing the 400 000 jobs per annum as foreseen (Department of Finance, 1996: 1-2). These developments, together with effective policing, lead to far less crime and a huge influx of foreign investment and foreign tourists, all of which further boosts the economy and leads to further decreases in unemployment.

With more people in jobs the Masakhane-campaign is no longer required and the need for government to spend on welfare is decreased. This opens up opportunities for greater investment in education and skills training, and the provision of access to new information technologies to even the poorest sections of the community. The result of all of these developments is a people better able to compete in the global economy.

The growing economy also provides Government with enough tax income to complement the Southern African [Marshall] Aid Plan by investing outside our borders in the new *Southern African Union* [ - a logical extension of the Southern African Development Community - ], which was established along with the Aid Plan. This not only assists in establishing growing markets for South African products, which boosts the economy even further, but also increases stability in the region, reduces the number of migrants to South Africa and presents [even] the most underdeveloped areas [in the region] with the full arsenal of South African expertise. The brain drain is reversed and expertise from throughout the world starts moving to the Southern African region.

Competition between countries, provinces and cities [in the Southern African Union] for investment is supplanted by strategies aimed at spreading investment throughout the region and greater autonomy is granted to regions/provinces on local issues, but within a broad Union-formulated framework, as is the case in the European Union. This in turn renders regional and local separatist tendencies unnecessary and non-sensical.

An urbanisation strategy for the Union as a whole is formulated and implemented, which, together with rural development strategies, leads to both rural development and less pressure on existing urban and metropolitan areas.

Integrated development processes and activity corridor-strategies on local, as well as on a Union-wide scale, lead to urban and rural development, which in turn lead to a decrease in inequality and a substantial improvement in the quality of life of all the citizens of the Union, especially its previously marginalised sections.

In urban areas hugely reduced levels of crime see the trend towards walled enclaves and zones of conspicuous consumption by the rich halted, and, while there are still richer and poorer [people and] areas, the polarisation is less intense and there are more shared public spaces/places [as there are also more shared ideals and aspirations]. John Short's "*Humane City*" (1989) [- i.e. the built and lived [in] form of the caring society -] sees the light of day.

"The Environment" becomes an issue of prime importance in public policy at all tiers of government, right up to the level of the Southern African Union, and results in strict measures and guidelines to ensure that environmental degradation is minimised and inter-generational justice [- between the present generation and future generations -] and environmental and inter-species justice [- treating all living organisms and ecosystems in a just way -] are actively pursued.

# MAP TEN

## *IN WHICH* **THE FUTURE OF THE GAME AND ITS PLAYERS IS DISCOURSED**

*"... stories often write themselves, and go where they want to go" (Eco, 1996: 482).*

*"The desires and goals of the society as a whole are the controlling factor in the whole planning process. Indeed, they establish the necessity for planning, since, if society were satisfied with its image of what the unplanned future will bring, it would not institutionalize the process of changing the future" (Harris, 1967: 324-325, bold as italics in original text).*

*"In my view, we sorely need to return to the utopian tradition in planning. The urban planning profession needs a new generation of visionaries, people who dream of a better world, and who are capable of designing the means to attain it. That, after all, is the essence of planning: to visualize the ideal future community, and to work towards its realization. It is a much needed role in our cities, and young men and women continue to enter the profession because they want to perform that role. Let us nurture their instincts, and thereby restore the urban planning profession to its historic mission" (Brooks, 1988: 246).*

*"We are optimistic, however, about the future of land use planning. Like democracy, it is not a perfect institution, but works better than its alternatives" (Kaiser and Godschalk, 1995: 382).*

*"Planning does not operate in a vacuum but is a social phenomenon. This implies that planning always depends on its context; that it is relationist. At the same time, planning intends to change this context. As a consequence, to be able to do so, a less relationist position is required. So the problem is in what way is it possible to be inside and outside a context at the same time" (Van Houten, 1989: 212).*

*"The process of modernization, even as it exploits and torments us, brings our energies and imaginations to life, drives us to grasp and confront the world that modernization makes, and to strive to make it our own. I believe that we and those who come after us will go on fighting to make ourselves at home in this world, even as the homes we have made, the modern street, the modern spirit, go on melting into air" (Berman, 1989: 348).*

## INTRODUCTION

So, given the present conditions, trends and tendencies [i.e. the context and landscape] we [i.e. the language game of planning and its players] find ourselves in and the necessity to realise the Maps Of Hope and elude the Maps of Despair: Where are we going and where sh/could we be going? *Meaning*: Do we still have a future? In what does, and sh/could, that future lie? How does the game need to be changed/adapted to make that future become a reality? How do we - its players - need to change/adapt? What could the implications of these [proposed] changes/adaptations be on the existing game and on us, and how will the [proposed] changes/adaptations become operational?

In [the Bitmaps in] this final Map I ponder these questions, make suggestions on how the existing game and its players need to be changed/adapted, consider the implications of these changes/adaptations on the both game and its players, and propose ways of making these changes/adaptations operational.

## BITMAP ONE OF MAP TEN IN WHICH THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE [STILL] HAVE A FUTURE IS PONDERED

### INTRODUCTION

As the past mappings of the language game of South African urban and regional planning have illustrated, the existence/survival of this "professional" language game[, being a complex system.] has been dependent on it[, via its players.] being able to fill *legally* established and backed niches/fields[- I accentuate "*legally*" for, as the past mappings have also shown, for a field/niche which implies some form of intervention in the economy to be set up and become effective, it has to be given legal sanction (see also Pearse, 1945: 258 for a very early recognition of this simple reality) -],

1. proposed, vocabularised, popularised and lobbied for by players of the language game of planning, players of other language games, or both; and
2. for which society/a community, its political representatives and/or other powerful groups in society/that community, believed and/or perceived there to be a definite *need* and/or *use* [- two concepts which have proven to be very dynamic, fluctuating according to the moods and political ideology of the time, as well as the ability of champions of the field to convince society/communities of the "need/use" of the



niches/fields].

So, from this follows that, the question of whether the game has a future, is really a question of:

1. whether there is future [need and/or use] for the niches/fields the game is presently being played in and whether there is a future [need and/or use] for [the services of] players of the language game of planning in these niches/fields; and
2. whether there are new niches/fields, either existing ones or ones still to be created [by our endeavours, in partnerships with others, or by others] which the players of the language game of planning[, and in effect the game.] could fill/move into, and for which society/a community perceives/believes there to be a need and/or use.

In the following sections I use

1. the bytes in Part I regarding the fields in which the game has been and is being played;
  2. the present conditions, trends and tendencies as mapped in Map Eight; and
  3. the Maps/Futures of Hope and Despair as plotted in Map Nine,
- to respond to these questions.

## THE FUTURE OF EXISTING NICHE/FIELDS AND THE FUTURE OF THE PLAYERS OF THE LANGUAGE GAME OF PLANNING IN THESE FIELDS/NICHES

### THE EXISTING NICHE/FIELDS

The existing niches/fields in which the game is primarily being played[, as compiled from Maps Six to Eight], are the following:

1. Land Use Management/Control;
2. Urban Design;
3. Township Establishment;
4. GIS and other high technology information-driven decision support systems/tools;
5. Housing;
6. Property Development [- primarily shopping, entertainment centres, offices and combinations of these three];
7. Policy Formulation regarding the Sustainable use of the Environment;
8. Integrated Strategic [should it not include "Reconstruction and" here, because that is what this planning is about?] Development Planning at Local, Metropolitan and Provincial level;
9. Local Economic Development (LED);
10. City Marketing;
11. Metropolitan Planning and Management;

12. Regeneration of Central Business Districts;
13. Rural Development and Land Restitution.

In the following section I consider the implications of the present conditions, trends and tendencies and the necessity to realise the Maps of Hope on the future of each of these niches/fields.

## THE FUTURE OF [THE] EXISTING NICHE/FIELDS

### Riposte 01

#### *Housing,*

#### *Local Economic Development,*

#### *Rural Development and Land Restitution and*

#### *and Integrated Strategic [Reconstruction and] Development*

#### *Planning at Local, Metropolitan and Provincial level*

For a start, it really goes without saying that, given our harsh inheritance of mass deprivation, absolute poverty, adult illiteracy, lack of skills/capacity, homelessness and inequality, as well a strong official commitment to reconstruction and development[ - thus providing the energy-inputs systems need to function -], all niches/fields which have as their explicit aim the reconstruction and development of our country and its people[ , especially those that are most deprived - the women and children in rural areas], are, on face value, sure to have a future. Such fields would be those of:

1. Housing;
2. Local Economic Development;
3. Rural Development and Land Restitution; and
4. Integrated Strategic [Reconstruction and] Development Planning at Local, Metropolitan and Provincial level.

However, if the players in these fields would, for instance be unable to make any visible contribution to the reconstruction and development of a community/our country, whether as a result of incompetence, delays as a result of "*process-determinism*" (see Map Eight) and/or Government being unable to finance the projects and programmes identified in processes in these fields[ such as in the LDO and IDP-processes], the future of the fields would be far less certain/rosy. It is exactly the strong ties of these fields, other than that of LED which is supposedly less so, to the public sector, which makes them very volatile in an economy in which the public sector is[ , *inter alia* through privatisation,] becoming an increasingly smaller player in the economy. And, in a time in which the brutish individualist late capitalist "ethic" is still on the rise, financial support for these fields/niches from the private sector will surely only be forthcoming in cases where their application directly favours the rich.

So, clearly, the players in these fields, if they believe that these fields are necessary and

useful [and they clearly are if we have any hope of realising the Maps of Hope], will have to ensure that they bring forth visible progress, both through competent dedication and the formulation and implementation of processes which strike a balance between procedural and substantive justice, thus leading to positive spiritual and material outcomes and, over time, a more just society (see also Procedures in Bitmap Two of this Map).

## Riposte 02

### *Urban Design*

With a postmodern passion for the aesthetic in our midst, often for a very plastic, master planned/designed complete spectacle, with its quick delight/pleasure, but in most cases with no staying power, urban design seems set to remain important for the wealthier section of the community [- notably, a section who can pay, and who can thus provide the energy to keep this field alive]. Urban design is, however, also beginning to play a very important urban reconstruction/restructuring function for the urban population as a whole[, and in particular the poorer sections], via/z in] the formulation of spatial development frameworks in which especially activity corridors/streets/spines feature prominently. This development, together with its application in the design of new settlements[- i.e. attempting to ensure that three dimensional place is created and not just two dimensional spaces/erven/stands demarcated -], makes the future of this niche/field even more secure.

So, while urban design can most probably, in contrast to most of the other niches/fields the planning game is played in, remain afloat even if government-support were to decline[ by living off the wealthier section of the population], this is definitely not the ideal, for the upliftment of the deprived in our urban areas rests on the healing of our fragmented Apartheid cities/metropolises.

## Riposte 03

### *Township Establishment*

While many settlements were established on the peripheries of our urban areas[, especially so since the abolition of influx control in 1986,] without going through any legally prescribed procedure for township establishment, it does seem that our present government is in favour of formal, but[, hopefully,] speedier processes of township establishment. And so, it would seem that the process of township establishment with its specialised techno-artistic[- design/layout -], scientific [- engineering services -] and legal-administrative [- procedural -] components/aspects, will remain an important field in our country with its huge[, and still growing,] demand for *security-of-tenure*, formalised, *geologically-and-otherwise-safe* settlements. Again, the future of this field is dependent on Government enforcing measures to ensure that the formal route for the establishment of settlements is taken and that a sophisticated and well staffed personnel corps, able to effectively and speedily process applications for township establishment, is kept in place - something the players in the field should persistently make the relevant Ministers and government departments aware of.

### Riposte 04

#### *Property Development*

For the immediate future the decentralisation and fortressification of entertainment, shopping facilities and service sector employment for the wealthy in Edge Cities seems set to continue, and even to intensify, if the crime wave is not curbed. At the same time the construction of security villages complete with their own primary schools, creches, logos and flags [in and around the wealthier areas of Gauteng], shows no sign of abating. These trends point towards a steady flow of opportunities for those in the field of property development with its various subniches. While the main clients of the players in this field will clearly be the wealthy, it could, if the country embarks on a Future of Hope, see the field serving a wider section of our population and maybe even return from the *present-paranoiac-paradise-behind-postmodern-pastiche-and-pillars-phase*.

### Riposte 05

#### *Regeneration of Central Business Districts (CBDs)*

In contrast to the phenomenal growth in the Edge Cities of our metropolitan areas, the woes of the traditional CBDs in these areas have continued, making it very likely that initiatives aimed at resuscitating the ailing CBDs [of our major cities] will continue. The future of this field - the regeneration of the CBD - is, however, far less rosier and certain than that of the property development field feeding off the Edge City-phenomenon. The reason being simply that the Edge City phenomenon is sustained [- i.e. provided with energy/money -] by a rampant, *able-to-pay* capitalism, whereas the CBD-endeavours are largely public sector driven, maybe in partnership with private concerns, and, despite all the urbanist rhetoric of the joys of inner city living, not supported well enough by private money/energy. In a sense it is a field in which huge amounts of energy have to be expended to curb/turn around the "natural" [- i.e. "natural law" of the jungle -] flow of energy/investment towards new localities on major routes and at Edge City nodes, making it not one of the most [energy-effective] users of public funding/employees/energy.

While the future of this field is thus not very bright, it is not a bleak one, for it will be a strange day when local authorities turn their backs on [their] CBDs, which *inter alia* are:

1. major focal points of especially public modes of transport, making them highly accessible to especially the poorer sections of our community;
2. areas in which huge amounts of capital and public infrastructure have been invested/installed;
3. huge generators of local taxes and users of services provided by local authorities;
4. major areas of economic activity, employment and potential employment; and
5. huge conurbations of public space which have no barriers to entry and where people of all income groups and from all classes are [still] welcome and where informal traders with no available finances for rental, can participate in the economy.

**Riposte 06**  
***GIS and other high technology information-driven  
 decision support systems/tools***

The commodification of information and the translation [and subsequent commodification] of an increasing number of aspects of the lifeworld into information and onto databases/web sites is clearly a trend on the rise. [Hopefully it will not become another case of, as Fred Dallmayr (1972: 79) wrote twenty-five years ago of science and technology as he saw it then: "*Divorced from the matrix of human purpose, science and technology seem to flood society with a knowledge which is not worth knowing while practical pursuits are adrift without intelligible standards*".] This trend, together with the enormous information requirements for the planning, financing and implementation of reconstruction projects, is sure to keep the field of *GIS and other high technology information-driven decision support systems/tools* alive and even thriving. Furthermore, as Webber (1983: 92) suggests, as "... *societies accumulate complexity, interconnectedness, and interdependencies, the intellectual requirements for planning expand exponentially*" - something which is sure to, in the increasingly global economy, see the need for *up-to-date*, easily accessible information as an aid to the human brain[, which can be put to far better use than the storage of information], rise in the same exponential fashion.

For players of the language game of urban and regional planning, there is one aspect of the new information-technology which needs to be [come] of prime concern and one which they will hopefully attend to[, rather sooner than later], viz: *access to the Internet*. If "the poor" are not going to get access to the "Net"[, not just as searchers and readers of information, but also as producers/writers], we may see the existing rifts between those who have [access to] information and those who do not in an information-driven economy, become valleys of Martian proportion and the Net become a dividing force (see also Best and Kellner, 1991: 302 for a similar point of view). Acutely aware of this, William Mitchell, in his intriguing text, *City of Bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn* (1995), makes a very strong case for planners to prevent this from becoming a [real] reality, by inventing and advocating ways of not only making information networks/cyberspace "public space"[ - i.e. making it/them available to all members of the public -], but also finding ways of making such networks pleasant and welcoming, easy to use and non-threatening to all their potential users - just like "real" public parks and space should be (1996: 124-128). [Maybe we should focus on making it public *place* rather than just public *space*?]

**Riposte 07**  
***The Environment***

Growing international concern over the state of the Environment, as well as a dire need to ensure that we live far more sustainable on the land and off our resources, will definitely secure the future of the field of policy formulation to ensure more sustainable use of resources/settlement patterns (see *inter alia* McDonald, 1996; Rydin, 1994 and Breheny, 1994 for a similar

view regarding this field in the UK and Europe). It is also a field of such major importance that players in the field must, and surely will, do everything in their power to secure its future, for without there being a future for this field, there may be no future at all.

### **Riposte 08**

#### ***City Marketing***

While the increasing globalisation of the economy is sure to keep this field alive, it could, however, as Albrechts warns, turn into to a "cut-throat game" in which urban areas try to "... convince inward investors that they have the best location", frequently resulting in "... an exhaustive struggle for survival, ... often ... at the expense of the local population" (1991: 130). Clearly the field will have to be played within certain policy frameworks formulated at higher levels of government - provincial, national and even subcontinental -, so as to prevent:

1. wasteful competition;
2. transnational companies playing one locality off against another in an attempt to acquire the most benefits for themselves; and
3. Albrechts's (1991: 130) "cut-throat game" from becoming a national sport/pastime. [Chapter 3 of our Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 21-22) explicitly calls for such horizontal and vertical coordination of the actions of all spheres of government.]

### **Riposte 09**

#### ***Metropolitan Planning and Management***

That which some players of the language game of planning had already realised in the first half of this century, viz that functionally, economically and spatially linked/joined metropolitan areas require metropolitan planning, is clearly here to stay, with of course the added buzz-concept "management". Furthermore, with the need to ensure the healing of our past, vast, fragmented, segregated metropolitan areas - a function placed upon Metropolitan Councils in terms of Section 10C of the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act, 1996 (Government Gazette, November 22 1996: 6), and as stated in Bitmap Two of Map Eight, a geography abetted by postmodern tendencies - this field surely has a strong and challenging future. It may even be that this field may "take over" that of planning/management by individual local authorities in metropolitan areas (see Saturday Star, September 6 1997: 5; Pretoria News, October 21 1996: 4 and Saturday Star, October 5 1996: 11).

### **Riposte 10**

#### ***Land Use Management/Control***

Both as a result of a general unease with control in a time in which growth is needed and a dissatisfaction with the inappropriate characteristics and premises of the system for present needs/uses and conditions, land use control/management has landed in a very precarious position (see Oranje, 1995a and Mabin, 1995a: 192 and 1992c: 223). To hear talk of the abolition of land

use control for its perceived undesirability and/or impracticability, is not strange.

Now, while the general unease with control may be just a transient postmodern tendency or a momentary lapse of favour, similar to that which the field experienced in the previous reformist mood during and shortly after the Second World War, the inappropriateness of the present system will not go away, and with that, neither will the sword dangling over the field. Therefore, if [the] players of the language game of planning[, whose forebears were largely responsible for the promulgation of Ordinances which made land use control *via* town planning schemes possible, and which, in the process, put the language game of South African urban and regional planning firmly on Map One.] believe that this field is still necessary, *they* should fight for its maintenance and make proposals for adapting it, to ensure that it becomes, and remains, appropriate and useful for the country and all its people. Letting the future of the field become the domain of Government-appointed Commissions[, as players did in the 1970s and 1980s.] or paid consultants[, as we are still doing], is a blotch on our g/name.

And so, as I am a firm believer in the need for a system of land use management/control, but then one in which the characteristics are appropriate to the needs, uses, conditions, trends and tendencies we find, and could very possibly find, ourselves in, I would like to zoom in on this field by taking you on a journey up a small inlet in a larger river system in which I set out:

1. why [I believe] we still need a system of land use management/control - reasons which are all:
  - \* linked up with the reconstruction and development of the country;
  - \* in tune with present trends and tendencies, and
  - \* imperative for the success of most of the fields discussed earlier on in this Bitmap; and
2. what [I see] the characteristics of such an appropriate [future] system of land use management/control [which can actually assist in achieving the goals of reconstruction and development.] as being, in contrast to the inappropriate system we have today.

*Why [I believe] we still need  
a system of urban land use management/control*

*Ripple 01  
Successful Integrated Strategic  
Development Planning and Management*

As indicated in Bitmap One of this Map and Riposte 01 of this Bitmap, Integrated Strategic Development Planning has taken root in South Africa, as it has done in countries as far afield as Malawi (McGill, 1994), the UK (Gilfoyle, 1989 and Breheny, 1991) and the USA (Hamilton, 1986; Wheeland, 1993; Mier *et al*, 1986 and Bryson and Roering, 1988), and is set to become a very important urban management tool.

Now, while most strategic planning exercises make use of the same basic steps, such as a "SWOT" [- strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats -] analysis, the identification of strategic issues and the formulation of strategies "... to correct weaknesses, take advantage of opportunities, deal with threats and build upon strengths" (So, 1984: 17), they also have, as is common in any management system, a *monitoring* and *control* component/function/step - to ensure that the decisions taken, or strategies/projects decided upon in the strategic planning process, are implemented, according to requirements/specifications, or decisions as taken (see Kaiser and Godschalk, 1995: 365 and McLoughlin, 1992: 218 for a corresponding view). If there is no way to ensure this through a land use control/management mechanism[- i.e. a land use management/control system subservient to the goals of the strategic planning process -], the probability of success in strategic urban management, is minimal. As Faludi (1980: 87) states very poignantly, "*If no control can be exercised at all, then there seems little point in planning*".

### *Ripple 02*

#### *The Goal of Sustainable Urban Development*

Sustainable development - per definition "... the maintenance of environmental capacity over time" (Welbank, 1994: 15) - has become one of the prime concerns of our time (see Map Eight) and is bound to play an ever-growing part in urban management and governance in the future. It is any case (see Map Nine) something which is imperative for the realisation of any form of long term Future of Hope.

With the South African approach to sustainability most probably being "*shallow green*" - this approach being an approach which "... sees a potential for constructing, transforming and replacing the natural world in a manner which is consistent with the inherent life protecting functions" and "... has sustainable development as its organising principle" (Gibbs, 1994: 100-1) - various policies and strategies can be implemented in order to achieve this form of development. Some of the well-known strategies and policies are:

- \* placing bounds on urban sprawl and supplementing this with in-fill strategies to offset rises in house prices as supply of land for development is curtailed (Chintz, 1990: 7);
- \* mixing land uses[ by which employment opportunities are located closer to and in residential areas and in doing so reducing energy-consumption as well as government spending on travel subsidies];
- \* empowering and enabling people to take control of the management of their environment;
- \* coordinating land uses and public transport programmes, to not only lessen the need for individual travel, but also the desire to do so;
- \* requiring environmental impact assessments for potentially environmentally-hazardous land uses.



How sustainable development is to be achieved in the absence of land use control is unclear. For each of the above simple policies, land use management/control is needed to make the policy itself sustainable. For one, more compact cities and in-fill strategies will inevitably imply higher densities, and higher densities without adequate control, is a sure recipe for the overloading of infrastructure and essential public services. This in turn can result in unhygienic and slum conditions; conditions which, to a large degree, led to our present system of urban land use control in the first place (see Map One). In a place-making sense, as many of the disadvantaged members of our society are only too aware, density without diversity is hell. Again, there is a need for land use management/control so as to ensure that high density areas do include uses which will ensure more complex, more choice-generating environments.

Likewise, the policy of empowering and enabling people will necessitate some form of land use control to make a community's wishes binding on "outsiders" or to provide a framework in which the community's own rules for controlling development in their locality can be entrenched.

With regards to potentially environmentally hazardous uses, a system is needed whereby Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) are required for such uses, strict conditions set under which they may operate[, if at all,] and authorities provided with the necessary police power to act against transgressors. In the same vein a system of control will be needed which will render the effecting of "NOPEs" ("*Not On This Planet*") uses (Hoffmann, 1992: 25) impossible.

Lastly, and at the risk of sounding alarmist, it is, given the continued environmental degradation and global climatic disturbances, surely just a matter of time before we will start seeing far more harsher global policies, rules and regulations to protect the Environment and ensure more sustainable use of resources than the permissive Local Agenda 21 (see Beller, 1995: 11 for a similar view). When this happens[, not "if"], land use management[, most probably in a far less participatory format than that which we have had up until now,] will surely become of prime importance [again] (see Rydin, 1994; Rydin and Evans, 1997 and Evans, 1994: 188 for a similar view).

### *Ripple 03* *Healing Apartheid's Cities*

As discussed in Bitmap Two of Map Eight, despite the critical need for South Africa to urgently heal her fragmented Apartheid cities, developers are still opting for the wealthier areas. A land use management/control system can be very instrumental in turning this situation around, by rewarding developers who *do* locate in previously disadvantaged communities, through for instance concessions on rates and taxes and discounts on contributions for engineering services.

*Ripple 04**The Creation of a Climate Conducive for Capital Investment*

In the early 1980's a school of planning thought, defined by one of its strongest proponents, Anthony Sorenson, as "*Libertarian Planning*", with its intellectual basis in eighteenth century liberalism, "... which stresses individualism, freedom and laissez faire capitalism" (Albrechts, 1994: 20 and Sorenson, 1982, 1983 and Sorenson and Day, 1981) came to the fore (see also Map  $\alpha$  in which reference is made to this school of thought). For the proponents of this school of thought the role of planning and land use management/control was to provide a "... *suitable regulatory context ... for the satisfactory operation of markets in an urban and rural context*" (Begg, 1988: 2). In our increasingly globalising economy, in which hyper-mobile, footloose capital is looking globally for the best returns on investments [ - an era referred to by Manuel Castells (1992: 77) as "*the brave new world of wild capitalism*" - ], it would seem that Libertarian planning's day has to a large degree come. The implication of this is simply that if local cities and towns want to be competitive in this global game of attracting capital [ - something which we need if the Futures of Hope are to realise - ], they will have to be able to provide capital with the "*suitable regulatory context*" proposed by the Libertarian planners. This entails *inter alia* stable conditions, security of investment and infrastructural services and a land use system with a legal basis and the possibility of a recourse to the Law. Clearly, in order to provide these attributes, local cities and towns will need systems of legally-sanctioned land use management/control.

*Ripple 05**The Financial Imperative*

The zoning of a property [ - i.e. its potential in terms of its allotted rights - ] is one of the key inputs used by Valuers at local authority level to determine the value of a property. The value of a property again, determines the amount of tax payable to a local authority on a property. If local authorities were to do away with zoning, more arbitrary and time-consuming methods, which most probably would be hugely contestable in the Courts of Law, would have to be used. Furthermore, the present system of rezoning [ "by application" ] "alerts" valuers to changes in land use, which makes it easy to keep the valuations and taxes up to date - something which of course would not be the case in the absence of a land use management/control system with its set of prescribed rezoning application procedures.

*Ripple 06**The Peaceful Resolution of Negative Externalities  
and Territorial Conflicts*

Negative externalities in relation to land uses are costs which are incurred by one party [ a land user in this case - ] on another for which the suffering party is not compensated, or in other words, for which the party responsible for the cost does not pay (Chung, 1994: 81).

The prohibition of negative externalities has always been a popular motivation for planning and land use management/control (Chung, 1994: 77-81; Klosterman, 1985: 8, Pearce, 1981: 47-9 and Faludi, 1987: 159). [Obviously the prohibition of externalities contains elements of exclusionary zoning, a topic which is addressed later on in this text.]

Over and above the "normal" role of land use control, *viz* that of avoiding situations in which negative externalities can emerge, another matter in this regard, and with special reference to the South African context, needs to be raised. As has been discussed earlier on in this Riposte, the South African city is to undergo major structural changes, such as densification and diversification, in order to render it sustainable and equitable. This process will, most likely, not be conflict-free. In the absence of a broadly accepted system of land use control in which land uses, conditions[, possibly compensation], etc. can be debated, parties perceiving themselves to be victims of externalities might resort to violent vigilante action. This has only been too evident in past attempts at settling low income housing in the vicinity of more affluent communities (see Dewar, 1995). This form of territorial behaviour commonly known as the "NIMBY"-syndrome is a universal phenomenon and one which in the USA has also been described in an early-1990s White-House Advisory Commission Report as a barrier to the provision of affordable housing (Hoffmann, 1992: 24 and 1991: 29).

While the DFA will go a long way towards addressing this problem[, in ensuring that Land Development Objectives with extensive public participation are drawn up, and that more agreed-upon-changes in the urban fabric are ensured,] it will surely not be able to cover all possible [and unforeseen] developments in an area. A system of land use management/control [with a prescribed set of application and advertisement procedures,] will still be needed in which conflicts over land use can be debated timeously and resolved peacefully - something which our present system, despite its other shortcomings, has a very long history of (see especially Map One).

### *Ripple 07*

#### *Infrastructural capacity*

A system of land use management/control enables local authorities to prevent development in areas in which:

1. the roads are already operating at maximum capacity;
2. [further] widening of roads, or the adding of lanes, is not possible; or
3. [further] upgrading of service infrastructure may be very costly.

In the same breath it can of course, if used creatively, be employed to draw development to areas where infrastructure is under-utilised, or to areas well served by public transport, so as to *inter alia* ensure greater access for the poor to work opportunities and, in so doing, ensure a more sustainable urban economy.

## Ripple 08

*Fundamental Rights as Enshrined in our Constitution*

Even though the Constitutional Court has as yet not given substance to the Fundamental Rights, the two sections in Section 24 of our Constitution, dealing with "Environment", are sure to have an impact on the issue under discussion and to have implications for systems of land use management/control.

Section 24 (a) gives every person the right to "... *an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being*" (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 10). It is hard to see how this right can be guaranteed/protected in the absence of a system of land use management/control. [Incidentally health and safety were two of the primary concerns in the enactment of land use control both locally (see Map One) and in the *smog-cluttered* and *cholera-ridden* cities of Western Europe (Hall, 1982: 19-30).] Furthermore, a system of land use management/control could avoid numerous costly and time consuming legal actions to the Constitutional Court to contest this right if there were to be no such [effective] system in place.

Section 24 (b) provides for the protection of the environment through "... *reasonable legislative and other measures that -*

- (i) *prevent pollution and ecological degradation;*
- (ii) *promote conservation; (and)*
- (iii) *secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development*" (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 10).

This right clearly calls for *inter alia* systems of land use management/control which can *inter alia* limit urban sprawl, enforce residential development at higher densities and protect ecologically sensitive areas and/or water systems.

## Ripple 09

*The Experience of Localities**without Systems of Land Use Management/Control*

## [Anchoring] Place 01

*Houston*

Houston, the only major city in the USA without a zoning ordinance, has long been held by many proponents of the unrestrained free market as "*a developers' paradise*" where "... *unrestrained capitalism was the major mode of business organisation*" (Bullard, 1984: 87). Except for a brief spell of citywide zoning between January 1991 and November 1993, when Houstonians rejected it once more in a referendum (Barna, 1991: 22 and Casella, 1994: 34), Houston has been a city without zoning. [For the sake of completeness it must be noted that in 1982 the city of Houston enacted an ordinance that contained some limited measures aimed at setting standards for minimum building setbacks, block lengths, distances between sex-

oriented businesses, etc. (Peters, 1985: 5 and Fisher, 1989: 153).]

Many fallacies on Houston exist, one being that Houston is a shining example of the superiority of the "free" market over the "mixed economy"-system. The truth of the matter is that Federal Aid [- i.e. public funding -] has, as Feagin (1985: 1217) states, "... *been very broad ...*" for a city "... *dominated by a free enterprise and anti-federal government ideology*" (Feagin, 1988: 5, 149, 157 and 176; Kirby and Lynch, 1987: 588-9). It (Federal Aid) was especially instrumental in the provision of infrastructure and the expansion of the port during the first half of this century (see Feagin, 1985: 1211-7). These infra-structural investments in effect laid the base from which the so-called free market could operate. [An indication of the size of the Federal assistance is the figure provided by Feagin (1984: 453) of Houston in the 1940's being only the 25th largest city in the USA, but being the 6th largest receiver of Federal Aid.]

Another fallacy is that Houston has no form of land use control. The reality is that it just isn't done by the public sector, but by Deed Restrictions which are administered by private "*civic clubs*" and expire 25 years after their creation, but can be extended *via* an expensive legal process (Peters, 1985: 7-8 and Fisher, 1989: 152-3). As Peters (1985: 8), Bullard (1984: 90-1) and Babcock (1982: 22) note, lower income groups are not as successful in the creation and extension of deed restrictions as the more affluent neighbourhoods, mostly due to cost factors and a preoccupation with economic survival. This in essence leaves most lower income neighbourhoods unprotected.

It is this last state of affairs which is one of the not so often quoted results of Houston's policy. Not only have minorities' neighbourhoods suffered most from encroachment by business and industrial uses with noise, litter and crowding of facilities as a result (Bullard, 1984: 85 and 92-3 and Kirby and Lynch, 1987: 590), but these neighbourhoods have also been last on the list when infrastructure was to be provided or maintained (Fisher, 1989: 149-51). Furthermore these neighbourhoods have disproportionately been the sites of waste disposal facilities in the city (Bullard, 1984: 94-8 and Fisher, 1989: 150). As Bullard notes, "*While blacks comprised just under 28 percent of Houston's population, over three-fourths of the city-owned waste disposal facilities were operated in black neighbourhoods*" (1984: 95).

While the fate of the minorities has been anything but rosy, the rest of the city has also suffered severely. This has happened as "... *the city of Houston has placed the interests of residents and the environment at risk by protecting development interests*" (Kirby and Lynch, 1987: 590). Flooding, subsidence, traffic congestion, pollution, a sewage and toxic waste crisis, a lack of neighbourhood stability, a lack of coordination between transportation and land-uses and infra-structural investments and land uses, vulnerability to hurricanes, poorly maintained roads and services such as street lighting and telephone lines, limited public transportation, a lack of park space, neighbourhood decay, inadequate housing and reckless land speculation are some of the severe problems Houston has experienced (Kirby and Lynch, 1987: 589-93; Fisher, 1989: 149; Peters, 1985: 5; Barna, 1991: 22; Moorhead, 1991: 50; Dillon, 1991: 16; Feagin, 1988: 6, 228 and

1984: 455-56). The way these problems were dealt with was to pass them on to a higher level of government after they had occurred (Kirby and Lynch, 1987: 595). While all the above may not directly be the result of the policy of non-zoning (see Peters, 1985: 9, for the views of Ephraim Garcia, the then head of the city's department of planning and development, on this matter), the view is widely held by most of the commentators on Houston referred to in this text, that more comprehensive planning and zoning could go a long way in addressing these problems. Strangely enough, as a few commentators have pointed out, in the 1980s and early 1990s, some of the loudest voices for zoning and the predictability it would bring to the area and its business environment, have been those of big business and property developers (Barna, 1991: 22 and Peters, 1985: 5).

[Anchoring] Place 02  
*Countries with unenforced systems of  
 land use management/control*

Simon (1992: 140) states with regard to urban planning practice[s] in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa that "... paradoxically, the rhetoric of African nationalism, Pan Africanism, African socialism or Marxism-Leninism which accompanied and followed decolonialism, has generally had little impact on inherited formal town planning codes. This has serious implications for the relevance and appropriateness of current practice and the ability of urban authorities to cope with the rapid rates of population growth and urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa". This state of affairs, coupled with a lack of skilled personnel, corruption, and in many cases the lack of political will to act (Simon, 1992: 147-55, Okpala, 1982: 47-8 and Mosha, 1989: 221-2), has in many developing countries led to a situation in which there might just as well have been no urban planning or land use management/control system at all (see Turner, 1985: 151, for a similar view in this regard). Suffice it to note that this state of affairs has led to a wastage of effort and funds in countries with severe budgetary constraints (Simon, 1992: 147). The reason for including the section in this text is to highlight the consequences of the absence of land use management/control in the cities of developing countries, to which the discussion now turns.

In the literature consulted on developing countries and in which land use control is for all practical intents and purposes absent, some of the undesirable effects that were identified, are the following] - interestingly enough there is a large degree of overlap between these conditions and the malconditions in Houston discussed earlier]:

1. deteriorating conditions in poorer neighbourhoods (Simon, 1992: 149 and 150 with reference to Nigeria and Sudan and Nwaka, 1992: 95 with reference to Nigeria);
2. sprawling, low density, uneconomical urban development (Simon, 1992: 150 and Haywood, 1985: 192 with reference to Sudan);
3. an inability to control the density and height of development, which overloads the existing infrastructure (Simon, 1992: 150 and Haywood, 1985: 192-3 with reference to Sudan and Mosha, 1989: 222 with reference to Tanzania);
4. "considerable" conflict between existing and illegal, new uses (Simon, 1992: 150 with reference to Sudan);

5. uncontrolled dangerous urban expansion into water catchment areas and flood plains (Turner, 1985: 153 with reference to Madras);
6. overcrowding of existing houses and illegal extensions of buildings (Wekwete, 1989: 62 with reference to Zimbabwe);
7. unserviced residential, squatter and slum areas (Turner, 1985: 153 with reference to Madras, India; Mosha, 1989: 225 with reference to Tanzania and Nwaka, 1992: 100 and 104 with reference to Nigeria);
8. non-existent, out-dated and/or unhygienic methods for disposing of human waste and household refuse (Nwaka 1992: 109 with reference to Nigeria and Mosha, 1989: 224 with reference to Tanzania);
9. the keeping of pigs, cattle, goats and chickens on residential premises (Mosha, 1989: 221 with reference to Tanzania);
10. the loss of agricultural land on urban edges (Mosha, 1989: 221 with reference to Tanzania and Haywood, 1985: 194 with reference to Khartoum, Sudan);
11. inconsistencies in infra-structural provision leading to an inefficient infrastructure system (Mosha, 1989: 222 with reference to Tanzania);
12. insufficient provision of parking facilities resulting in vehicles being parked on carriage-ways, entrances, roundabouts, etc. (Mosha, 1989: 223 with reference to Tanzania);
13. poor or no restoration of historic buildings or buildings of architectural merit (Mosha, 1989: 224 with reference to Tanzania);
14. urban growth through "... *a process of accretion rather than true urbanisation*" (Haywood, 1985: 196 with reference to Khartoum, Sudan).

While some of these conditions are not life-threatening, many of them can and have, as Bartone (1991: 412) notes, led to severe public health and environmental problems in developing countries. As noted at the outset of this section, even though there was a system of land use management/control on paper, it was as if it did not exist. This is the same fate as the majority of South Africa's urban dwellers, excluded from the provincial ordinances and thus land use management/control (see Map Seven), had to suffer under Apartheid, and one which they surely need not suffer any longer. Most of these conditions are also exactly what the RDP intends to address and to avoid. The need for a system of land use management/control, but then an appropriate one, is thus evident. The important question then being: What is an "appropriate" system?

*The Characteristics of  
an Appropriate System  
of urban land use management/control*

*Ripple 01  
Introductory comments*

South Africa's resources are already stretched too far to be able to afford a system of land use control that exists only in name and on paper, as has been the case in so many other

developing countries (see Place 02 of Ripple 06) and of which the "... *greatest achievement (was) to provide employment for a considerable number of officials*" (Turner, 1985: 152) and private consultants. What is thus called for is a system of land use control that serves and facilitates the reconstruction and development of our country and the realisation of the Futures of Hope. Such a system will need to have five characteristics. These are:

1. it must be coordinated and integrated with the goals and objectives of the particular city and region in which it is to function, as well as with higher plans/programmes and White Papers aimed at reconstruction and development;
2. the focus of control must be on strategic rather than on petty matters;
3. it must enable and facilitate empowerment and engagement and acknowledge the postmodern trends/tendencies in the context in which it is located;
4. it must not be exclusionary[, but as far as possible, inclusionary]; and
5. it must be applied creatively.

In the following paragraphs I will elaborate on these characteristics and point out where the present system is in my opinion not up to scratch in each instance. Where applicable I will discuss a few broadly categorised alternatives or alterations to the present system that I believe hold promise. Before I proceed, I need to state that in making suggestions on alternatives from abroad I am not proposing that the system as a whole must be replaced with a system developed abroad. As Short notes "*It is a mistake to assume that radical ends are always achieved by radical means*" (1989: 73). The use of selected sections, elements of systems that are in use and successful abroad should, to my mind, be investigated. Research into such systems, the contexts in which they function, their costs, the administrative bounds within which they operate, etc. must, however, first be done.

### *Ripple 02*

#### *Coordination and Integration with the Goals and Objectives of the Particular City and Region in which it is to Function, as well as with Higher Plans/Programmes and White Papers aimed at Reconstruction and Development*

One of the most important goals of local authorities is, and will for the foreseeable future be, integrated and coordinated urban management. In our present system of urban management, town planning schemes are not tied/linked up with any urban management framework, nor are the schemes tied/linked up with the goals and objectives of higher authorities i.e. provincial legislatures. Cullingworth, (1993: 59-60) in a similar vein describes American zoning as "... *planless, rudderless, fragmented, uncoordinated - the very opposite of planning*". Town planning schemes, in Gauteng, in terms of the old Transvaal Town Planning and Townships Ordinance, Ord 15 of 1986, "stand alone". They are called into existence through Clause 18(1) of this Ordinance, which reads as follows:

*"A local authority -*

- (a) *may, of its own accord;*
- (b) *shall, if directed to do so by the Administrator, within such period as the*



*Administrator may determine, prepare a town planning scheme in respect of all or any land situated within its area of jurisdiction ...".*

In essence it becomes land use control *via* town planning schemes for the very arbitrarily defined utilitarian goal of the "... *health, safety, good order, amenity, convenience and general welfare ...*" of the area to which it relates (Clause 19 of the Transvaal Town-Planning and Townships Ordinance, 1986). No reference whatsoever is made in this definition to higher plans or broader societal goals. And, as so often happens in the absence of properly defined, specific goals, it can [and has, in many cases,] become land use control for the sake of land use control.

The meshing of land use control at local level, be it town planning schemes or any other form of control, with the [land] development objectives of the city or town, as well as with the goals of provincial legislatures, will have to receive serious attention. [Examples of countries where this is achieved are the Netherlands (Davies, 1988), Germany (Hooper, 1988), France (Punter, 1988) and Denmark (Edwards, 1988). The British development control system, very similar to our own, stands alone at local level and is not tied up in a hierarchy of higher plans (Rydin, 1994: 87-94 and Davies, 1988). It therefore does not hold much promise in this regard.] Not only will such [a] coordination with higher plans make land use management/control serviceable to the goals of reconstruction and development, but will also prevent "*territorial mercantilism*" (see Map Six) from [re/]occurring. [This term, the definition of which I repeat for the sake of convenience, which was coined by Fainstein and Fainstein (1982: 388) entails that neighbouring local authorities try to convince investors that they have the best locality by offering all sorts of incentives. As suggested in Riposte 08 of Bitmap One of this Map, this can very "... *easily turn into an exhaustive struggle for survival which (is) often at the expense of the local population*" (Albrechts, 1994: 21).]

### Ripple 03

#### *A Focus on Strategic rather than on Petty Matters*

As is well known, our town planning schemes focus strongly on minute detail] - "*petty land use control*". These detail matters seldomly have any reference to the health and safety of those concerned. This state of affairs makes the system's rules not only hard to comprehend by those affected, but also to adhere to financially (Mosha, 1989: 153) and has in other developing countries led to a shunning of the schemes in general (Mosha, 1989: 222-5; Turner, 1985: 152-5 and Haywood, 1985: 194). And, when this happens, "grand development" issues can very easily fall by the wayside as well, as has happened in many other developing countries (Mosha, 1989: 222-5; Turner, 1985: 152-5 and Haywood, 1985: 194). One of the clearest manifestations of this phenomenon has been "... *the occupation and degradation of ecologically-sensitive lands as well as hazard-prone areas*" by the poor (Bartone, 1991: 413).

In order to counter such developments from occurring, it has been proposed by many authors writing in this field, that "... *the extent of control should be reduced to manageable and realistic proportions, with a concentration on strategic rather than detailed aspects*" and on

"... matters clearly seen by everybody to be necessary of control" (Turner, 1985: 155; Mosha, 1989: 226 and Nwaka, 1992: 111). A possible way of achieving this is to move away from the present prescriptive system, in which is stipulated what can be done in an area, to a proscriptive system in which it is only stated what *cannot* be done (Faludi, 1987: 197-9).

#### *Ripple 04*

#### *Making Empowerment and Engagement a Real Possibility and acknowledging postmodern trends/tendencies*

Empowerment and engagement in local *governance* have, judging from the LDO process and the LGTAA, become two of the most important goals of local authorities. [Empowerment has an "... emphasis on autonomy in decision-making of territorially organized communities, local self-reliance (but not autarchy), direct (participatory) democracy, and experiential social learning" (Friedmann, 1992: vii). Engagement has as its aim the involvement of people in the making and implementing of decisions that guide their lives (Short, 1989: 76).] Both these concepts can be seen as either hyper-modern or postmodern trends, i.e. the *celebration* of *inter alia* diversity, plurality, local narratives and difference (see Byte 02 of Postmodernity/ism in Map Eight). These postmodern trends and the concepts of empowerment and engagement, place a question mark over our town planning schemes which[, while allowing for the lodging of objections with local authorities against applications, and the option of appeal by both applicants and third parties against decisions by local authorities], *inter alia*:

1. ignore the differences between individuals and communities [in *inter alia* desires, wishes, incomes, cultures, religions, etc.] in their *one size fits all-regulations* and definitions and in effect treat the urban landscape as if it were a homogeneous plain, devoid of difference;
2. allow people only limited input in the drawing up of regulations and codes which bind them, and in the making of [collective] decisions about the future of their city/town and their immediate locality; and
3. have no place for creative, local solutions to conflicts in people's turf [- for an interesting anarchistic view on this matter see Sennett's classic work *The uses of disorder* (1972)].

Changes to our present system of land use control will be needed if the concepts of empowerment and engagement are to be more than empty shells. One alternative which has already been mentioned, is the replacement of the present prescriptive system with a proscriptive one (see Ripple 03 of the previous section). While specifying the broad uses which are not allowed in an area, it will allow communities to add to these restrictions their own set of prescriptive or proscriptive uses, or performance standards. Hakim (1987: 132), in a research report on Arabic-Islamic cities notes how the fact that laws on land use control are understood by both users and builders, and are administered at neighbourhood level, have led to a unified, but diverse urban landscape.

An attempt at acknowledging the differences between people, in this instance with reference to income, was introduced in Sudan. The system, differentiating on the basis of standards, designates housing areas into four classes. Class 1 is a well serviced, higher income neighbourhood with high standards and Class 4 a very low income area with no prerequisite standards. Redesignation is possible once a neighbourhood complies with the standards of a next class (Simon, 1992: 150 and Haywood, 1985: 189). Calls for a similar system to be implemented have also been made by a commentator in Nigeria (Nwaka, 1992: 107). Such a system, if it were to be applied locally could, however, be interpreted as perpetuating the system of Apartheid by creating and maintaining pockets of prosperity and thus leading to the exclusion of certain people from certain areas and excluding people from the benefits land use management/control could bring - an issue into which I delve deeper in the next Ripple.

### *Ripple 05*

#### *Avoiding Exclusionary Zoning and Ensuring Inclusionary Zoning*

Zoning as an instrument of exclusion [discrimination] has been a popular topic of the American discourse on zoning and the reason for numerous court cases (Cullingworth, 1993: 63-75; Freidheim, 1981; Schlay and Rossi, 1981: 704-6 and Fleischmann, 1989: 338). As Cullingworth (1993: 63) notes, "*Though all zoning is by definition exclusionary, some is more exclusionary than others*" and, "*As with so many similar issues, there are no easy answers, and continued debate can be guaranteed*". Three types of exclusionary zoning leading to discrimination can be identified:

1. Large-lot zoning whereby minimum stand/erf sizes are laid down. This in effect excludes lower income people from certain localities on grounds of affordability (Cullingworth, 1993: 63-75 and Freidheim, 1989).
2. Restrictive definitions of "*family*" and "*household*" in zoning schemes, coupled with definitions restricting only these narrowly defined groups to dwelling forms such as "*dwelling-house*", "*flat*", etc. Such definitions make it impossible for people with alternative household forms and lifestyles] eg. two or more divorced women with or without their children - the so-called "*nouveau poor*"], group homes for disabled people, extended families] including more than one married couple], families who would wish to take in tenants to supplement household income, etc, to legally reside, or take in tenants in such dwellings (Netter and Price, 1983; Ritzdorf, 1988, 1990 and Lee, 1989).
3. The restriction of the amount of land zoned for a certain land use, for instance low cost housing. In the process the price of such development is driven up by artificially limiting supply. The probability of certain land uses occurring in certain localities, is thus minimized (Carter, 1988/89).

That all three of these forms of exclusionary zoning are practised in our present system of land use control is evident. *Firstly*, most town planning schemes have a "*Density Table*" whereby erf sizes are fixed as per suburb. *Secondly*, the typical definition of a "*family*" excludes most "alternative" households from residence in areas under the jurisdiction of town

planning schemes. [Interestingly enough Toffler (1980: 221) and Ritzdorf (1990: 388) note that only 7 per cent of Americans still live in a nuclear family defined as "... *a working husband, a house-keeping wife and two children*".] Thirdly, the prevalence of large informal settlements in and around our cities can partially be attributed to a lack of adequately zoned land. These forms of exclusionary zoning, wherever they may exist in our present system, need to be removed or balanced by counter-actions, if the goals of equality and empowerment of women are to be taken seriously. A few examples of such counter-actions aimed at achieving *inclusionary zoning* are the following:

1. redefining the restrictive definitions of "*family*" (Netter and Price, 1983: 179);
2. making use of performance standards rather than restrictive definitions to regulate the number of people occupying a property (Ritzdorf, 1988: 274);
3. providing, as in Massachusetts in the USA, a different application procedure for developers who apply to authorities for the construction of "*low- and moderate income housing*" in terms of which an application can only be refused "... *on the grounds of clear harm to the public health and safety*" (Dorius, 1993: 102); and
4. setting "*fair share*" quotas. This entails that each local authority is given a Court-order to provide its quota or a "*fair share*" of the low cost housing needs in a specific region. [A very informative review and discussion of court cases, especially the Mount Laurel cases in which "*fair share*" housing was ordered by the New Jersey Supreme Court is to be found in Cullingworth (1993: 63-75) and Freidheim (1981: 301-11).]

On the one hand the exclusionary nature of zoning is a reality. On the other rests the reality that South Africa will, in a highly competitive global economy, need upper-class suburbs like Houghton, Bryanston, Waterkloof and Bishop's Court for its more affluent citizens, diplomats and employees of foreign companies. Without such suburbs the country could become less attractive to the owners of local and foreign capital who also need to put their brief cases, 4 x 4 car keys and cell phones down somewhere, some time. Such suburbs will have to remain, with the only way their existence can be motivated, in the light of their evidently exclusionary nature, through:

1. providing sufficient land and/or housing for the lesser advantaged groups; and/or
2. increasing the local tax on the inhabitants of such high income suburbs. [This latter matter justifies a brief discussion of the "*two principles*" of John Rawls's "*Theory of Justice*" (1973). Rawls's conception of a fair system is one in which "... *all primary social goods (must) be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution would be to everyone's advantage*" (1973: 150). If these principles are applied to the question of lot sizes, it could be argued that the exclusionary effect of such lot sizes is off-set by the wealth the inhabitants of these suburbs create and the taxes they pay - both of which are, arguably of course, to everyone's advantage.]

### *Ripple 06* *Creativity*

While creative developments are abundant in the American zoning system, locally these are all but absent. Two such examples in the American system are:

1. negotiations on the granting of development rights; and
2. the exaction of public facilities, infra-structural investments, low cost housing, etc. in such negotiations (Cullingworth, 1993: 44-60 and 85-94; Dorius, 1993; Jones, 1989).

Similarly there is the concept of "*planning gain*" in the British system. This is also a form of "*planning agreement*", but it operates within more definite parameters than the American system. Notwithstanding, it has provided British local governments with additional funds to invest in the future provision of public facilities, to offset loss of amenity arising from the proposed development, *etcetera* (see Rydin, 1994: 102-3 for a discussion of this concept). A call for the "... *selling of planning permission*" in the UK, which some commentators argue "*planning gain*" has in any case become (Cowan, 1988), has also been made in the British planning literature (Curry, 1991). [Interestingly enough T B Floyd (1935: 56) suggested the "... *selling of zone restrictions*" way back in 1935.]

Locally such concepts could be put to good use in the reconstruction of our cities and/or in making the land use control system pay for itself, provided they take place in a transparent way. Furthermore, concepts such as "*Simplified Planning Zones*" and "*Enterprise Zones*" (Rydin, 1994: 68-9 and 91-2) and the "*fair share*" allocation of NIMBY-uses to middle class neighbourhoods, as has been proposed in New York City (see Weisberg, 1993 and Rose's verdict on the proposal, 1993), deserve to be looked at and possibly, even tried locally.

### *Ripple 07* *Some Other Characteristics*

The list of characteristics is definitely not extensive enough to cover all the needed characteristics. Affordability of the system, flexibility and speed in decision-making are all issues that could just as well have been discussed. Even though some of these issues are discounted in the five characteristics that have been discussed, they warrant a brief discussion.

*Firstly*, it is often said that the time authorities take to reach decisions is too long. This value judgement is relative to where one is standing. If one is a member of the community, more time, if that is what is required to thrash out a proposal, is definitely preferable to a lifetime[, or until you are forced to leave after having sold your house at a price far below market value.] of unhealthy conditions in one's immediate environment. *Secondly*, with regard to the cost of the administration of the system of land use management/control, it is often criticised on being too costly. Once more, if the system helps in avoiding unhealthy and dangerous conditions and in ensuring a better life for all, the expenditure has to be weighed against that result. Where the focus of the present system is possibly too strong on measly

matters, a re-evaluation of the goals of the land use control system, as has already been discussed, will go a long way in addressing this problem. *Lastly*, developers often ask for more flexibility in the system. Flexibility for the sake of flexibility is just as unwanted as land use control for the sake of land use control. Furthermore, the effect of flexibility on people's perception of the force/authority of the system, must not be underestimated. Constant deviations from set paths [defined/set by affected communities, possibly in a LDO-process.] may not always lead to the achievement of goals [defined/set by affected communities].

### *Ripple 08* *Some [more] last thoughts*

In concluding this journey, the following extract from an article on changes to the planning system in Great Britain in the early eighties (Pearce, 1981: 59) is quoted: *"It goes without much saying that in the end the system we choose must reflect our values and objectives. Planners and politicians will have to satisfy themselves that any new system of policy implementation will produce an overall improvement in the ratio of benefits to affordable costs before they give it full support. In particular, they may prefer to adopt gradualist changes in the administrative and political framework for land use management/control rather than a foot and branch restructuring of the planning machine, with the end result being a compromise acceptable to most, rather than a pure and theoretical alternative which attracts the support of only a minority"*. Given the difference between the local context in which the debate has emerged and the British context, Simon's message in relation to post-colonial Africa warrants mention. Simon remarks that *"... just as national policies, alignments and structures should be transformed or modified in accordance with the new rulers' value systems, so the towns and cities, as the physical embodiment of all these variables, should reflect the new circumstances"* (1992: 144). If this does not take place, it might very well happen that *"... the homeless will invade land and occupy vacant housing. They will bribe and threaten and bend the rules. They will create an alternative housing 'market' with its own rules and a de facto town 'plan' dictated by their needs alone"* (Collinge, in *The Star*, 5 August 1994: 10). As I cannot see this as being very conducive to realising the Futures of Hope, I would suggest we rather opt for a more formalised system of urban land use management/control.

### *Riposte 11* *A recapitulation of ripostes*

*Firstly*, most niches/fields are not in immediate danger, and some of them are even set to become very important in the realisation of the Maps of Hope, if:

1. governments at provincial and national level *retain* and *pass* legislation legitimizing the niches/fields;
2. governments at provincial and national level are able to supply the energy [- funds and administrative structures -] to keep the systems [- fields -] going and to deliver on the outcomes of the processes em/deployed in the niches/fields [- in fact, it would

- seem that of all the fields, it is only those of *urban design* and *property development*, that can/could survive without inflows of funds from the public sector]; and
3. players can, without cease, convince society/communities, Government and the other Powers that Be [- i.e. those in the private sector -] of the need for and use of the niches/fields.

*Secondly*, as the land use management/control experience has shown, if the fields are not continually adapted/updated according to changing conditions, they can fall on hard times, despite there being a definite need for the niche/field[, albeit, in most cases, in a new guise].

### THE FUTURE [NEED/USE] FOR [THE SERVICES OF] PLAYERS OF THE LANGUAGE GAME OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE EXISTING NICHES/FIELDS

While the fields may have a future, it does of course not mean that the players of the language game of urban and regional planning will have a future in these fields in which they have to compete with players from a host of other language games in what can be termed a "professional free market". And, the only way they will be able to successfully compete, is if they:

1. possess/hold/can acquire skills/expertise that no other players do;
2. can ably apply their skills/expertise in the niches/fields; and
3. can keep their skills/expertise up to date. [It is exactly the perceived absence of such unique skills/expertise in the British language game of planning which has seen numerous commentators in the UK call for the end of planning as an organised profession (see *inter alia* Map α; Evans and Rydin, 1997; Evans, 1994 and 1993; Rydin, 1994; Eccles *et al.*, 1990, Reade, 1987 and Blowers, 1986).]

Now, in some niches/fields planners, notably those niches/fields with a very strong spatial/physical dimension/bias and which necessitate a broad understanding of the processes at work in urban areas, as well as an ability to see the "bigger urban picture", such as those of

1. Urban Design [more in its wider city-structuring format];
2. Township Establishment;
3. Land Use Management/Control; and
4. Integrated Strategic [reconstruction and] Development Planning (ISDP) [if it is seen as a much deeper, more implementation-orientated and broader format of forward/structure planning],

planners [ought to] have a comparative advantage over other players. [These are of course the fields in which the game has the longest playing record and the present players of the planning game the most experience, but also those into which players from other language games may, due to the techno-administrative nature of especially land use management, make inroads. This may be especially prevalent in the case of less complicated applications for land use right amendments - something which there would be less of, if a new land use management/control system were to place the focus on creativity, and not on simple routine

control.] This does, however, not apply in the other nine identified niches/fields in the previous section of which most are filled with experts in a variety of language games such as those of [urban] economics, sociology, ecology, anthropology, human geography, [urban] politics, transport engineering, etc. Players of the language game of planning can surely not hope to match any of the experts in their specific fields of expertise [- the odd planner may of course be able to, but this will not ensure the survival of the language game of planning]. The only skills/expertise planners can [hope to] bring to these fields, are those of:

1. a broad understanding of how city building/shaping processes work/function and interrelate; and
2. the ability to:
  - \* coordinate the inputs of experts from various language games and stakeholders into a coherent whole; and
  - \* facilitate brain storming sessions and workshops between the diverse groups of players from other language games.

These skills are of course not restricted to planners only, but neither do they "belong" to any professional language game - they are thus skills "up for grabs".

In concluding this section, there is thus no "standard" safeguard for the future of the players of the language game of urban and regional planning and thus the language game itself. There are very few, if any few fields in which players from other language games cannot do as well, and sometimes maybe even better, than players of the language game of urban and regional planning. The only safeguard there will be for planners is to use their basic training[, which planning schools will need to keep in tune with that which is, and will be, required of the players,] as a base on which to build a repertoire of skills with which to fill niches in the existing fields better than players from other language games. Alternatively, or in conjunction with the strategy of filling existing niches better than others, planners could endeavour to fill/move into previously unexplored niches/fields or[, by being inventive,] create, or assure the creation of, new niches/fields in which they and their co-players can play. It is to these last two strategies that I now turn.

### **NEW NICHE/FIELDS[, EITHER EXISTING ONES, OR ONES STILL TO BE CREATED,] WHICH THE PLAYERS OF THE LANGUAGE GAME OF PLANNING COULD FILL/MOVE INTO**

In this section my concern is with two sets of fields, *viz*:

1. new niches/fields which can be created by players of the language game of planning, alone, or in partnership with players from other language games and which could contribute towards the realisation of the Futures of Hope; and
2. existing fields [with the same aim,] into which the players of the language game of planning have not yet made substantial inroads.

The important consideration in both these sets of niches/fields is that players of the language game of urban and regional planning must be able to fill them.



## RIPOSTE 01

### THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN UNION/REGION

There are two components to this field [which will give the "regional" in our name a completely new dimension]. *Firstly*, the *popularising, promotion of and lobbying* for the idea of the Union/Region, for, as discussed in the Maps of the Future in Map Nine, if some form of much closer cooperation and planning and development on a subcontinental level does not take place, the chances of the Maps of Hope becoming a reality, are very slim. *Secondly*, the actual planning of the transnational region in the run-up to, and after it is established. Under the latter component would fall the preparation of urbanisation and rural development strategies and strategic integrated development plans for the region as whole, and for its subcomponents. However, as is the case with most of the other fields/niches, if and when the opportunity arises for the preparation of such plans, local planners will have to move fast to ensure that they fill the niche/s, for in this instance competition is sure to come from not only inside the region/country, but also from hyper-mobile transnational planning companies/players outside the region.

## RIPOSTE 02

### A SOUTHERN AFRICAN RENAISSANCE AID PLAN

If nobody takes up an idea it will not come to fruition. If nobody takes up the idea of a massive [Marshall-type] Aid Plan for the subcontinent, most probably in conjunction with the setting up of a Southern African Union/Region, it is not going to happen. Planners, [supposedly] people with a keen interest in the future, are surely a group who could and should, in conjunction with others, be taking the idea of such an Aid Plan forward, and to take up key positions in the field[ - including *inter alia* strategic plan formulation, management and implementation -], it would create if it were to become a reality.

## RIPOSTE 03

### RESEARCH

While every situation and country is unique, there is a huge amount that can be, and is, learnt from, for example, [un]successful economies abroad. Likewise the players of the planning game can, *via* research into overseas planning systems and responses/interventions aimed at reconstruction and development, gain valuable insights which may:

1. be put to good use in developing our own context-specific policies and programmes; and/or
2. enable us to make less mistakes, especially [costly] ones.

Two good examples would be:

1. the 1960s-USA's Model Cities Programme [- a programme launched during President Lyndon Johnson's socially conscious Great Society and War on Poverty-drive, its aim being "... to plan, develop, and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive city demonstration programmes containing new and imaginative

*proposals to rebuild or revitalize large slums and blighted areas; to expand housing, job and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare payments; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and ill health; to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency; to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; to establish better access between homes and jobs; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in such areas and to accomplish these objectives through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State, and local and public efforts to improve the quality of life" (Friedmann, 1971: 316, bold as italics in original text and see Warren, 1969; Kaplan, 1969 and Blum et al, 1985: 824-826) -}; and*

2. methods at ensuring better access for the poor to all the advantages that cities offer - something which the local planning game is extremely "thin" in.

## **RIPOSTE 04 TOURISM**

While tourism is showing signs of becoming one of the key components of the South African economy, players of the language game of planning have not made substantial inroads into this niche/field. Many opportunities do, however, exist, such as at policy-formulation level, at NGO-level [- i.e. ensuring that local communities also derive benefits from tourism -] and/or, in the private, resort-development sector. These opportunities are also sure to increase exponentially if the Southern African Union/Region were to become a reality.

### **A RECAPITULATION OF RIPOSTES**

While it would seem that there are not that many fields the players of the language game of planning could be moving into, two of the fields, the setting up and planning of the Southern African Union/Region and tourism, are such vast fields, that numerous players of this game will be able to earn a living from them. Once again, these niches/fields will not sit around unattended, and wait for planners to fill them; they will need to be identified, nurtured and developed by planners themselves.

**SO,  
or**

### **A CONCLUDING RESPONSE TO THIS BITMAP AND A "AND NOW"-SUGGESTION**

So, in reply to the first question, it would seem that there is a future for the players and the language game of South African urban and regional planning in a number of existing niches/fields [- many of which the players have only recently embarked upon and which are thus still very foreign to them -] and in a couple of new ones. This of course, is only the start of the "inquiry". What now still needs to be pondered and addressed, is whether the

game and/or its players need to be changed/adapted to make that future realise, *and if so*:

1. what needs to be changed/adapted,
2. what could the implications of these changes/adaptations be on the game and on us - its players, and
3. how can the changes/adaptations become operational?

In the next Bitmap I contemplate and address the first two questions given the responses in Bitmap One, as well as the realities of the context/landscape we find ourselves in, as discussed in Map Eight. In the last Bitmap I muse about and address the [third] question on how the changes/adaptations can become operational.

## **BITMAP TWO OF MAP TEN IN WHICH CHANGES/ADAPTATIONS TO THE GAME AND TO AND BY ITS PLAYERS ARE PONDERED**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this Bitmap the question of

1. the need for, and the format, of changes/adaptations to the *game* and to and *by* its *players*; and
  2. the implications of these changes/adaptations,
- is pondered, discoursed and dealt with in nine ripostes each dealing with a certain aspect/feature of the game and/or its players. These aspects/features are the following:
1. the foundations of the game and its normative pointers/guiding lights;
  2. the players of the game;
  3. the rules on procedure, roles and players;
  4. the professional institutions of the game;
  5. the education of players;
  6. the aims/objectives of the game;
  7. the definition of the game;
  8. the name of the game; and
  9. our past.

## RIPOSTE 01

### FOUNDATIONS AND NORMATIVE POINTERS/GUIDING LIGHTS

As became apparent in Maps One to Seven the language game of South African urban and regional planning was born, based and raised in a very distinct modernist tradition - a modernism which sees modernity/modernization as a [matter of] routine (terminology adapted from Berman 1989: 243-248). [There was of course the odd excursion by individual planners, such as Professor Mallows, into a version of modernism which sees modernity/modernization as an adventure (terminology adapted from Berman 1989: 243-248), but this was the exception, not the rule.] And it was on/with this foundation/philosophy that the planning game emerged from the *routine-friendly* Apartheid system into the complex, *in-urgent-need-of-reconstruction-and-development-premodern/modern/postmodern* South African situation, as discoursed at length in Map Eight, and in which we still find ourselves. And, whatever else can be said about this situation, one thing is certain: there is very little need/use for a planning game based on "*modernity as routine*" (Berman, 1989: 243) in this new South African reality. This was also the recurring leitmotif in the discourse in Bitmap One of this Map on niches/fields: creativity, flexibility and adaptability have become the priced mental commodities/capacities of our time - not routinised, rigid order and [mind] control (see also Stewart, 1993: 38 for a similar view regarding planning in the UK).

Having said that, what now? On what [intellectual] base/foundation do the players of the game build their *hyper-flexible-amoeba-appropriating* game?

But maybe this is not a valid question anymore. Should the question not be: Do we still need [intellectual] foundations? Can we maybe not just gel in with the slippery, relativist, decentered, *foundation-avoiding* side of postmodernity?

I think not for three simple realities/reasons:

1. The huge reconstruction and development needs of the masses of our people, forgotten, downtrodden and disempowered by decades of colonial and Apartheid rule, still waiting to "... *capture a piece of modernity*" (Austin, 1992: 751), dictate against us taking on a situation-specific, relativist, *anything goes-position* towards what is our and every other development-related language game's moral task: reconstruction and development. Being a *moral* task, there must be a definite base and unequivocal normative guiding lights/pointers based on what is right and wrong and what should/ought to be (see Harper and Stein, 1993 for a very well articulated argument for the retention of a normative base in planning).
2. The suggested creation and development of a Southern African Union/Region necessitates a definite commitment to the modernist notions of spiritual and material progress and the use of the methods of modernity [- *science and reason/rationality where applicable* -] in this endeavour.
3. The essential reason for the invention of the language game of planning was, and remains, that of a better situation/life/world than what we would have had in the

absence of it - thus implying an action, or set of actions, based on a definite normative judgement of *what should be*. From whatever angle we approach planning this simple reality cannot be discoursed away. And, without this notion, there is no planning game - it cannot be anything else than that. Or, rather[, borrowing from the section on language games in Map α], if the aim of the game were to be changed so as to exclude this notion of a better situation/life/world, the game would become something else - it would no longer be the language game of planning.

And so, given these simple realities there can be no talk of deserting the central tenets of the modernist paradigm, *viz* those of

1. emancipation[ or rather a plurality of diverse "*emancipations*", as Pieterse (1992: 31-32) suggests];
  2. justice[, a problematic concept in postmodern times (see Harvey, 1991) as it can be relativised up to a point where it becomes meaningless. Some basic tenets are thus needed, such as those proposed by Rawls (see Ripple 05 of Bitmap One of this Map) and those taken up in our Constitution (i.e. human dignity, equality and freedom (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 19)), not just for the present generation, but also between the present and future generations and extending these notions into the non-human animal and plant realms];
  3. spiritual and material progress; and
  4. the application of reason/rationality,
- as the foundation and set of pointers on which to [re]build and base the game.

And so, instead of moving away from modernity, there needs to be

1. a resuscitation and reaffirmation of humankind's *innovative* ability to create a *better-albeit-not-always-as-good-as-we-had-hoped-for future*;
2. a retrieval of utopia from the "... *realms of fantasy* ..." to which Levitas (1993: 265) sees it as having retreated; and
3. a break-away from the "... *door angst bepaalde kijk op de toekomst, en zelfs het verheerlijken van deze angst*" (Treanor, 1994: 71),

fused/synthesized with:

1. a recognition of the role science and reason can play in this regard (see Isserman, 1985 and Allaby, 1995 for a similar view), together with, of course, a humble acknowledgment and constant awareness of their limitations;
2. a "... *combination of respect for the local context of scientific inquiry and resistance to any global interpretation of science which would constrain local inquiry*" (Fine as quoted in Sassower, 1993: 435);
3. an acknowledgement of the fact that science does not hold a monopoly in the wealth of "... *ways of knowing* ..." (Livingstone, 1990: 360), "... *understanding and constructing reality* ..." (Parson, 1985: 105) and making sense of the context/landscape we find ourselves in/on; and
4. a realisation of the absence of "... *euclidean truth and newtonian fact* ..." (Young, 1991b: 290) and in its place a world in which "... *truth-claims (need) to be (perpetually)*

*re-established and re-invented*" (Pile and Rose, 1992: 134).

In saying this I am not proposing some pre-postmodern, naive, heroic modernism, nor am I denying the very real, hyper-real and virtually real postmodern trends and tendencies so prevalent in our society. What I am saying, is that I believe that there is a way by which it is possible to adhere to these modern pillars within, and even by making use of, the postmodern trends and tendencies. It is thus not a question of *either or*, but a clear preference for *both* modernity/sm and postmodernity/sm (see Pile and Rose, 1992; Nelson and Nelson, 1994: 486; Dear, 1988: 272; Doel, 1992: 171; Wickham, 1991: 356 and Walker, 1989: 134 for support of such a position), of being *between* the two, of choosing "... *to combine both place and space, the general and the particular, the vernacular and the universal*" (Short, 1993: 170-171), of "... *trying to bridge and integrate by being in the middle*" (Forester, 1990: 45) and not choosing or favouring either. Before I get to that "[a] way" - not *THE WAY* - some thoughts on postmodernity/sm and how the "[a] way" I suggest, moves within, around and through it/them.

Dealing with postmodernity/sm depends largely on how we see/approach postmodernity/sm and how we perceive its impact on modernity/sm. If we [can] see, approach and treat postmodernity/sm as

1. modernity/sm's Big Wake Up [Call] to the fact that:
  - \* many of the premodern traditions it thought it had killed off, are still with us and are still informing/shaping us, and our behaviour (see Thrift, 1996: 3-4 for support of such a view); and
  - \* it [had] over-simplified the complexity of the world, cities and ourselves and our existence (Luhmann, 1996: 20);
2. "... *modernism in its phase of self-criticism*" (Bürger, 1986: 98 and see Cooke, 1990b: 331);
3. a turning, by modernity, of the same critique it employed against premodernity/tradition on itself - as Giddens suggests, "... *Enlightenment thought and practice ... contained, at source, the seeds of its own dissolution*" (1981: 17-18);
4. a temporary phase of lacklustreness for the wealthy few in an "*achieved utopia*" - a consumer's paradise of infinite choice (Turner, 1990: 7);
5. a battleground in which "*modernity as routine*" and "*modernity as adventure*" confront each other head on (terminology from Berman, 1989: 243-248); and
6. at the same time a reaction against modernity, as well as an intensification/acceleration of its main tenets (see Best and Kellner, 1991: 29-30; Best, 1989: 40 and O'Sullivan, 1993: 23 for a similar point of view),

then postmodernity/ism becomes both a *Beauty* [opportunity] and a *Beast* [challenge] for modernity/ism. As a *Beast* it holds the possibility of blowing "*The Modernist Project*" (Habermas, 1981) clear out of the water, relegating its main tenets to those of just another set of opinions/beliefs competing along with many others for the label of "truth", labelling its method - science - to just another language game with its own, internally-sanctioned set of rules with no right to say/suggest anything to other language games (see Bauman, 1988: 800) and denying/negating the numerous advantages that science and technology have brought and can

still bring (Kleynhans and Spies, 1994: 65). As a *Beautiful* creature/phenomenon it presents the possibility of:

1. healing modernity of its worst excesses;
2. reminding us of how complex this world/cities/people is/are and of the importance of [the local and the global] context;
3. critically keeping modernity on its toes; and
4. providing for more environmentally-, "Other"[- also the "other" in ourselves -], locally- and culturally-specific informed forms of modernity, instead of one universal modernism which weighs according to a soulless binary "A and Not-A-scale", obliterating all that is "found to be [too] Not-A" in its way (see Simonsen, 1990: 61).

It is in this sense/guise that postmodernity/ism then holds the key to the creation of a "*critical modernism*" (Marsh, 1992: 89), not some pre-postmodern naive, idealist modernism, but a modernism "... *endowed with all its older power and with fresh life*" (Jameson, 1984b: 60), which:

1. "... *transcend(s), but retain(s) valid aspects from both triumphalistic modernism and a sceptical postmodernism that seems nihilistic in its implications;*
2. ... *retains the modernistic commitment to rationality, critique and evidence, but listens to and learns from its postmodern other about mediation, the fallibility of reason, the nefarious political uses to which reason is often put, and the pathology of the modern;* and
3. ... *rejects triumphalistic modernist tendencies toward a totally apodictic truth ...*" (Marsh, 1992: 89).

It is this brand of modernism[... which Turner (1996) would call post-postmodernism.] which not only has a lot in common with Marshall Berman's (1989) "*modernity as adventure*", but which also, I believe, presents us with a foundation and a set of pointers by which to keep the basic normative/moral tenet of the planning faith alive: *the ability to, through legally sanctioned interventions in the economy, assist in the creation of a better, more humane tomorrow, especially for those who today are not sure whether they may even see a[nother] tomorrow, while at the same time being alert to, aware of, and responsive to, the postmodern realities/trends/tendencies in which this drive is located.* The planning game built on this base will, of course, it being a complex system, be an ever-adaptive[... "*making (it) up as (we) go along*" (Lauer, 1993: 486)], critically reflective[... regarding both its actions and results/outputs/products -], contextually informed, ever-changing form of planning, never repeating itself in detail, but always keeping the main normative tenet of a *better-future-orientation* and a commitment to, among other narratives, reason, at its core/base.

## RIPOSTE 02 PLAYERS

As we saw in previous Maps, the planning game became progressively *monotone* between the 1970s and 1990s, after having been played by players from the language games of land surveying, architecture and engineering until then. We also saw that it was, and still is, a

strongly white male dominated game and that there was a definite trend away from the public to the private sector over the last two decades.

As for the *demographic profile*, this will surely change and the profession will become more representative of the gender and racial composition of the population [- the racial composition, especially so, if this is actively pursued via promotion, bursaries and loan schemes].

Regarding *workplace*, privatisation and the level of expertise that can be bought in the private sector without the need to supply Medical Aid benefits, home subsidies, pension contributions, etc., will undoubtedly see an increasing number of players making a living in the private sector. If present trends in the direction of privatisation continue it may also come as no surprise if planning departments or sections of planning departments in the public sector are privatised, putting even more players in the private sector.

As for the mono-professionality, if changes, as the ones I discuss in the following Riposte are effected, this could also [hopefully] come to an end.

### RIPOSTE 03 RULES OF THE GAME

In Map  $\alpha$  it was stated that language games have rules which govern/determine how and by whom they are/can be played. It was also stated that changes to these rules are and can be made, so as to change how the game is [to be] played and/or who may play. Now, as we saw in the Maps of the past the language game of planning is no exception - rules were made according to certain contextual conditions and changed according to changes in the conditions/context in which the game was played.

The question now is: Which rule changes will the existing game have to undergo to ensure that it can be played in the niches/fields as discussed in Bitmap One of this Map and what do these changes imply for the existing game and its players?

In the next few Bitripostes I respond to this question by attending to the rules in the following order:

1. Rules on who may be[come] a player; and
2. Rules on how to play, including both:
  - \* rules on procedure; and
  - \* rules on the roles players [will] need to play.

#### BITRIPOSTE 01 WHO MAY BE[COME] A PLAYER

As the Maps of the Past revealed:



1. the closest "thing" to statutory job reservation has been the PAS-system, limiting certain levels of the post of "*Town and Regional Planner*" in the public sector to persons registered with the SACTRP;
2. the players of the game did, through their own institutions, the [late] SAITP and later the [late] SAITRP [to which I return in Riposte 03], set two basic rules on who may become a player in the planning game and thus a member of the community of planners:
  - \* an acceptable diploma or degree in town and regional planning [from an educational institution inspected on a regular base by the Institute to ensure that the training remains credible]; and
  - \* relevant experience in specified/listed niches/fields in which the game is [was] played, after having obtained the acceptable diploma/degree; and
3. the statutory SACTRP, established in the mid-1980s, took over the role from the SAITRP of laying down and enforcing the same two rules on who may be [come] a player of the game.

Now, inherent in these two basic rules are four premises, *viz* that:

1. *formal* training is the only route into the language game;
2. there is only a binary modernist-logic generated "A" and a "not-A" player - no inbetweens;
3. there are certain set fields/niches in which the game is played and in which the players have acquired the status of experts; and
4. players *once in, remain in*, as long as they pay their membership fees, despite:
  - \* their formal training [maybe] being a few decades old;
  - \* the fields/niches in which the game is played, having changed, having ceased to exist, or no longer being played *in* by planners; and/or
  - \* new fields/niches having been added to "the list" of niches/fields.

Not only does this state of affairs smell of "*modernity as routine*" (terminology from Berman, 1989: 243), i.e. the once off "name in the register" and a simple monetary relationship [- annual membership fees -] with the Council thereafter, with no concern over the growth of the individual player [- thus placing the focus on the registration, not on the player registered -], it also:

1. prevents individuals who do not have formal training, but who, through experience and in-job training, may have reached a level of competency equal to that of players in the game, from becoming [formal] members of the community of planners;
2. takes a very static view of the fields/niches in which the game can/ought to be played;
3. gives the game a very monotone look and discourse, due to its limitation on educational background; and
4. negates the reality of players from other language games being equally or even more able to fulfil tasks in some niches/fields taken up in "the list" which players from the language game of planning perceive/d themselves as being the experts in.

Clearly, what is required, given the discussion in Bitmap One of this Map, the present context landscape/context we find ourselves in [as discussed in Map Eight] and the need to realise the Maps of Hope, are:

1. obligatory mid-career refresher courses or some other form of continued education, as the Royal Town Planning Institute requires of its members (see RTPI, 1991: 1);
2. for the Council[, or whoever is to play this role in future.] to make more use of available technology, such as the Internet, in ensuring lifelong learning/capacity building/development of the players;
3. more than one access route into the game, with the focus on competency/performativity as well as on formal training[- these are the ideas taken up in the proposals of the National Qualifications Framework and which are also being investigated in the UK (see Stevens, 1994) -], but in full recognition that being a player in a normative language game, like planning, is more than just the sum total of a list of skills - it is also about the acquisition of *values*, which are just as much a part of being "*a competent planner*" (see Davison, 1994 for a similar perspective);
4. the creation of various categories of players depending on their attachment to the game to ensure that those members of other language games who are interested in the game and who have [acquired] some understanding of it, have a second home [to which they should be *invited* and] where they can grow and where they can enrich the game, rather than be lost for it; and
5. being less concerned about specifying specific niches/fields in which the players have to acquire experience and more about the individual player and the development of the competency of the player in the field/s s/he is interested/involved in. [Would it not be better if the Council became involved in the building of the competency of a player in the field/s the player is interested in, rather than just registering the player if s/he has the minimum required six months experience in each of the fields as listed?]

It is only when such changes are brought about that [the] rules on who may be[come] a player, will not be seen as *hurdles*, but *challenges* which the gatekeepers of the game - the SACTRP[, or whoever may take over this role.] - are willing to assist all prospective members of the community of planners in overcoming.

## BITRIPOSTE 02 HOW TO PLAY

### *Procedure*

As was pointed out in Maps Six and Eight, *the* contextless, extremely bounded, rational comprehensive "planning process" in which the planner was the key figure [- author -] has in most fields[, maybe excluding the township establishment, existing land use management/control and property development processes for that which is left of the middle class and the affluent section of our society.] been supplanted by more context-specific, more

stakeholder-negotiated [- i.e. what overseas theorists have termed "*planning through consensus/debate/dialogue*" (see Innes, 1996b, 1995, Healey, 1996a, 1996c, 1993, 1992a and 1992b; Sager, 1994; Healey and Gilroy, 1990 and Forester, 1989, 1987 and 1982) -] and in most cases, more strategically-inclined, pragmatic and partnership-driven planning processes.

Not only is this new set of rules,

1. the strategic, pragmatic and partnership-aspect of which can be seen as a definite attempt at:
  - \* dealing/coping with uncertainty/ies and shrinking public sector budgets;
  - \* getting at least a few high-priority things, tied up to a broad vision, done; and
  - \* incrementally testing the waters; and
2. which endorses transparency and participation in all aspects of the process and consensus between stakeholders/partners in the determining of agendas, processes and strategies/projects],

clearly in tune with present trends and tendencies, it also has very definite advantages, such as

1. ensuring transparency;
2. extending democracy;
3. "... *minimising alienation and disaffection ...*" (Reade, 1995: 21);
4. providing arenas where different "... *cultures, communities, and individuals (can) meet, ... can communicate, learn, critique and change each others' minds*" (Harper and Stein, 1995: 242) and can thus:
  - \* "... *collectively mak(e) sense together*" (Healey, 1992a: 160) of the context/situation they find themselves in; and
  - \* "... *creat(e) ... a common frame of assent*" (Connor, 1992: 244) within which it is *possible* for these diverse and different cultures, communities and individuals to "... *live together, but differently*" (Healey, 1992a: 160 and Forester, 1990b: 56);
5. establishing a "... *transactive style in which expert knowledge is joined to people's experience-based knowledge in a process of mutual learning*" (Friedmann, 1989: 231);
6. ensuring "buy in" by stakeholders; and
7. the spiritual progress of the participants [- i.e. giving them respect, dignity and the right to partake in processes that can/will shape their futures],

it also has its drawbacks/obstacles. Some of which are the following:

1. The chosen route may satisfy the rule of consensus, but may not be a, or the most cost-effective, environmentally-just/friendly/sustainable, swiftest, *etcetera*, road to addressing an/a issue/problem (see Rydin, 1994: 301 for a similar view regarding the environmental concerns dealt with in such processes).
2. By treating all participants equally, while there are in most cases inequalities between the players in such processes, it can favour those participants that are [better] able to articulate their concerns, are more forceful in their discourse and/or are more powerful than other participants, as a result of having/possessing:
  - \* more information;

- \* better developed technical capacities;
  - \* better "... *developed cognitive maps of institutions*" (Forester, 1990a: 62);
  - \* contacts in the right places; or
  - \* the ability to influence events in a locality (see Ray, 1993: Chapter 2 and Hoch, 1992).
3. The process can get bogged down in [a] discourse on the discourse of reconstruction and development, delaying the actual delivery of those material items that could lead to actual reconstruction and development and thus the improvement of the lives of those involved in the process - the much needed material progress.
  4. If the "system/process" in which all the inputs feed into, does not have the capacity to internalise and to produce something productive - a way forward - out of the multitude/plurality of inputs, i.e. if it turns mute as a result of information overload, resulting in the "... *cancel(ing) (of) all meaning in a meaningless noise*" (Best and Kellner, 1991: 302), it could become a process on a road to nowhere.
  5. The process can be [come] [used as] a substitute for actual delivery, becoming "... *an insidious form of co-optation, giving the poor and left-out an illusion of influence that is all the more insidious because the planners share the illusion*" (Marris, 1994: 144). As Scott and Roweis stated so patently twenty years ago, "... *even perfect democratic participation in all decisions does not necessarily, in and of itself, yield up control over the basic social and property relations that give rise to the specific irrationalities calling for collective decisions in the first place*" (1977: 1115, bold as italics in original text and see Short, 1993: 170 for a similar view in this regard).
  6. If participants are not adequately [en]capacitated before, during and through the process, it becomes little more than a case of bringing stakeholders to the negotiation arenas, only there to be alienated from the process (Short, 1989: 127-128).
  7. Some situations simply cannot, at a given time, deliver win-win solutions as an "agreement" necessitates the giving up of deeply held views by one or more of the parties (Murphy, 1994: 129). At such times a dispute can best be resolved by the partners agreeing to disagree and committing themselves to achieving consensus at some future date (Murphy, 1994: 129), while at the same time carrying on with issues/projects which are less contentious. A desire for, and a belief in the possibility of always being able to achieve a win-win scenario in such situations, may lead to endless tussles, a "cop out" of partners and again, delays in delivery.
  8. If planners "... *rely ... solely on a one-way information flow from the citizens (it) may result in cookie-cutter projects and (a) repetition of endless uniformity*" (Sancar, 1994: 332, bold my own).
  9. It may be that in a given situation there are no lobbyists for animal rights and/or ecological/environmental justice, leaving these entities without a voice as they cannot speak for themselves (see Sterba, 1994: 161-164 for a discussion of this issue).
  10. An excessive concern on consensus and finding agreement/joint solutions can lead to a situation where consensus is "imposed" or "forced" - a development which:
    - \* is contra the idea of celebrating difference/diversity;
    - \* could lead us down the path of metanarratives that must suit/fit all (see Coles, 1992: 93 and Bauman, 1988b: 473 for a similar criticism); and

- \* could rob us of the opportunity of creating and asserting our identities, for, as all identities are relational, no identity is able to affirm and assert itself without the existence of "... *alterity and otherness*" (Mouffe, 1995: 265 and see 263).

As this country *cannot*

1. let talk about reconstruction and development supplant actual transformation, reconstruction and development; and
2. afford to land in a situation in which long term sustainable use of resources is not actively pursued,

the latest set of rule changes will need to go through further [ever-continuing- "*modernity-as-adventure*" (terminology from Berman, 1989: 243)] refinements, to ensure that:

1. a balance between process, or procedural justice [- i.e. letting the people/public own the process, fairness and democracy -] and product, or substantive justice [- i.e. more equality in outcome/just outcomes -] is reached, faster delivery is assured and the actual building of a more equal society is achieved;
2. capacity building and empowerment is given a very high priority, so as to enable stakeholders to play the part their constituencies expect of them and not leave them [feeling] impotent in the processes which are [in fact] supposed to be empowering exercises (see also Short, 1989: 127-128 for a similar view);
3. ways are found/invented by which we can live with, accommodate, tolerate and celebrate difference/diversity without necessarily needing/trying to find a *consensus-driven-once-size-fits-all-answer* on how to live (see Hoch, 1992 and Thomas and Krishnarayan, 1993 for a similar point of view); and
4. the future is brought into the equation and the Environment is given a far more prominent [and in some cases an even unnegotiable] place in the process so as to make inter-generational and inter-species justice definite components of the goals of the process.

It is, I believe up to players of the language game of planning, to do the necessary research, locally and abroad, to come up with these more refined processes, as, in the end, planning is about both process and product, and what we need now, in *a world* in which "... *global chasms of misery and affluence are ... growing*" (Therborn, 1996: 81), and *a country* in which the same is happening (see Map Eight), is to "... *move beyond equality of opportunity towards the equality of results*" (Kiernan, 1983: 85). If this is not done, and if delivery were not to pick up a few gears, the suffering will continue, and continue to grow, destroying our hopes of a better future, leaving government and the processes it set in place with no legitimacy, and in the process closing off the avenues players of the language game of planning [- being restricted to *statutory measures* -] have at playing a part in the creation of a better tomorrow.

### *Roles*

Given the fields/niches planners have entered, and will need to create and enter in future, as

well as the changes in the way the game is being played in most of these fields, the players of the game will need to adapt existing roles for the new conditions and take up/on new ones. [Some of these "new" roles, are incidentally not really all that new - they are older roles that were just never really taken up enthusiastically by the players, and which are *now* no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity.] These roles are the following:

1. *Leaders.* While leadership does not often combine too well with democracy (Knudsen, 1988: 563 and Nisbet, 1959), and poses the problem of favouring one/some narrative [- that of the individual/group assuming/taking the leadership position -] over [that of] another, individuals and groups concerned about the[ir] country and its people, such as the players of a language game like planning[, which purports to be about the creation of a better future], should take up the responsibility of leading into the future, especially in the setting up and development of a Southern African Union/Region. This does of course not imply the unaccountable run-away leadership of a Robert Moses in New York (see Berman, 1989 and Johnson, 1974: 34), but a people-centered leadership within a structure in which the leadership is constantly scrutinized, dissected and discoursed.
2. *Urban managers.* The creation of the holistic field of urban management with its various components, such as land use management systems, social development, economic development, environmental management, institutional structures, *etcetera* (see Werna, 1995 and Albrechts, 1991: 134), as finds expression in the I[S]DP and LDO-processes, will require competent persons to manage the processes and to manage the implementation of the strategies and projects coming out of these processes. There can be very few players from other [professional] language games who can lay claim to such a wide view of the city, as well as the ability to relate/link components of the city to each other and to space and *vice versa*, as those of the language game of urban and regional planning. This role is of course much like that of the role of *coordinator*, so prominent in the comprehensive planning phase of the 1960s and 1970s and of which the civil engineer E J Hamlin said way back in 1916, albeit in the idiom of [the modernism of] the "*Professional Man*": "... for a town to be planned successfully co-operation (is) necessary. It must be the joint efforts of the surveyor, the architect, the sanitary engineer, the landscape architect, the sociologist, and in the case of an old town, the antiquarian and the legal man. Their spheres of influence should interlock, and the town planner must constantly be in communication with each of them" (1916: 192, bold my own).
3. *Facilitators.* The new communicative planning processes and the conflict-resolution between stakeholders in these processes, require facilitators who not only possess listening, "hearing"[- there is a difference between listening and *hearing* what someone is actually saying, or trying to say, or withholding, or trying to withhold -], communication, mediation and conflict resolution skills and who are not only able to resolve small, immediate conflicts, but are also able to relate these conflicts to the

bigger picture[ - the global if necessary -], to physical space, to the Environment and to other components of the city. In other words, professionals who:

- \* are well informed in a wide variety of issues;
- \* [are able to] understand the embeddedness of specific local issues/problems/disparities in their local, as well as in their wider [regional, national, transnational, global] political-economic, gender, ecological and cultural contexts; and
- \* are well schooled in the basic city building processes, and that are good talkers and listeners (see Sayer, 1994 for a similar view).

4. *Social inventors*. Planners, will[, as *inter alia* Professor Mallovs suggested so long ago.] need to be[come], in Guttenberg's terminology, "*social inventors*" (1993: xv), i.e. professionals who can invent new "*social forms*" that may be "... *physical, legal, social, political, economic or all of these*" (1993: xv). While groups consisting of technical experts and members of affected communities are becoming the norm in the unpacking of complex problems and the formulation of novel solutions to these problems, sparks of genius from individuals in these groups will still be imperative. This role, that of being inventive[, such as for instance providing communities on the mundane level with, for example, alternatives to existing forms of land use management, or on a larger scale, institutional ways of keeping local authorities running at lower costs, or novel ways of ensuring that local authorities get more funds in, new physical urban forms for the South African city, workable urbanisation strategies and even frameworks for the development of the Southern African Union/Region], is, however, not something planners will be able to lay claim to without taking up the option of "*modernity as adventure*" (terminology from Berman, 1989: 243) - never accepting anything as the final answer. This also includes not seeing "mixed uses"[, or "*plural zones*" as Turner (1996: 9) refers to them,] and activity corridors as THE final answer/s. Interestingly enough, about fifty years ago, planners in the reformist fervour of the 1940s, saw the cellular neighbourhood unit as THE final answer to the "... *inherently ugly, cancerous and anti-social, ... never-ending sprawling with little direction ... modern city*" (Kantorowich, 1948: 96 and 100) and had with glee seen "... *cities shake themselves free of the restrictive domination of the corridor street, the gift of the Baroque to the city*" (Kantorowich, 1948: 100, bold my own).
5. *Urban designers*. This role is one which can be regarded as a subsection of the role of social inventors - each new design in fact needing to be a unique attempt at shaping settlements so as to make "place" serve its users' needs in all their guises: psychological, social, economical, *etcetera*. In the future the need to achieve more sustainable urban forms and forms of urban living is sure to grow [even stronger] and to place additional multi-disciplinary *skills-and-expertise-demands* on designers (see also Udy, 1994: 29 for a similar view).

6. *Entrepreneurs*. Again, this role is in fact a subsection of the role of social inventors, but in this case with a more economical bent. This role, however, does not only suggest individual monetary enrichment, but also the ability to come up with inventive ways of local, regional, national and subcontinental economic development for the benefit of communities, and especially the poorest of the poor (see Fainstein, 1991 and Udy, 1994).
7. *Strategic thinkers*. This role, which has a lot in common with those of social inventors, entrepreneurs and urban managers, is one which rests on the "old" ability to synthesize, to see through a mountain of information what is relevant and what not, what is necessary and what is not, what is useful and what is not, and to see a situation for what it is and what it is not. Also, being able to see "... *what can be planned ... (and what not), what needs planning (and what not), rather than trying to interfere in everything*" (Minett, 1970: 231) - thus implying the "art and science" of judgement (see Lee, 1960: 27 for a similar view).

Without such thinkers in strategic planning processes the processes may be wasteful and unproductive and unable to generate anything better than what the "old" extremely bounded comprehensive planning process did.

8. *Visionaries*. As Williams suggests, "*Planning is all about ideas. It is about the selling of ideas and what is known as the 'vision thing'*" (1995: 18). The [somewhat romantically-inclined (Udy, 1994: 27)] role this presupposes is thus a role that needs to be played by all players; it is not just something for the academics and not restricted to "big visions" only. However, and this I believe very strongly, if planners want/are to grab the "public's" imagination again, they will need to come forward with broader, more holistic visions of a better future, not in the shape of one-dimensional blueprints that "must be achieved" [and most probably cannot, as most of the visionary blueprints of the past turned out to be (see Udy, 1994: 27)], but as interactive frames of reference, possibilities and "... *spaces in which we (can) contemplate the consequences of present actions*" (Haider as quoted in Sardar, 1991: 229), there for others to ponder, criticize, reflect and improve upon. This last aspect of the "visionary thing" is of extreme importance, as "... *utopian formulation has th(e) characteristic of one person telling the rest of the world how to live*" (Grabow, 1977: 119) and with this kind of utopian totalitarianism the game should not be associated.
9. *Land use planning experts, creative administrators and advocates*. Two major parts of the I[S]DP and LDO-processes which are already important and will in future become even more so, are those of:
- \* devising spatial framework plans; and
  - \* implementing and administering land use management systems that give expression to the goals and principles as expressed in these processes.



Likewise there will [still] be a need for professionals who can:

- \* make applications for development rights to elected Councils and appointed Tribunals;
- \* process applications for development rights in the public sector;
- \* act as advocates for their clients on their behalf - especially in the case of the proposed rights being contested; and
- \* act as advocates on behalf of communities/stakeholders who are opposed to proposed development proposals.

In future the situation may also arise that communities elect to let professionals assist [- not *represent* -] them as their advocates in the I[S]DP and LDO-processes, or that local authorities make planners available for communities to assist such communities in getting more out of the I[S]DP and LDO-processes [as had been the case in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s (see *inter alia* Davidoff, 1965 and Davidoff *et al.*, 1970)]. This will not be a case of the planners having silenced a community by representing them, but rather a case of a partnership between the planner and the community and of empowerment of both the community and the planner, being a priority of the partnership. [The lack of empowerment of the community was one of the main charges against the advocacy planning movement in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s (Checkoway, 1994: 141 and Heskin, 1980)].

As many of these roles are already being played, or in the process of being embarked upon by planners (see Map Eight), these foreseen future roles are not foreign to the players of the game. They will, however, necessitate a shift in focus from restriction, technical detail and administration [but not a desertion of these roles.] to invention for some, and mid-career skills training for many, for playing a role entails more than just stating that you are playing it. I say this for at the speech level, players have clearly picked up, adopted and internalised the "new vocabulary" and have become prime orators of and on the new situation, using words such as "*workshopping*", "*facilitating*", "*capacity building*", "*global economy*", "*sustainability*" and "*empowerment*" in their discourse (Oranje, 1994). Furthermore many now declare their roles as those of facilitators, managers of [urban] change and community developers (Oranje, 1994), but, given:

1. the strong white male presence in the game, it is questionable/debateable whether the assimilation of the [perceived?] vocabulary of the forgotten people has led to the actual incorporation of the aspirations and ideals locked up in these voices in actual practice; and
2. the land use control-background from which many players have come, and their reliance on a very short phase of "*i/on-job* training in the new fields" under, in many cases, superiors equally unsure about the new fields and roles [- the result of an absence of mass mid-career/refresher courses -], it is doubtful whether the transition has been all that complete.

As for the *leadership* role, it is one which will take more than just training and shifts in approach. This role will require of planners to [again]:

1. "*Believe in planning*" (the title of Thompson, 1990) - i.e. believing in what it can attain and believing that it can accomplish something better than what we have; and
2. find the religious fervour and passion about planning and the need for planning that drove the pioneers of planning in this country[, without of course the racist undertones of those early days] (see Minett, 1971: 231 for a similar call on planners twenty-six years ago in the UK).

Both of these, however, necessitate a realisation of the essential nature of planning - that it is a *faith*, an *ideology*, a *secular religion*, and not a natural part of a [natural] system (see Map One). And a faith that can collapse just like any other faith if it is not ceaselessly updated, re-invented, critically discoursed and reaffirmed. The *Beastly* sides of postmodernism, its nihilism and endless relativism can only be countered and conquered by such a faith, a true faith, built on knowledge, hope, wisdom and love for our fellow human beings, as well as the non-human life forms who share this Earth with us.

## RIPOSTE 04 PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### *General*

As I argued in Maps Three to Seven the now defunct SAITP and SAITRP *were*, and the [surviving] SACTRP and the [newly established] SAPI *are*, based on the belief in the existence of two key components/phenomena, *viz*

1. that there is a clearly discernible group/community/gathering of professionals [ *development and town/urban and regional planners -* ] who:
  - \* went through a period of "*credible training*" (Hague, 1996: 2) in a certain discipline/expert system/language game[ - that of development and town/urban and regional planning]; and
  - \* have acquired certain skills that can be used by society/a community, which
2. enables them to competently fill certain "*market niches*" (Hague, 1996: 2) in which members of the group have, over time, established themselves as being [the] experts and by which they demonstrate their "*social utility*" (Barr, 1972: 155 and see the definition of an expert system in Map Eight and see similar definitions of a profession in Lee, 1960: 25-29; Cogan, 1953: 47 and Goode, 1957: 194).

While having their foundations on the same premise, there is, however, a very important difference between these two existing bodies, the SACTRP and the SAPI[, other than that the former is a statutory body and the latter a voluntary one], *viz* the statutory SACTRP is an institution built on a tripartite "*triple-trade-off- 'buy-in'-agreement*" between the South African Society, Planners and the State, in terms of which:

1. *the State* sanctions and supports the setting up of a professional body - the SACTRP -

- with the task of registering competent planners, ensuring that the training of planners remains "credible" and that members found guilty of wrongdoing are disciplined;
2. prospective *members* go through the prescribed routes to obtain membership and thus professional status, and pay their annual membership fees to retain this status; and
  3. *society* has to pay a "professional price" for the peace of mind of having their business/concerns attended to by accredited professionals, and the assurance that these professionals will be disciplined if needs be.

The voluntary SAPI, on the other hand is an institution which is concerned with "... *enhanc(ing) the art and science of sustainable local, regional and national human and physical development planning, and the theory and practice relating thereto*" by *inter alia* maintaining and improving the knowledge and expertise of its members (SAPI, 1996: 1).

So, while the SACTRP is about the maintenance of the status of the profession and the registration and discipline of its members, the SAPI's primary concern lies with the enhancement of the discipline of planning on which the profession is built and the maintenance and improvement of the knowledge and expertise of its members.

Now, from the foregoing, it is clear that these and other voluntary bodies that may be established, have a life for as long as the following three conditions hold/prevail:

1. all three parties [- State, society and planners -] hold to their "buy-in" agreement - thus implying that it continues having advantages for all three;
2. the two basic beliefs hold true, or are believed/held to be true by all three the parties; and
3. the planners *voluntarily* take enough interest in their discipline to keep voluntary institutions, such as SAPI, alive[. for no one else will do it, if planners do not].

Looking only at present trends/tendencies (see Map Eight), such as the following, it would seem that these three conditions are in danger:

1. Borders between professions are becoming less visible and niches/fields in which professionals traditionally operated as lone players, have become populated by players from other [professional] language games[ - largely the result of a shift away from a modernist reductionist phase in which every function in the city was separated and attended to by a group of specialist players in a particular language game, to more integrated *fields/niches*, built around *issues/concerns* requiring players from a multitude of games to play together -], while at the same time new niches/fields have been entered by players from a multitude of language games, with the result that the two beliefs of a clearly discernible group of professionals who play exclusively in certain fields, no longer reflects reality.
2. There is a general movement away from rigid, formal *profession-based structures* to looser, more flexible, informal *transprofessional networks*.
3. Performativity - the ability to do "the job", is becoming more important than having the "right papers" or belonging to a professional body or organisation.

4. Voluntary associations which are not perceived to be of direct benefit to the payer/s of subscription fees, are experiencing a drop in interest. So for instance the SAITRP experienced a substantial decline in membership after the 1995-amendment making it no longer necessary to be a member of the SAITRP to be registered with the SACTRP (see Map Six).

And, if these trends were to continue into the future, and there is nothing to suggest that they will not, it becomes very unlikely that the SACTRP and SAPI will remain in their present formats for very much longer. Presuming that these trends continue, the following two developments as regards institutions/organisations are very possible:

1. A more encompassing umbrella grouping/organisation/institution[, such as the Built Environment Council proposed by the Department of Public Works, in which it is proposed that the fields of engineering, architecture, land surveying, quantity surveying and town and regional planning will be incorporated.] is established, in which professionals playing in the multitude of planning, [environmental] design and development-related games are represented/taken up.
2. Smaller, more [issue/concern-]focused, more niche/field-related groupings/organisations/institutions are set up by players from the various language games active in the specific niches/fields.

Given the current situation of statutory councils and voluntary institutions/organisations, the umbrella grouping would most probably be a legal council and the smaller institutions/organisations voluntary ones.

As for the umbrella body/grouping, the SACTRP could go into this grouping as the SACTRP, or dissolve[- through a scrapping of the Town and Regional Planners Act, Act 19 of 1984]; its former members going into the new umbrella body either in terms of the present Act, or on the same grounds as would apply if the SACTRP adopted the new proposals on entrance requirements as discussed in Bitriposte 02 of Riposte 02 - i.e. competency and/or formal training and playing experience in the various niches/fields they play the language game of urban and regional planning in.

### *The end of a distinct language game?*

The language game of urban and regional planning did not come to life as a result of the Town and Regional Planners Act, Act 19 of 1984. Long before the Act there was a language game with its own institutions set up by the players of the language game - the SAITP and the SAITRP.

So, whether a new broad Council is established and the SACTRP is dissolved, or nor, this will not determine the future of the language game of urban and regional planning and the life form - the community of planners - who sustain it, and it them. It is all really a question of whether the players of the game want it to survive as a distinct game or not, and whether they are willing to keep the voluntary SAPI and other institutions/bodies the players may

create, alive.

Now, in our present situation, in which borders between language games[, especially the planning, environmental design and development related language games,] have become fuzzy, and in which players from a variety of language games are playing shoulder to shoulder in a host of fields, it could be conceived that the death of the distinct language game of urban and regional planning is imminent. This is of course only one [modernist "A" or "not-A"]-possibility, out of numerous others, such as the following three:

1. It may be that the time we are in is just a *present-falling-away-of-borders-only-to-regroup-in-future* phase. It may be that in five, ten or even twenty years' time, distinct games with distinct [academic] disciplines and distinct players may arise again, some of them all new, some of them reformulations of old games with some additions from other games, and some of them existing games ridden of portions which did not belong in them in the first place[ - i.e. our present professional groupings/boundaries may have been inappropriate for a start].
2. It may be that our present groupings, although not the ideal, go through a rough patch, and take some beatings, but remain intact, largely as a result of inertia in a variety of arenas, love for the game, market forces, professional arrogance/pride and/or empire-retention.
3. It may be that players playing in a multitude of fields, or rather, who straddle a number of games, in typical postmodern decentered-self fashion, could have portions of their fragmented *selves* residing in various language games, spend time in all the games and/or belong to the communities of all the games.

[M]A/[a]ny thing[s] may happen - that is, of course if we do not try to shape them ourselves, and we, the players of the language game can still shape events. The future is not a text already written. Well, maybe the large texts have been written a few years into the future as a result of past and present texts, but the subtexts are surely still "up for grabs" - as Banai (quoting from Ackoff) suggests, "*The future depends at least as much on what we and others do between now and then as it does on what has already happened*" (1993: 391). The message clearly is: *We can play an active part in deciding where our game is headed*. And so, if the multitude of fields we are active in makes us feel that we no longer share a collective identity, if we feel alienated from our co-players, and if we feel that our existing institutions can no longer represent our diverse playing fields and playing positions, then we should call it quits. If we, however, do not feel this, and if we feel that we are still "*a community* [- in postmodern-speak: a part of each of our selves still feels that sense of community -] *within other communities*" (the title of Goode, 1957), then we should[, even as only one of our selves' groupings,] remain together. If, however, we opt for staying together, we will have to, at regular intervals, decide whether we

1. need to broaden that which we regard as the language game of urban and regional planning;
2. keep matters as they are; or

3. narrow that which we regard as the language game of urban and regional planning down,

and thus also, who can and should be allowed to join us as players in the game. As I have argued at numerous cases in this text, narrowing the scope down serves very little purpose; in fact it could very possibly:

1. lead the game and its players down a narrow dark tunnel into oblivion;
2. rob the players and the game of inputs from other individuals with other perspectives on the game and what it sh/could be doing; and
3. rob other language games from the inputs of players of the language game of urban and regional planning.

As Lee suggested nearly 40 years ago in the USA: "*An open organization existing by consent is certainly preferable to a closed one existing by coercion, rite and convention*" (1960: 30).

But that is for the players of the game to decide. The important point is that we [need to] realise that with the freedom brought by the demise of Apartheid also comes the responsibility to make our own futures and to free ourselves from the *wait-and-lets-see-what-does-[not]-happen-approach* Apartheid doped many South Africans into. For the umpteenth time: *We need to regain the religious fervour for the game our forebears had*, without the racist undertones, of course, and we need institutions - i.e. joint time[s] and space[s] - where we[, the players,] can:

1. become socialised into the game (see Goode, 1957 for a discussion of the importance of this aspect for a profession);
2. develop and retain an identification with the game and its aims/objectives (see Becker and Carper, 1956 for a discussion on the importance of this aspect for the players of a game and the game itself);
3. continually think through, discourse and update the planning inputs we bring to whichever niches/fields we may be playing the game in;
4. grow;
5. investigate our past and learn from it;
6. keep the game - a "form of life" - alive;
7. critically investigate and discourse aspects of the game, ridding it of unnecessary baggage, retaining the necessary parts, and adding new inventions to its vocabulary; and
8. ponder its future.

## RIPOSTE 05 EDUCATION

### In General

Just like the future of the language game of planning is tied up with the ability of its players to fill niches/fields for which society/a community has a need and use, so is planning education inextricably tied up with the future of the game. [A very important point in this

regard is the actual and perceived status and use value of/need for the planning game and its players, as well as the remuneration of players, for if these are not high, the planning schools will, in a very material world, struggle to attract good students.] But, by the same token, is the future of the game dependent on:

1. the quality of players produced by educational institutions; as well as
2. the ability of primarily educationalists to provide the game with a relevant intellectual underpinning (see Castells, 1992: 78 for a similar view).

On the first point, that of the *education of planners*, the challenge facing planning schools is that of producing non-Euclidean planners for a non-Euclidean world, instead of Euclidean planners for an Euclidean world (see Friedmann, 1993 for a similar view). By that I mean planning schools will have to produce planners who are, and will be, able to fill niches that are no longer clearly defined, and will have to be able to create their own in an environment that no longer has clearly defined boundaries. To enable planners to do this, planning schools will have to:

1. ensure that students:
  - \* develop the [ir] ability to act, to be inventive/creative, to make sense and to "make connections" (Williams, 1995: 18) [- i.e. Professor Mallovs' ability to think -] in a wide variety of highly competitive environments/positions, with the help of a wide range of technological aids, in the company of a very diverse range of people/players of other language games and in *power-and-politics-filled-environments* (see Tewdwr-Jones, 1995 for a similar view) [- Christensen (1993) very aptly calls the teaching process of the abilities that need to be developed, i.e. those of "... intelligence and understanding, .. common sense, discernment, shrewdness, and an ability to grasp a situation", that of "teaching savvy"];
  - \* are made aware of the implications of what is said, how it is said, to whom it is said and what is *not* said in the wide array of situations they may find themselves players in (see *inter alia* Moore Milroy, 1989 and Forester, 1989 on the importance of these aspects in planning texts and planning practice);
  - \* are [en]able[d] to cope with uncertainty, or rather, prosper/blossom in uncertainty;
  - \* learn the ability to learn [rapidly] and become aware of the necessity to continue learning (see Friedmann, 1971: 320);
  - \* are exposed to more than just the dictates of the fields the game is played in at a given time, including "... experimental, innovative and heretical ideas", even ideas that are "... alien to the supposed needs of professional practice, but (are) vital for healthy progress" (Eccles *et al*, 1990: 40);
  - \* acquire an understanding of the core concepts with which to think and act spatially and *techno-info-spatially* and the basic skills associated with these concepts, so as to be able to produce workable solutions [with scarce resources] for complex situations/challenges[- as Leary wrote way back in 1967, "I am concerned that the products of our planning schools are problem-

*oriented rather than solution-oriented; that we are busy educating people to define better what our problems are, rather than teaching them the mechanics and the processes whereby these problems may be, if not solved, at least ameliorated" (1967: 129)*]; and

- \* are able to understand, decode, encode, translate and communicate concepts/ideas into as many planning, development, property development and environmental design languages [and techno-spatial languages] as possible (see Fainstein, 1991 for a similar opinion); and
2. allow students far more freedom in the choice of optional subjects (see Bailey, 1995 for a similar opinion).

In a sense, thus, it can be seen as a "*core curriculum*" (Friedmann, 1996) [ - a strong, rigorous centre -], enabling jumps and dives into a multitude of niches/fields [ - extending the game's reach -], but also providing the option for students to gear themselves for excursions into certain specific niches/fields. In this latter endeavour partnerships between planning schools and private and public institutions can be of valuable assistance.

As suggested in the previous Riposte on Institutions, this is of course not the only task educational institutions have to fulfil as regards their students. Being the first place most planners meet the language game of planning, these institutions need to nurture a love and a passion for the game and what it stands for, as well as create an awareness among students of the bigger picture and *where* in this bigger picture the game is located. In a time in which planning is not regarded all that favourably by all, this becomes even more important.

Returning to the second major task resting on educationalists, *viz* to provide the game with an [appropriate] intellectual underpinning, there is only one way this will happen: through research and publications. With the Apartheid years not really producing much in the line of positive theories of planning, the game is intellectually very unstable and educationalists will need to seriously address this situation.

### **Planning education as a tool of transformation**

Education must surely be one of the primary vehicles for transforming the profession and in so doing, the country too. There are primarily five ways in which I can see the planning schools doing this, which are as follows:

1. by bringing planners from previously disadvantaged communities into the game;
2. by making it possible for players from a variety of [original/initial] positions to enter tertiary education institutions;
3. by ensuring, *via* marketing, that [visionary] students who want to make a positive contribution to the reconstruction, transformation and development of the country, are attracted to the game;
4. by "producing" planners with a clear understanding of how the planning game could and should be used to ensure the reconstruction, transformation and development of the country; and



5. by establishing a formal programme of mid-career courses for practising planners, not just for "now"/the immediate future, but as a part of a life-long learning process. [In my study for the DLA, the need for ongoing training and "refreshing/overhauling" of planners in practice through "mid-career/refresher" courses was strongly supported. According to the role players consulted this would not only lead to personal growth, but also to an improvement in the quality of the service rendered by the players.]

### **Possible intra-university and inter-university changes**

In the next two paragraphs possible changes, given the present context/landscape we find ourselves in, are discussed in two domains - intra-university and inter-university. This does, however, not suggest that these changes cannot come about in a combined format.

1. *Intra-university changes.* Given that we are in an immensely dynamic situation in which a host of players from various language games are playing together in the same fields, players from various games may establish new niches/fields on the borders between existing games, and/or that the niches/fields become independent games. If this were to happen, planning education would become a component of a host of new programmes built up between the planning game and other existing professional games, and/or would most probably become a service course in new professional games that may be set up.
2. *Inter-university-changes.* It may be that, in the near future planning schools may be "thrown together" to not only bring about a saving in the National Education Budget, but also to increase the skills base [and *educationalist-cross-fertilization*] at the site of such a new amalgamated school. This will increase the possibility of students being informed by more expert opinions in more fields than is currently the case in our existing planning schools with their three to six permanent staff members who simply cannot provide students with expert guidance as regards the diverse range of [especially the new] fields the game is being played in.

## **RIPOSTE 06 AIMS/OBJECTIVES**

### **Of The Game**

Clearly the objective of the game will in future be to ensure the realisation of the futures as articulated in the Maps of Hope by *inter alia* bringing a pragmatic, critically modernist vision of a better future, not somewhere in virtual reality, but in real space and place, *via* its players, into the multitude of fields with human settlement at their core and with a definite focus on the needs of women and children. There can be no other goal until we have closed the book on the past by writing a new book in which the inequalities of the past are

addressed/removed and in which people are lifted into a realm beyond that of "just surviving". This will of course imply:

1. [sustainable] reconstruction and development [through integrated strategic settlement and land use management] of our cities [to ensure that the Apartheid geography is broken down and the slide into a fully-fledged neo-feodal polarised postmodern city is prevented];
2. keeping the idea of *reconstruction* alive [and not seeing our country as just another developing country in need of development and forgetting our sordid past];
3. the spiritual and material development of all our people [inter alia via the creation of choice-generating environments, ensuring access to possible places of work, education facilities, public transport and the Internet, and the actual delivery of basic services and housing]; and
4. the pursuit of justice - procedural, substantive, inter-generational, [even] inter-species [i.e. extending rights to animals, which have been denigrated to the non-status of "*the Ultimate Other*" in many cultures and mindsets (Wolch and Emel, 1995: 632)] and ecological - and [the pursuance of] a *balance* between these forms of justice (see Everley, 1990 for a similar view).

While this aim/objective is not foreign to the game, having featured strongly at various times in the past [such as in the late 1930s, 1940s and 1980s in South Africa,] and in the discourse of individual planners [especially in the 1970s and 1980s], it is one which was suppressed and was not really given the opportunity to manifest itself fully in the Apartheid years.

### For Playing

As for ourselves, only if we play the game with the goal of the realisation of the Maps of Hope in mind, will the game, and ourselves have a future, and will we be "rewarded". If short term profit/income is our [sole] motivation for playing as it primarily became after the transition from a social movement to a professional, bureaucratised language, we will find, in the metaphors of the/a religious game, a dark future inhabited by other outcasts of a variety of sorts, but if we play for the "right" reasons, we may just earn for ourselves and those around us and their, and our children, a future in which our hopes have returned from the realm of fiction to that of non-fiction.

## RIPOSTE 07 DEFINITIONS

Definitions are ways by which we [continuously] make sense of something or other and by which we try to communicate that understanding to others. This being the case, there will be a multitude of definitions of a language game such as that of urban and regional planning, and with that there can be no problem. In fact such a multitude of definitions keeps a game healthy, as the definitions of others challenge our own and *vice versa* (see also Map  $\alpha$  in which the advantages to be gained from diversity are expounded). There is, however, one unforgivable sin,

while we are i/on the metaphors of the game of religion,] a planner can commit and that is not to have a definition at all, or to just say, "*There are as many definitions as there are planners*", or, "*Who can define it?*", and then to offer nothing] as many planners responded in my survey for the DLA], for how can we tell others what our game *is* and *is about*, if we do not have a definition of our own (see Seeley, 1962: 91 for a similar view)? Such a personal definition will of course not be a stable entity cast in stone, it will surely grow and change as we do, in a sense acting as an indicator of our understanding of that which we are grappling with.

So, having said that, I owe this text a definition [at this point in my life] which satisfies my perception of what the game needs to be[come], be about and why it needs to be played. It reads as follows:

The language game of South African urban and regional planning is a future-oriented, creative, participatory language game built around legislation and other internationally enforceable measures, enabling intervention in:

- \* the use of land and other resources;
- \* the housing and living conditions in all forms and at all levels [from the smallest portion of land to the international level] of human settlement; and
- \* the course of future development,

so as to ensure the sustainable use of resources, justice in all its dimensions and the creation and widening of choice.

## RIPOSTE 08 THE NAME OF THE GAME

Given that the game is and will be played in a host of new fields/niches, many of them with *development* as their key theme, or a part of their name, the question arises of whether the name of the planning game should [not] be changed?

It is not a suggestion without merit, but what needs to be considered is that the name is an internationally recognised one, which does have an identity built around it and is known among other professionals in this country. As we are entering an increasingly global economy, it would make sense to have a name that is internationally recognised. Furthermore, the aim of the game of planning, as it is presently being played and will be played in future, is development, making a change in the name unnecessary[, I think] (a similar point of view was also expressed to me by Professor Dave Dewar in my survey for the 1996 DLA-study referred to in Map  $\alpha$ ).

## RIPOSTE 09 OUR/THE PAST

What about our past, our game's ties with segregation in the first years of its existence and its later Apartheid past? Is that just a part of history - something to be forgotten?

The sad thing about *bad* things that happened in the past is that we cannot undo them. We can only endeavour to rectify the wrongs incurred and try not to repeat the mistakes. For both of these two to be done, we, however, need to know *what* the wrongs were and *why* they were committed. Now, for those who see such a process as a witch hunt, that it is not, for it may also rid the game of a token such as "*all planning = Apartheid planning*". We might also find that inbetween all the darkness, there were rays of light, maybe even dark pieces which, if placed in lighter surroundings, can be used to good avail [- i.e. pastiche -] such as for identity-building (see Abbott and Adler, 1989: 467 for a similar view of the role of planning history). And we may, even, through plotting the past, understand better why the game is the way it is and why we are what, or the way, we are. So, in concluding this response, what I am suggesting is that we cannot forget our past, we must get it out in the open, try to rectify, where possible, the wrongs, and stay alert never to repeat such mistakes. One way of ensuring this is of course through the adoption of a Code of Ethics, drafted by players from all backgrounds, races, genders, etc., which, obviously, cannot be cast in stone, as it will need to grow and evolve as we come to know more about the implications of our deeds and as our language game and its players change/grow. The implementation of such a Code will, however, not be easy, as some postmodern tendencies run against any suggestion of "right" and "wrong" or "good" and "bad" (see also Riposte 01 of this Bitmap). Again this does not preclude us from *trying to find* a Code, founded on universal moral principles as encapsulated in our Constitution, which is aware of, and informed by, our past and which, while not being able to make the Maps of Hope realise, can at least assist us in guiding our behaviour in assisting the country [and ourselves] in getting there.

**BITMAP THREE OF MAP TEN  
IN WHICH  
THE QUESTIONS OF HOW  
THE "MOVE INTO TOMORROW"  
AND THE REQUIRED CHANGES/ADAPTATIONS  
TO THE GAME CAN BECOME OPERATIONAL,  
ARE ADDRESSED**

**GENERAL**

We are faced with a situation in which:

1. the players of the game have to make a clean break from a past in which a safe and secure modernism which views modernity as a matter of routine (terminology adapted from Berman, 1989: 243), exerted a vice-like grip on the game and its players; and
2. a set of initial conditions, of which a number have no place in the future we need to enter, such as an obsession with control and technocratic professionalism, ties with

racial segregation and discrimination and in-fighting between professionals], have lingered on in the game, and now need to be discarded/left behind, while we need to reg/tain another initial condition - a religious fervour for the game.

How?

The Maps of the Past (see Bitmap Four of Map Seven) identified the most prominent forces that brought about change in the game in the past as:

1. the policies and plans of the Government of the day;
2. trends in other countries;
3. the mood of the time;
4. the dictates of the market;
5. the economic fortunes of the middle and higher income classes; and
6. individual players who ran with their dreams for the game to be established and who secured the passing of legislation which made the playing of the game possible.

Given the trends and the tendencies of the time we are in, it can be expected that all the above forces will continue to directly and indirectly bring about change in the game, but with the following changes and new forces coming to the fore:

1. There will most probably, for the foreseeable future, be a decline in the level of influence the middle and upper income classes will have/exert on the game.
2. The role of international trends and tendencies will most probably increase in a globalising economy[ as has already started to happen over the last number of years (see Bitmap One of Map Six and Bitmap Three of Map Seven)].
3. The needs of the lower income groups and those of the Environment may become new potent forces of change, as the latter has done in the planning game in especially New Zealand, the UK and Europe (Memon and Gleeson, 1995 and Breheny, 1994: 139). [The Environment/sustainable development may even, as a number of writers have suggested, and as has happened in the New Zealand Resource Management Act, 1991, become the new legitimizing foundation for planning (see *inter alia* McDonald, 1996; Memon and Gleeson, 1995 and Breheny, 1994: 141).]

What is, however, important to realise, is that these forces, other than for the dreams of individual planners, are all forces external to the game, and thus to a large degree outside the control of planners. This does of course not mean that planners can do nothing where these forces are concerned. Planners can, of course,:

1. lobby the State to pass enabling legislation[ as the pioneers of the game did; the reality of the last fifty years, however, being that government was the organ initiating changes in the game, while it should most probably be/have been the other way round];
2. urge the State to change existing policies/laws, which will have an impact on the game[ - something the players have in the past been reprimanded for not doing where Apartheid policies and laws were concerned ]; and/or

3. through their actions, play some part in improving the lives of the lower income classes, which will enable these disempowered classes to gain more power and a greater ability to influence/change the game.

On the whole though, it would seem that the only "influencing force" we are in charge of, is ourselves, and that, if we want to ensure that the game fills newly opening niches, as well as creates new ones, the change will have to come from within the game.

That is of course easier said than done. So, again the question is: How?

For a start it will definitely not come about through the level of discourse we have [had] in the game over the last decade. Nor by going out into the desert and becoming the lone pure voice of the only lonely pure planner in an ocean of impurity and lost souls of lost planners [- i.e. the self-imposed white liberal academic's *burden*]. We will need to actively engage with each other [again], whether in print, by e-mail, by telephone, over lunches, in workshops, at symposia and conferences. Only through such language moves/contacts will we be able to persistently question our game, our selves, our rules, our aims and objectives and our definitions, and suggest changes to better the game and our endeavours/selves. We need to tell our stories [like this one] and listen to those of others and invent new ones. And, once we have regained such an engaging discourse, we will be able to act collectively again, to lobby government for new legislation, propose urbanisation strategies and get initiatives such as the Southern African Union/Region off the ground.

What I like about this force is that it is a force which is a *process*, which recognises the need to listen and not just preach, *do* and not just listen [and preach], and which has no boundary in time or is limited to certain spaces/venues. It is also a force which may lead to genuine evolution in the game, not the idea of once off revolution, which our past experience does not bear out and which simply does not go down in a complex system and a language game with a history behind it [- not just a history on paper, but also in the concepts that move around in our bodies, including our hearts and minds]. And, even better, it is a force which ensures a system that is never stable, but which is not perpetually in fully blown turbulence either, as the system will be constantly adapting incrementally, never falling that far behind so as to necessitate the t/making of massive leaps into turbulence to survive [as we in a sense have had to do over the last couple of years and are still doing].

Now I know this raises a whole set of questions with the following gist: "*The informal discourse is fine, we can all do that, but who will take up the more formal discourse? Who will organise the formal events? Who has the time? Who cares?!*".

The answer is very simple: the same people who "organise" the informal events. Each and every player has a responsibility to do this, and not just SAPI and/or its branches and the players in academe, as is [so] often thought. The sooner we all realise that the only bond we have is a textual one - that we are kept together through a common linguistic chain which needs to be nurtured/used/spoken/discoursed and constantly innovated to be kept alive [just

like any other language ... - which needs also to be practised, even when we preach ... -], the sooner we will realise the urgency of engagement and innovation. As Professor Mallows stated so poignantly nearly thirty years ago, "... *the verdict of history is very simple and quite ruthless: a society[, including a community of planners,] innovates or perishes - there is no alternative*" (1968a: 12).

## A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

While the language game of planning and its players are seemingly in less danger than they were a few years ago, especially so with

1. planning being seen as an important part of the national reconstruction and development drive; and
2. government having passed the DFA and the LGTAA which make integrated strategic development planning at the local government level obligatory,

planners should not be led to believe all is fine again and become complacent. As the mapping[s] of the past illustrated, times change, and today's reformist fervour at government level, may only be a fond memory tomorrow. We cannot let this opportunity, like planners had in the mid-1940s, pass away again without imprinting the need for planning firmly in the national mindset - thus both the popularisation of the idea of planning, and of the benefits to be derived from it. This implies revisiting the 1930s and 1940s in which players realised the need to sell planning and actively sold it.

If we do not do this, the possible futures we as planners can assist in bringing, may not be brought, or they may be brought by people who see in the future only their own futures, or futures based only on economical or social concerns, not *whole* futures. [As Brooks argues, the "... *reformist, visionary, future-oriented spirit ...*" is the distinguishing, but also one of the few "... *special perspectives that professional planners have brought to the urban development arena*" (1988: 241).] And, if we, the community of planners want these half-futures to be brought, we very easily could. But I do not want that to happen, and I hope, neither do others in this game, for if this language game is silenced, the country will not only have lost a potentially powerful force in the reconstruction and development drive, but will very likely experience negative impacts in the form of feedback into the wider system.

## AND SO, WHERE ARE WE GOING?

The decision is ours - yours and mine. It depends on us - the players of the language game of South African urban and regional planning - to, without cease, prove our and the game's use-value to society/communities, for, as Skjei (1976: 332) wrote back in 1976, "*Legitimacy cannot be asserted nor can social utility be established by proclamation. Society must ultimately judge the contribution planners can or do make and grant them the acceptance they seek*". And so, if we can do this on a continuous base, we will not only be reclaiming and assuring our future day after day, but also be assisting society/communities in incessantly reclaiming and assuring its/theirs.

# MAP ELEVEN

## *IN WHICH THE MAPS ARE FOLDED AWAY*

*"... I am the memory of all my past moments, the sum of everything I remember"* (Eco, 1996: 473).

*"The end is the beginning is the end"* (Smashing Pumpkins, on the Soundtrack to *Batman and Robin*).

*"The beginning is the end is the beginning"* (Smashing Pumpkins, on the Soundtrack to *Batman and Robin*).



## SO LONG

This thesis had as its aim a journey backwards and forward in time to find some answers to four questions relating to the language game of South African urban and regional planning and its players, viz: *"Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? Where sh/could we be going?"*.

I made my enlightening, saddening, heartening and perturbing journey and so did you, yours, I trust. Let me not now detract from **[y]our** experiences by extracting fragments from the voyage and presenting them as *the [key]* components. Journeys, I believe *now*, are more than their constituting parts. So, if you want to make the journey, read the full story **[of *inter alia* high hopes, fanatical fervour, dead ends, blunders, unthinking zealotry and false faiths]**.

And now, all that remains to be said, is: *"Good-night. Have a safe journey home and please remember to ask yourself before driving off: 'Where does this loudspeaker **[in my car]** come from? What am I still doing with it **[in my car]**? Where am I going with it? Where should it be going' and please not 'Where could it be going?'. While you are putting our loudspeaker back on the hook in this recreated novelty, the one and only authentic 1970s Drive-In, based on the new VEGA 'Nostalgic Nights at the Drive-In' Arcade Game, I would like to remind you that next week's attraction is 'The Way we wish we Weren't'. And if you can at this point still hear me in your car you have not replaced our loudspeaker, so let me repeat the four questions ..."*.

Somehow I always knew those four questions would come in handy some time, somewhere.

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## ADDENDUM

### ROLE PLAYERS CONSULTED

The following role players were consulted between 30 October 1996 and 15 November 1996, with the exception of the overseas experts consulted between 23 and 26 October 1996:

#### 1. Academic Institutions

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Prof P Robinson    | (University of Natal, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                                     |
| Prof Jan Schutte   | (University of Potchefstroom, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                             |
| Prof MS Badenhorst | (University of Pretoria, Department Town and Regional Planning)                                     |
| Ms V Watson        | (Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town)   |
| Dr P Claassen      | (University of Stellenbosch, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                              |
| Prof D Dewar       | (University of Cape Town, School of Town and Regional Planning)                                     |
| Dr D Steyn         | (University of Bloemfontein, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                              |
| Mr P Harrison      | (University of Natal, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                                     |
| Ms S Zar           | (WITS Technikon, Town and Regional Planning)  |
| Prof A Mabin       | (WITS, Department of Town and Regional Planning)  |
| Prof J Muller      | (WITS, Department of Town and Regional Planning)  |
| Ms M Schoonraad    | (University of Pretoria, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                                  |
| Mr V Theunissen    | (Cape Technikon, Department of Town and Regional Planning)  |
| Prof P van Helden  | (University of Pretoria, Department of Town and Regional Planning)                                  |
| Ms J Lincoln       | (ML Sultan Technikon, Natal: Role player and consultant tried to make contact, but did not succeed) |

## 2. National and Provincial Government Departments

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Dr L Platzky       | (Department Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs) |
| Mr D von Broembsen | (Department of Housing, Pretoria)                              |
| Ms L Golding       | (Department of Public Works, Pretoria)                         |
| Mr A Vawda         | (Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria)                         |
| Mr P Rossouw       | (Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria)                         |
| Mr F Slabbert      | (Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria)                         |
| Mr E Buiten        | (Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria)                         |
| Dr T Abrahams      | (Department of Housing, Pretoria)                              |
| Mr P Grobler       | (Western Cape Provincial Administration)                       |
| Ms C Engelbrecht   | (Gauteng Provincial Administration)                            |
| Ms W Lutsch        | (Department of Environmental Affairs)                          |

## 3. Metropolitan Councils and Local Authorities

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Ms N Bezuidenhout | (City Council of Pretoria, Designated Officer, DFA) |
| Mr J Bascin       | (Durban Metropolitan Council)                       |
| Mr J Kuhn         | (Cape Metropolitan Council)                         |
| Mr J Hugo         | (City Council, Cape Town)                           |
| Ms A Mutsi        | (Eastern Gauteng Services Council)                  |

## 4. Practitioners

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Mr C Els         | (Town Planning Consultant, Pretoria)   |
| Mr J Lang        | (Town Planning Consultant, Richardsbay)  |
| Ms L Engelbrecht | (Town Planning Consultant, Bedfordview)  |
| Prof EWN Mallows | (Town Planning Consultant and Retired First Professor of Town and Regional Planning in South Africa) |
| Mr C Kannenberg  | (Town Planning Consultant, Cape Town)  |
| Mr S Forster     | (Development Planning and Research, Private Firm, Mpumalanga)  |
| Mr N Nzombane    | (Town Planning Consultant, Port Elizabeth)   |

## 5. Town and Regional Planning Councils, Institutions and other Bodies

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Mr S Solomon   | (President of Institute of Technician Planners, Cape Town) |
| Mr J Ngobeni   | (SABTACO)  |
| Mr L Oakenfull | (Council of Town and Regional Planners)                    |

Mr P van Zyl (President SAPI, Cape Town)  
Ms P Ramurumo (Deputy President, SAPI, Gauteng)  
Ms G Moloji (Black Planners Caucus, Kwazulu-Natal)  
Mr R Lamont-Smith (Council of Town and Regional Planners)

## 6. NGO's

Ms N Walker (BESG, Durban)  
Mr A Sanka (PLANACT, Gauteng)  
Mr D Abrahams (DAG, Cape Town)

## 7. Other Bodies and Individuals

Mr B Marian (SRC, Pretoria)  
Dr R Loubser (Retired Professional Engineer)  
Mr J McCarthy (Geographer, Kwazulu-Natal)  
Ms E van Zyl (CSIR, Pretoria)

## 8. Overseas Experts

Prof Cliff Hague (President of the Royal Town Planning Institute, United Kingdom)  
Ms Y Rydin (University College of London, Prominent Critic of the Town and Regional profession in the United Kingdom)  
Mr M Tewdr-Jones (University of Wales, Cardiff, Researcher in the field of Planning Policy and Procedures)  
Prof J Jackson (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Melbourne, Australia)