The apartheid city : construction, decline and reconstruction

Doug Hindson [1]

University of Durban-Westville
Private Bag X54004000
Durban
South Africa
Tél. (27.31) 820.02.295
Fax (27.31) 820.28.34

INTRODUCTION

The apartheid city was created as a response to the urban crises of the 1940s. In order to protect and enhance the interests of its white constituency the National Party government drew on past policies of racial segregation and spatial management to re-structure and entrench more deeply the racial city fom. The processes of African urbanisation were blocked and racial groups channelled into clearly defined spatial zones within the city or, in the case of illegal entrants, forced to retum to their rural homesteads or relocated into resettlement camps in the homelands, often after periods of forced prison labour on white farms.

This system created a regulatory framework for a period of economic expansion and political stability in which the racial and

---

1. This paper draws upon three earlier works done by the author in colla-boration with Mike Morris of the Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal and Jeff McCarthy, Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville. These are respectively an article entitled « From Violence to Reconstruction : the Making, Disintegration and Remaking of the Apartheid City » which appeared in *Antipode* in 1995 (with Mike Morris), an unpublished paper entitled « The Social Structure and Dyna-mics of Metropolitan Durban » (with Mike Morris) and chapters 2 and 3 of a manuscript for a short book entitled *The Urban Question in South Africa : An Appraisal of Research Efforts and Institutions and Suggestions for Further Research Directions* which has been submitted to Emile le Bris for publication.

class antagonisms built into the social structure were held together by a highly repressive regime. The apartheid system accelerated class mobility amongst whites and to a lesser extend coloured and Indian urban residents whilst thwarting similar processes amongst Africans. The racial city form became increasingly unworkable from the late 1970s, due to its economic inefficiency, and politically unmanageable as a result of growing political mobilisation against apartheid.

The concentration of socio-economic resources in the white suburbs and extrusion of black city dwellers to the badly resourced urban periphery produced a particular racial and class map of the city by the early 1970s. The accelerating processes of rapid urbanisation and class differentiation from the 1980s frayed the tight fabric of the apartheid city and spilled over its constraining boundaries. New social and economic forces in urban life emerged as Africans began to struggle for access to the core areas of the city or for increased resources to make urban life on the metropolitan margins more tolerable.

This had differential effects on the various urban communities. The white suburbs, by and large, maintained their social stability and political influence, at least until the present (1995). While some black families found homes in the white suburban areas, white urban interests, for the most part, have been able to displace demands for urban resources away from the urban core ; from the revenue base of the white, Indian and coloured municipalities. This deflection has confined the struggles of the excluded majority to the constricting socio-economic boundaries of the urban periphery. These marginalised areas, with their inadequate resources, have been wholly unable to cater for the urban requirements of their populations. The containment of the struggles within the marginalised peripheries build up immense political pressure within them, unleashing intermittent violent explosions especially in the 1980s and early 1990s, though these conflicts continue in some areas even under the new governrnent of national unity.

It became increasingly clear by the late 1980s and early 1990s that resolution of the conflict within the black residential areas could not be secured without the developmental needs of those areas being addressed within peace and reconstruction pacts. It also became clear that the problems of the black residential areas, the need for housing, resources, infrastructure, better communications and other resources could not be solved by development plans and processes which restricted themselves to the black areas alone. What was needed, and is still needed, was reconstruction of the whole city. It is only through a re-structuring of the apartheid

city as a whole that a durable and large scale solution could be worked out to deal with conflict in the black residential areas. From the early 1990s vigorous efforts were been made by both researchers and policy makers to formulate a new approach to urban policy in preparation for a new non racial government. With the formation of the new government of national unity these policies are now being translated into law and practice.

This paper is divided into five main sections following the introduction. Section 2 deals very briefly with township construction under apartheid and the re-emergence of squatting, rapid urbanisation and social differentiation in the period from the 1960s to the 1980s. Section 3 examines violence, reform and the challenge to the racial city in the 1980s. Section 4 looks into urbanisation and processes of social differentiation unleashed by the breakup of apartheid and by failed reforms. Section 5 describes the emerging urban policy framework in South Africa giving particular attention to the principles of the National Housing Forum. Finally, Section 6 focuses on spatial policy frameworks designed to promote the integration of the South African city.

TOWNSHIP CONSTRUCTION,
THE RE-EMERGENCE OF SQUATTING
AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION : 1960s-1980s

Urban apartheid was based on the exclusion of Indians and Africans from the centres of economic and political power in the cities, the minimization of social and infrastructural expenditure in the new townships, low wages, and the creation of a differentiated workforce with some urban Africans having minimal access to urban residential rights whilst the majority were prohibited from permanently settling in the urban areas.

Although extremely repressive, urban apartheid was a highly effective system in the short term both as a mechanism of urban political control and, for a time, in securing an economically subservient workforce. The 1960's was a decade of political stability and rapid economic expansion. However, during the 1970's the underlying contradictions, costs and inefficiencies of the system began to appear and thus forced to lead the life of temporary migrant workers.

This coincides with the beginning of a new stage of urbanisation and apartheid spatial planning. The 1970's saw the state grant greater powers to the bantustans either in the form of independence or self government. This impacted on the process of

urbanisation in a number of important ways. In the country as a whole, a form of deconcentrated urban settlement occurred on the fringes of the bantustans abutting the metropolitan areas through the settlement of large numbers of workers who commuted daily to work in the core city areas. Deconcentrated urbanisation extended urban sprawl, reinforced the racial geography of the city and added to the high costs of infrastructural expenditure and services in black residential areas.

The most obvious signs of the failure of territorial apartheid appeared in the early 1970's. By this time most new housing development in the townships had ceased and pressure on existing housing stock increased through natural population growth as well as illegal immigration into the formal townships. During the 1970s township people, particularly the young who were unable to obtain houses, began moving out of the townships onto adjacent land where they joined migrants from the rural areas to form squatter camps.

By contrast to the 1970s when squatting was semi-clandestine and relatively slow, the 1980s witnessed the mushrooming of open squatting, at times involving land invasions, in and around the black townships on the metropolitan periphery. Added to the steady weakening of influx controls that had being going on since the early 1970s, a number of factors came together to open the flood gates.

The immediate precipitating factor was the attempt by the authorities to devolve housing and influx control powers to unpopular black local authorities while at the same time increasing rents and public transport fares. This abortive application of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission (Riekert Commission, 1979) sparked off major rent and bus boycotts in the early 1980s. From the early 1980s a series of confrontations occurred between youth and residents' organisations on the one hand and township authorities on the other which led to a weakening of township administration and hence the capacity to control settlement.

The ensuing weakening, and in some cases collapse, of black local authorities meant that control could no longer be exercised over land and housing allocation and hence the pace and form of urbanisation. Open land occupations and invasions replaced clandestine squatting, first on vacant land near the townships and then, in the late 1980's, within the townships themselves. These developments were yielded to and given further impetus by the formal abolition of influx control in 1986.

A second major social development in the 1980s was the growth of middle income suburbs in the black residential areas

on the periphery. Whereas classic apartheid attempted to suppress class divisions within the African population, the urban reform strategy pursued by the government in the 1980's sought to foster class divisions within urban black residential areas (Morris and Hindson, 1992).

In the past the primary line of social demarcation within the black urban areas was between temporary migrants in the hostels and permanent residents in formal township houses (Hindson, 1987). During the 1980s, however, two new residential groupings emerged. The established townships were flanked on the one hand by new housing schemes for lower middle income semi-professional and better off working class families and on the other hand by mushrooming squatter settlements dominated by unskilled, marginal and unemployed people.

The effects of these developments was to produce a three way class residential division within the black areas, comprising an emerging middle income group with the means to move to the newly constructed private housing estates ; the established working class in the old townships under pressure to move up or down the social ladder ; and the new poor crowded into impoverished shack areas in and around the old townships. It should be noted that not all the residents of squatter areas are equally impoverished. The limited provision of African housing from the early 1970s meant that many employed township residents moved into shack areas in order to escape overcrowding in township houses and that a section of these people were employed and earned relatively high incomes.

The appearance of huge squatter areas on the periphery of most South African metropolitan areas and many of its towns marked a clear break with territorial apartheid but it also had the effect of powerfully reinforcing residential apartheid and hence the racial geography of the city. Although the reform strategy of the 1980s accepted the permanence of Africans in the city and, from, the mid 1980s, the reality and desirability of African urbanisation, the continued application of residential controls under the Group Areas Act as well as private property rights ensured that the vast majority of impoverished blacks were confined to the urban peripheries.

The growth in numbers of people in confined spaces on the black urban peripheries greatly increased the scarcity of residential resources such as land, housing and services and thus heightened competition for these resources. Untrammelled competition for basic resources in the context of the collapse of local government, the reduction of state assistance for housing and transport

and a shrinking resource base for residential life created ideal conditions for communal mobilisation around access to and control over these resources. The mobilisation of residential communities to defend or extend control over land and other basic resources was a major factor that fed into political mobilisation and conflict especially from the mid 1980s.

VIOLENCE, REFORM AND THE CHALLENGE
TO THE RACIAL CITY

Violence and reform

Prior to the 1980s political violence exhibited two main characteristics : it tended to be perpetrated by the state against individuals falling foul of the myriad of urban apartheid regulations, and took the form of criminalising such transgressions (Hindson, 1987 : 59-74).

Violence in the 1980's emerged in the context of the crumbling of territorial apartheid, rapid unplanned urbanisation, the bankruptcy of township administration and abortive attempts to introduce economic liberalisation within the framework of residential apartheid.

The inherited racial city structure, coupled with the disintegration of the apartheid controls on the periphery displaced and confined urban conflict to the margins of the metropolitan area. A battle by blacks against exclusion from the political and economic power centres of the city – a struggle for greater access, to and control over, the resources of the wider society and economy – was deflected and turned into a fight over the shrinking resources allocated to blacks on the urban perimeters (Morris and Hindson, 1992).

Both the content and method of implementation of the reforms introduced from the late 1970s tended to intensify rather than to reduce social dislocation and the potential for conflict. Piecemeal liberalization opened opportunities for some and gave vent to aspirations long suppressed under apartheid, but this occurred in a context in which not all the major sources of grievance were being dealt with. Economic and political concessions were yielded to the new middle strata of the black population, including a relatively privileged working class, while excluding or marginalizing the impoverished and dispossessed. The majority of blacks, even those who benefitted from reform, continued to feel the effects of remaining racial controls, an increasingly harsh economic environment and exclusion from national political processes.

During the 1980s the economic costs of residential and territorial apartheid escalated ; social divisions sharpened in the black residential areas and were less amenable to simple repressive and undifferentiated mechanisms of control, economic and political repression was increasingly and openly challenged ; and competition for access to the urban resources necessary for social and economic life intensified.

The apartheid institutions which previously managed conflict through control over the black residential areas began to disintegrate and increasingly lose their effectiveness. This made space for a political struggle for hegemony within the black residential areas ; a struggle that was integrally tied up with the capacity of competing and conflicting parties to capture, control, and distribute resources within these areas. In Natal the struggle for hegemony was greatly intensified with the rise of Inkatha linked warlords and ANC linked civic and youth organisations (Morris and Hindson, 1992).

The challenge to the racial city

Internecine political conflict in the second half of the 1980s can be explained in part in terms of the racial structuring of the city and the capacity of the white urban constituencies and the state to displace conflict and its consequences on to the black residential areas.

The ability of the state to continue in this role began to weaken by the end of the 1980s. Violence became increasingly widespread and in some areas endemic. The economic costs of violence in terms of life and property destroyed, mounting security costs and costs to the economy through disruption of production, absenteeism and worker debilitation continued to increase while the incentive to invest by local and international finance declined.

The state was confronted with widening opposition from within key sectors of white South Africa such as business, as well as an increasingly effective international campaign of economic, cultural and other forms of isolation.

While the extra parliamentary movement was significantly curbed by the State of Emergency neither the United Democratic Front (UDF) nor the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) – the two organisations that led open internal opposition during this period – were ever fully silenced and both continued to place pressure on the state through various forms of protest and other action.

Within South African cities it became increasingly difficult to

contain the violence physically and although white residential areas continued to escape the direct effects of township conflict, robbery and violence became much more frequent and difficult to prevent in the inner city and white suburban areas. This was a period when whites build walls around their suburban properties, installed electronic alarm systems and armed themselves.

Opposition to the maintenance of racial residential segregation also came from two very different groups seeking to escape the violence on the urban peripheries and to take up opportunities in the core city areas. The late 1980s witnessed the first flow of squatters from the urban periphery to the urban core areas (suburbs and business districts) as pockets of squatters occupied land, in some instances in areas left vacant by apartheid removals. In the climate of growing political instability local authorities became increasingly reluctant to remove these groups despite the continued existence of apartheid and anti squatter laws.

The second major pressure for racial integration of core city areas was from middle and upper income black groups seeking housing near to places of work and in the more secure white suburban or inner city flatland (high rise apartment) areas. Well before the abandonment of the Group Areas Act in 1992 incremental deracialisation, known as « greying » had begun to take place, especially in flatland (high rise apartments) areas and in a number of lower income white suburbs near the inner city.

By the end of the 1980s, the white state and those interests historically represented by it had to face the stark choice of attempting to maintain racial controls under the Group Areas Act against mounting opposition from within and outside South Africa, or attempting to negotiate a process of deracialisation and spatial integration of the city.

Following the unbanning of political organisations and growing acceptance of negotiation as a route to transformation, negotiation forums were established both nationally and within several cities and towns and it is within these that the possibility of a peaceful negotiated reconstruction of the cities began to be debated at city level while at national level a process of constitutional negotiation got under way.

URBANIZATION, DECOMPRESSION
AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

A key to understanding the spatial and social character of the emerging city form in South Africa lies in tracing the transforma-

tion of patterns of rural-urban migration and intra-urban movement and settlement through the period of the weakening and reform of apartheid. Violence and the breakdown of urban controls unleashed major processes of change in patters of movement from rural to urban areas and movement and settlement within urban areas. These changes in movement patterns were associated with processes of household fragmentation and decompression and with class residential differentiation and deracialisation in the cities.

This section seeks to examine the processes of household decompression and social differentiation and to show their effects on the emerging spatial character of the cities. It is against this background of underlying social process and the forms of social and political organisation that emerge from them that the impact of future urban policies will be described assessed in the final section.

Migrant labour

Historically, the migrant labour system was at the centre of South Africa's political economy and provided the basis for a system of exploitation in which the wealth of whites, particularly in the urban areas, grew at the expense of the mass of Africans located in rural areas in the bantustans.

An understanding of migration and commuting patterns is essential for analysis of the relationship between urbanisation and a range of analytical and policy questions because of the impact these processes have on different social groups through the networks of relationships which are undermined, modified and reconstituted as individuals and households move between rural and urban areas.

Under apartheid permanent urbanisation was denied to a large section of the African workforce in the cities by the influx and pass control laws. These laws ensured that the majority of African workers remained temporary migrants, in law if not in reality. Under the policy of territorial apartheid, increasing numbers of African workers were forced to commute daily across bantustan borders to work in the industrial and commercial centres within the white cities and in border industrial decentralisation points (Hindson, 1987). With the weakening of pass and influx controls in the 1970s and 1980s, and their abolition in 1986, more permanent urbanisation and settlement occurred as thousands of Africans settled in squatter areas, mainly on the urban peripheries, especially where these fell within bantustan areas.

The changing nature of migration and the concomitant changes in settlement patterns and processes raise major questions about the relationship between urbanisation and poverty. One of the key questions about the present phase of urbanisation is to do with the permanence of movement from rural to urban areas, the social networks maintained or broken by these processes and the implications this has for the distribution of relative wealth and poverty between rural and urban areas.

In the face of the widespread expectation that temporary migration would give way to permanent settlement with the abolition of influx control, Mabin argued that various forms of temporary or circulatory migration would continue and that this phenomenon was strongly linked to the growth of informal settlements in which households depended on the simultaneous maintenance of bases in both urban and rural areas for survival. The advantages of cheap residential land in areas remote from the cities and employment opportunities within the cities are combined by creating and sustaining networks that link individuals and households across spatially dispersed locations (Mabin, 1991 : 42).

A further point made by Mabin is that the phenomenon of peri-urban and more remote (from the urban areas) forms of dense settlement cannot be fully explained in terms of the concept of « displaced urbanization ». « Displaced urbanization » is a concept that became popular in the 1980s and referred to dense impoverished black settlements on the far urban peripheries which despite their distance from the urban areas and their lack of basic urban services were nevertheless functionally linked to and dependent on urban incomes and other transfers for their survival. The argument underlying the concept of « displaced urbanization » was that it was a consequence of apartheid prohibitions on settlement within the white urban areas that Africans settled in remote quasi urban dense areas. According to Mabin, for example, these areas represent a response to « the need to find a place to live under severely constrained circumstances which has led to the growth of a new form of urbanism » (Mabin, 1988 : 399). Saphire's survey research on informal settlements in the PWV corroborates this phenomenon as do the studies of Crankshaw, Saphire, Heron and Hart on the PWV (Saphire, 1990, Crankshaw, Heron and Hart, 1992).

Circulatory migration may remain important, as Mabin has argued, but there is growing evidence that the form of circulatory migration may have modified in important ways. One example of this is the development of so-called « chain migration », the

phenomenon whereby a relative or acquaintance who « acts as a pioneer who facilitates the migration of other members of the chain in a serial fashion once she or he is established » in an urban area. (Kok and Gelderblom, 1993 : 36). Another is the development of « stepwise migration », which appears to be associated with poorer rural households that are unable to mobilise the resources for long distance travel to centres with the greatest opportunities. In so far as poorer households, or their individual members, do migrate, it tends to be in a stepwise fashion, namely short distance moves, usually to neighbouring rural areas or small towns rather than to a large town. (Kok and Gelderblom, 1993 : 37)

Through step wise and chain migration households develop new survival strategies by maintaining linkages across a number of urban and rural areas. This enables them to take advantage of differing resources, employment and other opportunities in urban and rural areas.

Social differentiation and migration

Associated with the phenomenon of denser settlement and circulatory migration is the issue of the social differentiation of households within and between informal settlements. A number of studies have identified a process of internal differentiation within informal settlements. This process of residential differentiation is linked to the access of households to employment and incomes generated within the urban areas. For example, Development Research Africa (DRA), in a study undertaken for the Umgeni Water Authority identified the following types of households in settlements in the Umgeni Water Authority area :
Marginalised
Welfare dependent
Remittance dependent
Wage committed (incomes below R1500/month)
Wage committed (incomes above R1500)
Mixed income source (wages secondary)
Mixed income source (wages primary)
While this categorisation appears arbitrary and static in conception, a number of important points arise from the study. Firstly these household categories are differentiated essentially in terms of income sources, most of which derive from the urban areas in the form of wages, remittances and transfers. It is also significant that even within the rural areas, agriculture plays a relatively unimportant role in influencing the socio-economic

position of households, with the exception of one group. Secondly these household types display different propensities for migration. Households most involved in migration are remittance dependent. These often attempt to decrease the costs of migration by engaging in chain migration.

The DRA study's findings echo the discovery of many studies of migration that the poorest households in the rural areas are often the least mobile because their incomes are too low to enable their members to meet the costs of movement or to contribute reciprocally to households that are involved in movement. These households are thereby trapped within a cycle of poverty in the rural areas and may dissolve through the attachment of individuals to other households (Kok and Gelderblom, 1993).

The phenomenon of trapped marginal communities is not restricted to rural areas. In a study undertaken in the southern sub region of the Durban Functional Region, it was found that people in an extremely impoverished squatter area were unable either to move back to rural areas or to other urban areas due to the inability to meet movement costs (Morris and Hindson, 1994). Although further work needs to be done on this question, it may well be that the phenomenon of trapped marginal households in rural dense settlements is paralleled by an urban equivalent.

Urbanisation and the socio-spatial distribution of poverty

One of the outcomes of stepwise and chain migration is that this results in the gradual sifting out of households into economically and socially differentiated settlements. Some evidence exists to suggest a process of socio-spatial differentiation in which proximity to the core urban industrial areas is correlated with the residential poverty, the better off settlements being located closer to core urban areas and the poorer settlements more distant. Kok and Gelderblom have postulated « the existence of zones of relative exclusion, radiating out in concentric circles from our major metropolitan areas » (Kok and Gelderblom, 1993 : 70). However, the pattern of concentric spatial differentiation will be cross cut by a range of factors including the development of transport systems which alter the cost of distance and historical linkages between rural and urban areas connected by migration.

The concentric model developed by Kok and Gelderblom may over simplify conditions within the urban periphery. A study of violence torn squatter areas in the Durban Functional Region reveals considerable variation amongst different squatter communities in the region, some of which contain extremely impoveri-

shed populations who may be trapped by the inability either to retreat back into the rural areas or move forward to more resourced settlements due to their extremely low levels of income. (Morris and Hindson, 1994). Moreover, many residents of the most central of informal settlements, for example in Cato Manor in Durban, are amongst the poorest and most marginalised of all in the region.

Intra-urban movement, class differentiation and household decompression

In addition to the assessment of the effects of rural urban migration and the various forms of networks maintaining links between rural, semi-rural and urban areas, an important new factor is the growth of intra-urban movement and settlement made possible by the weakening and abolition of the Group Areas Act and re-enforced by escalating violence on the urban peripheries.

Empirical studies of social differentiation and movement within the Durban Functional Region, for example, have revealed a process of internal socio-spatial differentiation within the black residential areas which is being promoted by both violence and by opportunities to move within the metropolitan area. Established townships are yielding up their poorest residents to squatter areas and their wealehiest residents to new middle income housing estates and to the historically white city core areas. This process of social movement and sifting reinforces residential class differentiation. (Morris and Hindson, 1994)

Prior to the 1980s, official urban policy directed at the African population sought to divide the population into two main socio-spatial components : permanent residents in matchbox township houses and temporary migrants in hostels. With the breakup of urban controls a far more complex pattern has emerged. New middle income suburbs have sprung up within the black residential areas on the urban peripheries while massive squatter settlements have appeared alongside and within the established black townships. This has created new forms of socio-spatial differentiation with large differences in incomes and access to various kinds of urban resources emerging between these new residential communities.

Two concepts have been developed in an attempt to grasp some of the major social dynamics that have occurred especially within the black residential areas, but also increasingly within the historically white, Indian and coloured areas. These are the concepts of social differentiation and decompression. Social diffe-

rentiation refers to the process by which new social strata and classes are formed though the complex interaction of changes within the productive sphere (the employment structure, upward economic mobility, and incomes) and the reproductive sphere (housing, residential conditions, access to social services and benefits of various kinds).

Decompression refers to the splitting apart of households and families previously compressed both socially and physically within the townships as a result of apartheid controls over urbanisation and the failure to construct new housing after the end of the 1960s. The relaxation of controls as well as violence and the general turbulence of the period resulted in a process of splitting and fragmentation of households and families and their re-constitution both spatially and socially within new and distinct residential areas on the urban peripheries. This process is by no means complete. It has been accompanied by enormous social upheaval and although family and household networks and structures have been fundamentally disrupted, a feature of the process has also been the attempt of families and households to recombine in ways which enable new survival strategies to operate across space and to a degree across the growing class and income barriers (Morris M. and Hindson D., 1994).

Examples of studies that have begun to probe these processes are Crankshaw and White's work on Central Johannesburg and Hindson and Byerley's study of Albert Park in Johannesburg. (Crankshaw and White, 1992 and Morris and Hindson, 1994) Both of these studies indicate that there are contradictory trends in the greying of historically white inner city areas. In some areas the movement of blacks into inner city flat lands has been associated with rack renting, overcrowding and building decay as land lords pack large numbers into flats designed for singles or nuclear families. However, the stronger trend is for whites to be displaced by more highly skilled and better paid professional and semi-professional blacks.

THE CHANGING URBAN POLICY FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Racial policies up until the 1980's re-enforced a system in which poverty and wealth were distributed on the basis of race. During the 1980's, urban reforms sought to modify this by acknowledging the existence of an « insider » class of African urban residents. The

« insider »/« outsider » categorisation sought to construct a basis of inclusion and exclusion in which the political, social and material incorporation of a strata of the urban black population into the core institutions of white urban society was to be achieved at the expense of the exclusion of a large majority of Africans – migrant workers, residents of the homelands and, above all, Africans resident in the rural areas. The implication of this was that the expanding relative wealth of the insider African population would be at the expense of increased marginalisation and hence impoverishment of the majority of Africans. This approach entailed the reform rather than the abolition of apartheid.

This version and practice of urban and housing policy was challenged during the 1980's and early 1990's and this challenge led to the gradual and piecemeal abandonment of the racial foundations of reform even before the change of government in 1994. In 1986 influx control was abolished and in 1992 the Group Areas Act followed. Over these years the state faced mounting difficulties in implementing any policy and the dominant characteristics of the period is the unleashing of spontaneous collective and individual forces which had a powerful influence in reshaping South African cities. For example, uncontrolled squatting, the movement of new middle income African families into flat lands and white suburbs and the growth of inner city poverty through squatting and rack renting.

From the late 1980s onwards, a vigorous policy debate began to take place over the possible shape of urban policy under a new non racial democracy. Much of this debate occurred in the context of negotiation forums which were set up at local, metropolitan and national level in the period of constitutional negotiation following the unbanning of extra parliamentary organisations in 1990. The work of the National Housing Forum has become the major source of policy thinking for the housing and urban policies of the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the Government of National Unity.

Housing policies

Racial housing policies

In the period of apartheid, access to the urban areas by Africans was controlled by a battery of laws and regulations relating to movement and to residence (Hindson, 1987). Land occupation was controlled by racial restrictions on settlement and by policies relating to the construction, allocation and regulation of single and family accommodation for blacks.

Housing in the urban areas was made available by the state on the assumption that Africans were temporary sojourners in the urban areas and would ultimately be removed to the bantustans once the economies of the bantustans had been built up and white industries had relocated to border areas. (Hindson, 1983a)

In the 1950s and 1960s the state's major efforts went into the implementation of a mass housing programme for African families who qualified for exemption under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act and large scale development of hostels for single migrant workers. Housing provision was strictly tied to length of residence in the urban areas and was coupled with the tightening of influx control and expulsion and resettlement of Africans deemed to be superfluous to the needs of white firms and households.

From the late 1960s and into most of the 1970s housing construction for Africans in the nonhomeland urban areas tapered off and eventually ceased completely. The focus of the state's efforts shifted to housing and township development within the so-called homelands or bantustans. African townships in urban areas within striking distance of neighbouring bantustans became vulnerable to removal and relocation.

Thus the legacy of apartheid policy inherited in the early 1980s was massive housing shortages in the non-bantustan urban areas, displaced urbanisation through housing construction and informal settlement within bantustans on the far peripheries of the major metropolitan areas, and a racially and spatially fragmented and highly inefficient urban form (Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990).

Official housing reforms in the 1980s

Urban policy reforms in the late 1970s and early 1980s were aimed principally at privileging the settled urban population, increasing its occupational mobility and fostering the emergence of an urban African middle class through residential and economic differentiation. An attempt was made by the state to withdraw from its role in the construction, ownership and management of housing, to encourage private housing construction for middle income Africans within separate suburbs in the black residential peripheries, and to promote long leases and home ownership. At the same time attempts were made to increase the powers and financial self sufficiency of black local authorities.

The corollary of this policy for « insiders » was increased barriers to movement into the urban areas by « outsiders » from the bantustans. Although never implemented with any success, Bantu Affairs Administration Boards were to be replaced with

« assembly centres » which would focus on the prevention of Africans who were de jure residents of the bantustans from entering the white urban areas and competing for jobs with settled urban Africans (Hindson, 1987).

The effect of these reforms was both to undermine and re-enforce the racial structure of South African cities and towns. The black urban areas were substantially transformed through the growth of middle income residential areas on a large scale, especially from the mid to late 1980s, and through the massive growth of a shack dwelling population in and around the black townships. Although the abandonment of influx and housing controls helped transform the social and economic character of the black residential peripheries, it entrenched and extended the basic racial city form by confining African urbanisation to the black peripheries.

Private sector housing reforms

During the 1980s a number of new and progressive housing initiatives were begun by the Urban Foundation and a number of other organisations. These included the Inanda Newtown (an area to the north of Durban) scheme in the early 1980s where attempts were made to devise methods of construction of core formal housing on serviced plots using subsidised housing utility companies.

These schemes were aimed at lower middle income groups. It seems they ran into difficulties with occupants unable to meet repayments compatible with cost recovery. The main obstacle was that even the most basic formal housing on serviced sites proved beyond the reach of the majority of the urban poor (Hindson, Mabin and Watson, 1993).

Up until the mid 1980s urban planning and practice worked within the assumption that urbanisation could be catered for through the laying out of planned settlements on new land into which families would move once housing had been erected. From the second half of the 1980s experimentation by the Urban Foundation and others took place on the provision of serviced sites and the development of a range of cheaper building methods and materials. Township layout combined with the provision of basic infrastructure such as chemical toilets, piped water and gravel roads.

These ideas were incorporated into government programmes for the establishment of deconcentration areas in places such as Atlantis in the Western Cape and Hammarsdale in Natal. The associated policy of industrial deconcentration was intended to

provide jobs for people living in deconcentrated residential areas, but only a fraction of the employment demands of residents could be met in this way.

The advantage of deconcentration policy was that it was able to cater for low income groups on a mass basis because the cost of land on the peripheries was low and large tracts of land were readily available. Its weakness was that it imposed prohibitive transport costs on residents seeking work and amenities in the core city areas. It also had the effect of extending urban sprawl and entrenching the racial structure of South African cities.

Despite the policies of orderly urbanisation and deconcentration, most settlement occurred outside the confines of state policy, in the form of un-ordered and dense informal settlement. By the end of the 1980s the scale of squatting, escalating conflict within the black residential areas and the growing difficulties in persuading residents of established shack settlements to move, led planners to fundamentally reconsider their basic assumptions about township housing development. Attention was turned away from removal and rehousing of squatters towards acceptance of the permanence both of the people and their settlements and consideration of ways of upgrading and developing these settlements.

In situ upgrading began to be tried out in a number of areas in the early 1990s. It appears to have achieved positive results both in terms of the improvement of the physical environment and provision of basic amenities. Emphasis has been placed on the provision of pit latrines, the supply of water and the construction of footpaths, access roads, drainage and community facilities such as creches and schools.

Housing as part of holistic development

A further change in policy thinking, especially evident since the new urban approach of the 1990s is that housing is increasingly seen in a much more holistic, including environmentally sensitive framework. The previous overriding concern to put houses or sites on the ground as quickly as possible has given way to a growing concern to see housing linked to wider residential development such as the provision of schools, health and related facilities and also open natural and recreational spaces. The emphasis can be expected to shift from housing per se to the sustainability of housing and development programmes within the wider urban complex. Increasing attention is given to the spatial location of housing programmes and their integration into the wider urban fabric through transport, communications, access to public services and employment opportunities. The issue of sustainable

housing and sustainable cities and development has only recently been taken on through the adoption of Local Agenda 21, first by Durban and then by Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Peace pacts and urban forums

During the 1990s a distinct new thrust towards urban reconstruction emerged out of peace pacts in violence tow communities. (Hindson and Byerley, 1991, Lenta, *et al.*, 1990). Political and other forms of violence in black residential areas in many parts of Natal, in the Transvaal and elsewhere brought housing construction programmes to a stand still. Development initiatives inserted into divided communities were often the catalyst for violence, or accentuated existing conflict. The content, aim and task of reconstruction in violence torn areas differs from other black residential areas. Here the first task is to provide for refugees and rebuild destroyed homes, community facilities and infrastructure before moving to the larger task of new housing and development programmes.

From the late 1980s, and especially with the abandonment of the Group Areas Act in 1992 a further stage of urbanisation has begun with the movement of black middle income groups into the white inner city and suburban areas and squatters into vacant lands in the white core city areas.

The effects of these processes has been to create contested areas of the city, particularly between middle income suburbanites and people living in neighbouring shack areas. The outcome of battles in these contested places will shape the future structure of our cities and with it the distribution and condition of the poor.

Urban and housing policy up until the general elections was in greater flux than at any previous time in our history. The housing policy of the reform period of the 1980's had become virtually defunct and housing delivery had ground to a standstill. The administration of townships was in a state of paralysis as a result of bureaucratic ineptness, widespread corruption and the sustained challenge put up by political and civic organisations.

One positive aspect of the situation as it existed prior to the elections was the emergence of urban forums at local, metropolitan, regional and national level. Within these forums the various actors involved in the urban and housing sphere came together to debate and to begin to implement a new housing and urban development strategy. These actors included civics, local government, political organisations, business (finance and construction),

development agencies and various professional groups such as planners and architects. It was possible from around 1992 to detect a growing convergence, if not consensus, of opinion around the broad outlines of a new housing and urbanisation policy. The main parties which converged on the urban and housing question included a core of progressive urban researchers, the Urban Foundation, the World Bank and the various parties to local, metro and regional forums dealing with the urban question.

The policies of the National Housing Forum

In the area of urban policy the key forum was the National Housing Forum (NHF). With the establishment of the NHF in September, 1992, the outlines of a new approach to housing and urban reconstruction and development began to emerge and this policy framework was to play a major part in determining the shape of urban policy under the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the government of National Unity.

The policy elements which were developed by the National Housing Forum represent a major departure from previous policy not only in content, but also terms of the highly inclusive and participative process that was adopted in the constitution and functioning of the Forum. Unlike past official policies, the central aim of the policy emerging from the Forum was to address the housing needs of the poor within an urban policy framework that sought to re-integrate and compact South African cities. The Forum also sought to devise a strategy that promoted the widest possible participation of the range of stake-holders in the housing and development arena and to promote a policy of community or beneficiary driven housing and development programmes.

One of the central features of this new approach is the attempt to take up the question of housing in the context of urban reconstruction policy as a whole. Housing programmes are increasingly been seen as major instruments for the reconstruction of South African cities in which urban integration and compaction are seen as key measures for addressing problems associated with the apartheid city form. (Hindson, Mabin, Watson, 1993)

The central principles of policy developed by the NHF are that housing programmes should contribute to improved accessibility, functionality, efficiency and sustainability. The ideas underlying these principles are that the resources and opportunities of urban and rural areas which have previously been restricted to those within the white city core areas should be made more accessible

to the whole urban population, particularly the poor and historically disadvantaged and excluded sections of the population on the urban peripheries. The cities should be made more functional in the sense of promotion of improved transport and other forms of communication and improved linkages between residential, commercial, industrial and service areas. Functional integration, it is argued, should improve the efficiency of urban areas by increasing the economic and spatial mobility of factors of production, especially through increased spatial integration. Furthermore, housing programmes in urban areas should be economically, politically and environmentally sustainable in the sense that they should promote a growth process which is politically viable, socially integrative and enhances the quality of natural and manmade urban and rural environments.

These aims, it is believed, can be achieved by promoting the following policies relating to housing and urban development: urban compaction, densification, mixed land use and mixed income development. Urban compaction refers to the process whereby new urban development is directed to unused or underutilised land within the present urban boundaries and close to work, commercial and public sector opportunities. By densification is meant the process whereby land use and residential densities are increased by such means as infill development, the rehabilitation and increased use of inner city and suburban housing stock; and the design and constmction of new, higher density built environments. Mixed land use refers to the promotion of complementary land use patterns in the same or contiguous spaces in order to increase spatial and functional integration of residential, commercial and other activities, while mixed income development involves the promotion of forms of housing development which erode the stark class, racial and income differences now existing between residential areas.

Local governance

A major theme of urbanization and development during the late 1980s and early 1990s is that it occurred under circumstances of either poor, ineffective or moribund local government. The so called Black Local Authorities established during the early 1980s collapsed during the mid to late 1980s under the pressure of popular resistance to their leadership, failure to pay rates and services and related fiscal pressures and corruption. The relative resourced white local authorities, on the other hand, experienced a crisis of effectiveness and legitimacy, especially as national poli-

tical negotiations progressed, and many began to effectively abdicate their traditional responsibility and vacillate in the face of a leadership vacuum coupled to development challenges of new dimensions arising out of the need to re-integrate the cities, extend services to the black residential areas and undertake a programme of housing construction and informal settlement upgrade.

The collapse of the Black Local Authorities and the paralysis of the white municipalities created the space within which local and metropolitan negotiating forums have come to the fore. These forums provide the bridge between the old and new local government and have been given official recognition under the Local Government Transition Act of 1994 which requires the formation of local negotiating forms to prepare for the establishment of new structures of local governance throughout the country.

Rapid progress has been made on the boundaries and functions of these new authorities in several regions, but the experience has been uneven. In Kwazulu/Natal, for example, the Greater Durban Metropolitan Area has only just been recognised by the regional minister of local government and housing and disputes are likely to continue in the run up to the local government elections which are planned for October 1995. Uncertainty exists over the developmental functions of the new local government structures, their fiscal policies and their spheres of influence and responsibilities relative to regional and national government. It is nevertheless clear that the success or otherwise of the new local governments will have a major influence on the process of restructuring of South African cities, since it is at this level that the potential capacity and will to change city structure and functioning resides.

SPATIAL POLICES : THE CHALLENGE
OF REINTEGRATING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

The racial spatial structuring of South African cities presents a stubborn legacy for future policy makers, and as has been argued above, the pattern of urban settlement brought on by the partial reforms of the 1980s and accentuated by violence and intra-urban movement in the second half of the decade considerable deepened the problems by encouraging massive further settlement of the poorest sections of the black population on the far peripheries of the cities where the majority were cut off from access to the major resources of the city. A further legacy of the period of

reform and violence in the 1980s was the tendency for the new black middle classes to escape the poverty of the townships and squatter areas in new middle income housing estates on the urban peripheries and, increasingly from the 1990s onwards, to move into white suburban and flatland (apartment areas). One possibility latent in this pattern of development is the creation of a multi-racial of middle income suburban residents in the city core areas against further invasions by shack dwellers and the promotion of an ever deeper core/periphery division within the society at large.

Two broad (and possibly complementary) approaches have emerged that seek to overcome these legacies : one focusing on housing zones of opportunity and the other on development corridors. Both of these are influential within the policy circles responsible for the writing of the urbanization policy of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, but the precise form in which they are included has yet to emerge (the urbanization policy of the RDP is presently being drafted March 1995). In the following sections an outline of the basic ideas contained within these two approaches and some discussion of their implications for the spatial structure of the city is given.

Zones of opportunity

The concept of « zones of opportunity » was initially developed by the Urban Foundation, whose focus at the time was on the identification of land suitable for housing of different types for different income groups (Abrahams G., *et al.*, 1993). The concept was subsequently taken over and elaborated by the National Housing Forum in the context of work on the build environment and the spatial structure of South African cities (Hindson D., Mabin A. and Watson V., 1993 and Hindson D. and Van Gass C., 1993).

The NHF identified a range of possible residential zones in which opportunities existed to address housing needs and to meet the aims of increased city compaction and functionality. The kinds of zones identified were, for example, high density inner city areas, low density middle income suburbs, strategic public or private sector vacant land, black middle income housing estates, « matchbox » townships, hostels and spontaneous formal and informal settlements.

In each zone prevailing socio-economic processes such as movement and settlement patterns, racial composition and change, residential densities, urban decay or upgrade and the

existence and form of residential organisations were identified and defined. Zones were identified in terms of conditions such as housing types, service availability, land prices, proximity to urban opportunities and planning and administrative controls.

For each zone, the National Housing Forum also identified a range of housing and development programmes which might realise the aims of housing provision and the principles of accessibility, functionality, efficiency and sustainability. For example, high density inner city areas are deemed to be areas where the arrest and reversal of decay and rehabilitation and conversion of existing buildings provide the best opportunities. Well located low density middle and upper income suburbs are candidates for densification through relaxation of building controls, the promotion of detached and low rise multi-unit housing and the promotion of mixed land uses to integrate residence and work.

Some of the greatest opportunities for urban integration and densification are seen to lie in the development of inner city vacant parcels of land such as Cato Manor and District Six, and also well located smaller and larger tracts of land in or near the present boundaries of towns and cities. These areas provide opportunities for major redesign to promote high density, mixed land use and mixed income residential development.

The more difficult cases for housing policy are the black residential areas on the urban peripheries, but here too important opportunities exist for upgrade and redevelopment. The main opportunities deemed to exist for matchbox townships are upgrade of housing, infrastructure and services, the redesign of township transport routes around commercial, service and light industrial nodes. The challenge is to integrate these areas into the wider urban framework through the extension (and in some cases the development of new) activity spines and corridors which provide good opportunities for high intensity economic activities mixed with medium to high residential densities.

Informal settlements present some of the most difficult cases for future housing development, particularly where these are located on the outer peripheries of the urban areas. The two main options being debated for such areas are in situ upgrade and planned site and service development. Where informal settlements have sprung up in well located core city areas, the opportunities for sustainable development following in situ upgrade are good, while areas on the remoter peripheries are likely to suffer from poor access to employment and other activities in the cities.

One of the weaknesses of the zones of opportunity approach is

primary focus on housing. Although the NHF sought to place housing zones in the wider context of the morphology of South African cities, the analytical and policy issues flowing from this imperative were never adequately spelt out within its reports. This led to the accusation that the zones of opportunity approach may inadvertently re-enforce the racial residential structure of South African cities by creating class and race homogeneous residential areas. To some extent these objections are addressed within the second major approach to the spatial restructuring of the South African city, namely corridor development.

Corridor development : the short and long corridors

Perhaps the most fashionable of metropolitan planning policy perspectives during the early 1990s has been that of corridor development. In a South African context, the concept of urban corridor development has acquired two quite different meanings. The first meaning imputed to the concept was that applied at the inter-urban scale, and linked to the government's philosophy of industrial deconcentration during the early 1980s. The second concept of urban corridor applied at the *intra*-metropolitan scale, and was formulated as a specific critique of, and alternative to, the prevailing government planning practices of the 1970s and 1980s. Let us consider each in turn, although most emphasis will be given to the last approach given its much greater influence upon contemporary urban planning thought.

Corridors as the facilitation of metropolitan deconcentration

As a result of the perceived practical deficiencies of the older industrial decentralisation strategy of the 1970s, the South African government reworked its regional industrial development policy (RIDP) in 1982. In terms of this revision, emphasis was placed upon diverting urbanisation and industrial growth towards deconcentration points nearer to the metropolitan areas. The promotion of Atlantis near to Cape Town was probably one of the most striking examples of this strategy, but there were also many other examples throughout the country.

In several regions, the philosophy underlying deconcentration was actioned via a so-called « development corridor » strategy. In the vicinity of East london, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, for example 'strings' of industrial deconcentration points were identified along major freeways/rail routes extending laterally outwards from the major metropolitan area. In the East London case, the idea was to link growth between east London and King Williamstown via three intermediate industrial nodes where

incentives were offered – Dimbaza, Berlin South and Mdantsane. The assumption was that a « development corridor » would emerge here, assisted by both by the incentives and the excellent transport infrastructure. Similar planning concepts were applied to the encouragement of linear industrial development along the Brits/Garankuwa/Pretoria/Bronkhortspruit axis and via the attempt to link Bloemfontein to Thaba Nchu via industrial incentives at Bloemindustria and Botshabelo (McCarthy and Smit, 1988).

In the Natal context, an important document in this regard was an August 1984 publication by the Chief Town and Regional Planner, Environmental Planning Division, entitled *Potential Deconcentration Points in the Context of the Durban Metropolitan Region*. This analyzed the various options for deconcentration and narrowed them to three : Tongaat, Umkomaas and Cato Ridge. An evaluation of the comparative performance of each showed that « Cato Ridge has the greatest overall ability to achieve the goals and objectives (of deconcentration) ».

Corridors and the reintegration of the apartheid city

Running apparently counter to the deconcentration thinking being encouraged by government in the early 1980s was another, in some respects contradictory, strand of thought on development corridors. Originally the concept of intra-metropolitan « activity corridor » development was pioneered by Professor Dasid Dewar of the University of Cape Town. The concept developed out of a critique of the existing realities of the apartheid city, but it also attempted to draw upon what were considered positive aspects of « successful » urbanism in other contexts – particularly the older 'organic' urbanism of European market towns (McCarthy and Smit, 1988).

The following exposition by McCarthy and Smit sets out the key arguments for the use of corridors as means of re-integrating the apartheid city :

« Since it takes its cue from the existing spatial form of South African cities, rather than from an idea hatched in abstraction, it provides a potentially practical approach to the resolution of the inefficiencies and inequities of the apartheid city. The emphasis in the approach is on making the attenuated urbanism of apartheid more compact on the one hand, and on weaving together the spatially disparate islands of the apartheid city into an integrated whole on the other. Compactness is to be achieved by delimiting clear growth boundaries and by increasing residential densities. The key to the integration of the fragmented apartheid city is the

use of deregulated activity corridors which would act as "seams" tying together previously disparate parts.

An activity corridor, in short, is a corridor of movement in which activities of a wide variety are encouraged. Deregulation of land use along the corridor is regarded as necessary to promote a wide range of activities, and to allow easier market entry for smaller businesses. The general idea is that since Black townships do not have the necessary thresholds to allow the development of rich facility environments, facility provision and commercial development should, wherever possible, be encouraged in interceptory movement corridors *between* higher income and lower income.

In principle, attempts would be made to channel movement from existing predominantly white residential areas on the one hand, and predominantly Black residential areas on the other, along the same *movement* corridors. This may entail the conscious creation of new corridors or the reinforcement of existing corridors. A variety of measures would then be used to encourage the creation of a rich activity environment along the corridor. For example, many public facilities such as sports stadia and facilities, tertiary education facilities, hospitals and so on, could be provided here. Moreover, a mixture of incentives, including deregulation, could be used to attract productive and commercial activities to the corridor.

The other key component of the strategy to promote the integration of the apartheid city is the development of a comprehensive public transit system. The provision of public transport is seen as an important measure in the promotion of activity corridors. Moreover, higher residential densities, in turn, are considered essential if a public transport system is to work effectively. It should be noted that the densities necessary to promote public transit do not necessarily imply high rise and high tech living environments. The necessary densities can be reached with low rise housing and self-help delivery systems, should such systems be considered more desirable.

It should also be noted that densities are connected to activity corridor creation insofar as it is advocated that residential densities adjacent to corridors be as high as possible. In sum, the compact integrated city through activity corridors is comprised of the following major elements :

a) The elimination of racial zoning of any kind.

b) The use of activity corridors to integrate parts of the city which are currently separated and inwardly oriented.

c) The promotion of an efficient and comprehensive public

transport system which would also be an important part of the activity corridors.

d) The promotion of compact urban growth through the conscious limiting of urban sprawl and by urban infill.

e) High density residential development, particularly around activity corridors.

f) The creation of a "capital web" of major public facilities to reinforce activity corridors.

g) The deregulation of activity corridors with a view to : attracting a valiety of enterprises, easing market entry for small firms ; and reducing the congestion that "point" development creates.

h) The acceptance of and active promotion of mixed and multi-functional land use, particularly in activity corridors.

i) The mixing or juxtaposing of high, middle and low income groups wherever feasible.

While the variety of authors associated with this approach emphasize slightly different reasons for the pursuit of the model described above, most are centrally concerned uith the role of the city in promoting economic growth and greater equity. This is certainly true of Dewar's work which should be regarded as a seminal. For Dewar, the activity corridors are expected to increase the life opportunities of the poor by providing them with better spatial access to facilities and better "market" accessibility as far as the pursuit of productive activities is concerned. Moreover, the promotion of public transport is seen as a key component of a strategy which aims to make production and consumption environments more readily accessible to all people in the city, but particularly the urban poor. Dewar (1985) also argues that the approach reduces congestion and pollution by allowing the decentralization of activities into the corridors. The approach is also argued to be ecologically sensitive and promotive of urban environments (by promoting human contact through high densities and activity corridors). »

This concept of urban corridor development now strongly informs practically every significant contribution on metropolitan planning in South Africa. A critique of it is beginning to emerge (Bloch, 1994), but for the most part the approach has emerged the new planning orthodoxy for South African cities. The underlying concept has also now been expanded into a new type of inter-urban corridor thinking, not least by a former student of Dewar's, Kiepel (1994). In essence Kiepel argues that at a regional scale, planning for the upgrading of informal settlements should not only acknowledge their alignment along corridors of inter-urban transport, but it should support the tendency of the poor to seek out « access to access ».

The development corridor and zones of opportunity approaches both offer important insights and suggestive policy approaches directed at the re-integration of South African cities. Given that the one focuses essentially on high activity transport centred axes which link together the different parts of the city while the other focuses on residential areas in different, usually unconnected parts of the city, there is clearly a need form some form of theoretical and policy integration of the approaches, although the conceptual and policy origins of these approaches may make that difficult.

CONCLUSION

South African cities have undergone a process of very substantial change for over a decade and a half. This change has been impelled largely by the spontaneous actions of individuals and organisations against the constraining boundaries of the apartheid urban regulatory system. The abortive attempts by the apartheid state to introduce piecemeal liberalisation within the broad spatial and political boundaries of apartheid policies merely fuelled antagonisms and hastened the process of change.

Within the peripheries a process of household decompression and residential social differentiation was spurred on by reform and by internecine violence, and in the core city areas a process of residential deracialisation occurred through the movement of sections the new black middle class into previously white flat land areas (apartments) and suburbs and the settlement of squatters on vacant lands near middle income areas.

However, the realities of the racial spatial structure of South African cities and the continuing influence of white core city interests rooted in private property rights and in continuing access to local governments, ensured that rapid urbanization in the 1980s took place primarily on the urban peripheries, thereby extending the racial spatial structuring of the city and deepening the divide between the core and periphery.

With the formation of a government of national unity, the opportunity exists for the first time to restructure the South African city to achieve the aims of deracialisation, improved urban functionality and efficiency. A major instrument in this process is the housing programme adopted under the Reconstruction and Development Programme

The manner in which the RDP is applied could either deepen

existing trends for the re-polarization of the city in terms of multi-racial affluent core and impoverished periphery or counter these trends to create more class and racially mixed cities with the periphery and core areas becoming more closely integrated spatially, socially and economically. Critical choices have to be made, not only in terms of the extent of state subsidization of housing and in the involvement of the state and private sector in housing construction and development, but also in the spatial distribution of housing programmes.

It is no longer possible or desirable for the shape of the South African city to be dictated by planners, even if towards the more laudable ends of opening accessibility and promoting deracialisation and class residential mixing rather than the racial policies of the past. Nor is it desirable to allow spontaneous, market driven forces the go untrammelled since that will almost certainly produce a newly polarized cities. This would merely replace (or more likely overlay) the racial divisions of the past with a core-periphery antagonism, in which a racially mixed middle income minority is pitted against the majority of the (mainly black) poor who will remain politically, economically and spatially marginalised on the urban peripheries.

A middle path must be found. The basic challenge facing urban planners, policy makers and the new community based organisations concerned with residential development is to adopt a policy approach which harnesses both the spontaneous market driven forces – resulting in intra-urban movement and settlement and the locational dynamics of industrial and commercial activity – and the combined energies of organised communities across the cities and directs these forces towards the creation of more spatially integrated, efficient and just cities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams G., Gardner D., Monare H., 1993. « Housing Strategy, in a Transitional South Africa. Zones of Opportunity », in : *Urban Forum*, 4 : p. 1.

Bernstein A., Nel M., 1990. « Urban policy : the fiction of conspiracy », *Urban Forum*, 1 (2), p. 111-114.

Bemstein A., McCarthy J.J., eds, 1990. « Opening the Cities : Comparative Perspectives on Desegregation », Issue Focus of *Indicator South*

Africa, Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal, Durban.

Crankshaw O., Hart T., 1991. « The roots of homelessness : causes of squatting in the Vlakfontein settlement south of Johannesburg », *South African Geographical Journal*, 72, p. 65-70.

Crankshaw O., White C.F., 1992. « Results of the Johannesburg Inner City Survey », HSRC Report, Johannesburg.

Dewar D., 1992. « Urbanization and the South African city : a manifesto for change », in : Smith D., ed., *op. cit.*, p. 243-254.

Dewar D., Uytenbogaardt R.S., 1991. « South African Cities : Manifesto for Change. »

Hindson D.C., 1985. « Orderly Urbanization and Infiux Control. From Territorial Apartheid to Regional Spacial Ordering in South Africa », *Third World Quarterly*.

Hindson D., van Gass C., 1993. « Investment Opportunities in Residential ones : holistic approach », Report to the National Housing Forum, Johannesburg.

Hindson D., 1987. *Pass Controls and the Urban African – Proleteriat*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Hindson D., Mabin A., Watson V., 1993. « Restructuring the Built Environment. Status Report », Report to Working Group 5, National Housing Forum.

Hindson D.C., 1983a. *The Pass System and the Formation of an Urban African Proletariat in South Africa*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Hindson D., Byerley M., Morris M., 1994. « From Violence to Reconstruction : the Making, Disintegration and Remaking of an Apartheid City », *Antipode*, 26, n° 4.

Hindson D., McCarthy J., 1994. *The Urban Question in South Africa : An Appraisal of Research Efforts and Institutions and Suggestions for Future Research Directions*, manuscript submitted to Emile le Bris.

Keipel J., 1994. « The Durban Functional Region : Debate on the Spatial Framework for Development and Reconstruction », unpublished paper, ISER.

Kok P., Gelderblom D., 1993. « Ubanisation. South Africa's challenge », HSRC Report, Pretoria.

Mabin A., 1991. The dynamics of urbanization since 1960, in : M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane, eds, *Apartheid City in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, p. 33-47.

Mastoroudes C.C., 1982. « Estimates of Migrants and Commuters, 1976-1981 », Research Report for Urban-Rural Workshop.

McCarthy J.J., Smit D.P., 1988. Research project on the post-apartheid metropolitan space economy, 3 vols, unpublished report for the Urban Foundation, Johannesburg.

Morris M., Hindson D., 1992. « South Africa : Political Violence, Reform and Reconstruction », Review of African Political Economy, p. 53.

Morris M., Hindson D., 1994. « The Social Structure and Dynamics of Metropolitan Durban », unpublished paper, ISER.

Saphire H., 1990. « The struggle for shelter », in : The Innes Labour

Brief, vol. 2 (2), p. 49-64. Research report, survey, informal settle-
ments, Phola Park, PWV.

Riekert Commission, 1979. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into
Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower, RP 32.

Saphire H., Schlemmer L. c 1990. « The Struggle for Shelter : Informal
Serlement on the PWV », Urban Foundation, Johannesburg.